

McCone Revisited: A Focus on Solutions to Continuing Problems  
in South Central Los Angeles

Report on a Public Hearing Jointly Sponsored  
by the Los Angeles County and City Human Relations Commissions

January 1985

Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations  
320 West Temple Street, Suite 1184  
Los Angeles, California 90012

Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission  
Room 383 City Hall  
Los Angeles, California 90012

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## Acknowledgments

The Los Angeles City and County Human Relations Commissions wish to thank Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrell for focusing attention on the McCone Commission Report and attempting to inform the public of the ongoing problems in South Central Los Angeles. His motion that the Los Angeles City Council review the McCone Commission Report and his request for a hearing by the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations were the proximate causes of this jointly sponsored project.

The Commissions also wish to acknowledge the work of the Joint Task Force on South Central Los Angeles -- 15 Years Later. The Joint Task Force, formed in 1980 consisted of the Los Angeles Urban League, American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge and commend the special efforts of Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn. His intercession on behalf of the public hearing resulted in a more productive project. Supervisor Hahn's support in providing copies of the original McCone Commission report, a photographer and video-taping equipment greatly enhanced the hearing.

This hearing project was accomplished by the following Human Relations staff: Larry Aubry organized the hearing with the special assistance of Doris Colly. Velma A. De Ponte, Bunny Hatcher, Jerry Hatcher, Pauline Jacobson, Alicia Gaudet and Grace M. Löwenberg provided support services and typed the report. The project was carried out under the overall supervision of Lionel Martinez. All of the above persons are staff with the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations with the exception of Ms. Colly who is staff to the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission.

The Commissions are especially indebted to the 18 persons who testified at the hearing and whose names and organizational affiliations are listed at the end of the report.

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## Introduction

The "Watts Riots" occurred in early August of 1965. Thousands of Black youth and adults were involved in this upheaval in South Central Los Angeles, which left 34 persons dead, more than 1,000 persons injured, 3,950 persons arrested, and \$40 million in property damage.

On August 24, 1965 Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown appointed the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, headed by John McCone, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Governor Brown's charge to the Commission was to investigate the riots and submit a report on what happened, why it happened, and what could be done to ameliorate the conditions that caused the uprising.

Almost 19 years later, on March 28, 1984, the Los Angeles County and Los Angeles City Human Relations Commissions jointly sponsored a public hearing to focus on the problems identified by the McCone Commission, provide an analysis of current problems in South Central Los Angeles and most importantly, attempt to elicit solutions for those problems. The hearing concentrated on the Black population, as did the McCone Commission.

Testimony was given by 18 presenters, who included elected officials and representatives of public agencies, religious organizations, and local groups or local chapters of national organizations concerned with human relations problems. Appendix A is a list of the presenters who appeared at the hearing.

- Testimony described conditions and accomplishments in South Central Los Angeles since 1965. Virtually all presenters agreed that many problems remain unresolved and that a great deal remains to be done. Representatives of civil rights and community organizations testified that South Central Los Angeles is a low government priority: they felt there was, and is, a lack of commitment in governmental leadership and more generally a failure to initiate planning, strategy or solutions to problems and issues cited in the McCone Commission report.

- Many of the problems cited at the hearing were identical to those noted by the McCone Commission, and the overall conclusion of those testifying was that conditions are as bad, or worse, in South Central Los Angeles today as they were 19 years ago. As one speaker testified: "A basic problem in South Central Los Angeles in 1984, as it was in 1965, is poverty: grinding, unending, and debilitating for all whom it touches."

Presenters identified a number of areas of concern, including police-community relations, welfare and social services, employment, health care, transportation, housing and education. Each of these is covered in a

separate sub-section of this summary report. However, all of the problems are closely interrelated. Total separation of the causal and precipitating factors of the Watts Riots, then and now, is neither possible nor realistic.

This is the first time the Human Relations Commissions of Los Angeles City and County have co-sponsored a project of any kind. Included as Appendices B and C are opening statements of purpose of both Commissions.

## Summary of Testimony

### Police-Community Relations

This was regarded as the most crucial area of concern by many presenters. It was a police-community incident that ignited the Watts disturbances, as well as other riots across the country during the 1960's.

The McCone Commission developed several recommendations. The first was that the Police Commission be strengthened. This was accomplished by granting the Commission broader powers over the management of the Los Angeles Police Department. The second was the establishment of an Inspector General position to handle citizen complaints. It was reported that this was also carried out, but in 1977 the position was eliminated and a coordinator was assigned to assist the Police Commission in handling citizen complaints.

The third recommendation called for more intensive human relations training for police officers and the expansion of community relations programs. This resulted in a total of 60 officers assigned to community relations work, including a lieutenant at each Los Angeles Police Department division. The department manual was also revised to include new community relations principles and policies. A Basic Car Plan and Neighborhood Watch programs were also implemented, along with an educational program in junior and senior high schools.

Decentralization and budget cuts resulted in the curtailment or demise of these community relations programs by 1981, and a Police Protective League survey showed that less than 50 percent of Blacks approved of the job the police were doing. It was stated that police-community relations seemed to have slipped to an all-time low.

However, that same year the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ) assumed the responsibility for providing community relations and human relations training for the Los Angeles Police Department in South Central Los Angeles. It was pointed out that new recruits now receive 50 hours of community relations training and each officer assigned to the South Central area spends a full day being oriented to the area. The orientation includes visiting schools and community organizations, and eating dinner at the home of a local resident in charge of the Neighborhood Watch program.

The fourth recommendation urged an increase in the number of Black and Hispanic officers in the Los Angeles Police Department. Since that time, it was reported that Black representation has increased from 4 percent to nearly 10 percent, while Hispanics have risen from less than 4 percent to

more than 14 percent. A tutorial program, co-sponsored by the Los Angeles Police Department and the Urban League, has helped prepare a number of Black and Hispanic candidates for admission to the Police Academy.

However, it was stated that numerous problems persist, the most pervasive of which is the flood of drugs pouring into South Central Los Angeles, leading to increased crime and undermining the health and morale of the community generally. The Los Angeles Police Department has placed undercover officers on campuses to apprehend pushers, and in cooperation with the Los Angeles Unified School District, it has developed a Drug Abuse Resistance Education Program (DARE). The Department has also taken steps to curb gang violence and is cooperating with local citizen groups to reduce neighborhood crime centering around the proliferation of liquor stores in South Central Los Angeles.

Still, police-community conflict persists and testimony indicated much remains to be done. More and better-trained officers are needed in the area to enhance response time. It was reported that much of the community, beset with violent crimes, feels that the Los Angeles Police Department gives equal weight to both crimes against persons and crimes against property in its personnel allocation decisions. This has a more negative impact on an area such as Watts and South Central Los Angeles, which suffers a disproportionate number of crimes against persons. Presenters also cited the need for additional recruitment, hiring, and promotion of minority officers, and better procedures for responding to citizen complaints about police behavior, especially in the use of force.

#### Welfare and Social Services

The McCone Commission recommended that welfare agencies work to help recipients become independent of public assistance. The report urged agencies to be cognizant of job training programs, apprise welfare recipients of these programs, and create incentives for participation in such programs.

The Department of Public Social Services (DPSS), with funding under the Economic Opportunity Act, had developed pre-vocational and on-the-job training programs, along with job placement services and educational programs. Following the riots, additional funds were obtained to provide on-the-job training for welfare fathers, to purchase training and pay stipends for single adults on welfare, and to establish day care facilities for welfare mothers. The day care centers also provided limited employment for other welfare mothers, who, for example, took jobs as child care providers.

In 1968, the United States Department of Labor was charged with the responsibility of providing job training and placement services for welfare recipients. This was later shifted to the California State Employment Services Department's Work Incentive Program. This program remains in place today, and through it approximately 10,000 County welfare recipients are reportedly placed on jobs annually. However, presenters maintained that comparatively few of these job recipients are from the Black community.

Another program with a successful placement record was the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). DPSS used CETA funds to train and place approximately 5,000 General Relief recipients and reports that only 14 percent returned to the welfare rolls. In 1983, CETA was replaced by the Jobs Training Partnership Act.

Testimony by DPSS officials cited several ways in which welfare recipients can be helped out of the welfare cycle, including tax incentives for employers to open businesses in areas with high welfare populations, which would create jobs; employer willingness to utilize the Federal Targeted Jobs Tax Credits program in order to enable non-job ready persons to acquire skills; job training programs to include a certain number of slots reserved for welfare recipients. In-home child care services were also cited as a way to provide both affordable day care for some welfare mothers and jobs for other welfare mothers.

### Employment

Employment was cited as a major factor in the McCone Report, and severe unemployment in 1984 continues unabated in South Central Los Angeles. The report recommended that employers, labor unions and government combine efforts to establish a job training and placement center in the affected area.

Although not nearly sufficient, some steps have been taken to alleviate the problem. For example, the Urban League operates a data processing training program and has placed many of its trainees in jobs. It also has a cooperative venture with Jordan High School which provides special job training to keep potential dropouts in school.

The Watts Labor Community Action Council (WLCAC) developed a training program for a cadre of young people who renovated 600 housing units. This also assisted in providing much needed additional low cost housing in the area.

Despite, these programs, nationwide declines in unemployment, and government statistics reflecting a 17 percent Black adult unemployment rate, the Urban League among others, feels the true adult percentage is now nearer 30 percent when under-employed and "discouraged" job seekers are factored in, and testified that unemployment rate for Black teens is close to 50 percent.

Presenters cited several reasons for the severe unemployment problem in South Central Los Angeles: the changing job market, with a new emphasis on high-technology; inadequate career counseling in the schools; a general failure of schools in South Central Los Angeles; attitudes and poor work habits of adults as well as students; lack of adequate, affordable day facilities and programs for mothers of young children.

It was stated that small businesses in the area are increasingly owned by non-Blacks and Blacks still lack strength in the business community. For

example, in regard to this last issue, a legal requirement that a major share of the building of Martin Luther King, Jr. Hospital be let to Black contractors could not be enforced because there were, and still are, no major Black building contractors in the Los Angeles area.

Finally, employment discrimination based on race, while less severe than 19 years ago, was still cited as an important factor affecting Black employment.

### Health

Health care delivery systems were failing to meet the needs of Watts residents at the time of the riots. The McCone Commission recommended the establishment of a comprehensively-equipped hospital in South Central Los Angeles. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Hospital and Drew Medical Center were completed in 1972. It is a licensed, accredited 480 bed facility with 404 acute beds and 76 psychiatric beds. It has a full range of services, and the Charles Drew Postgraduate Medical School is affiliated with the hospital.

Of an annual budget of \$123 million, \$79 million, or nearly two-thirds, is hospital-generated. Some patients are self-paying, through insurance, but 60 percent of the patients are on Medi-Cal. The majority of patients, 83 percent, come for trauma treatment for wounds. It was reported that the wounds are primarily caused by handguns, the primary killer of young, Black, urban males. By contrast, accidents are the primary cause of death for the rest of the population. The homicide rate for Black males is more than six times greater than the rate for White males, according to one presenter. These statistics are one of the reasons for the indignation at the glut of both drugs and guns flowing into the area.

In addition to the hospital, the McCone Commission recommended an increase in public health services and preventive medical facilities in South Central. The Los Angeles County Department of Health Services' testimony cited the 1976 completion of a Comprehensive Health Center at Slauson and South Main Streets named after the late Senator and Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, which handled 121,000 patient visits during the last fiscal year. Also, it was noted that immunization levels for children entering school in the area are above 90 percent for polio, measles, mumps and smallpox, and at 78.5 percent for diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus. This is regarded as a significant improvement over 1965 levels. Finally, it was stated that food market inspections rose from 2,271 in fiscal year 1971-72 to 4,891 in fiscal year 1982-83 in the South Central area.

Despite these positive gains, it was pointed out that serious health problems still exist. While Black infant mortality declined from 26.8 per 1,000 births in South Central Los Angeles, it is still more than twice the 10.5 per 1,000 rate for White infants. Presenters also cited the need for more family planning and pre-natal health education outreach, and also noted that the mortality (death) and morbidity (illness) rates in South Central are the highest in the County of Los Angeles.

## Housing

Following the riots, the McCone Commission found that residents of the Watts area lived in conditions inferior to the citywide average and markedly inferior to newer sections of the city. Structures were older and more were sub-standard. In Watts, an average of 4.3 persons lived in each household, compared to an overall County average of 2.94 persons per household. Street lighting was poor due to reluctance of property owners to pay upgraded assessments, although street maintenance, refuse collection and sanitation were roughly comparable to the rest of the County. There was little subsidized low cost housing and no new building had occurred for a number of years. Removal of 2,104 sub-standard dwelling units lowered the rate of "dilapidated" housing to only 3 percent, but exacerbated the shortage of affordable housing.

The McCone Commission urged neighborhood rehabilitation projects by local residents, liberalization of FHA credit and area requirements, and private, non-profit sponsorship of low cost, federally subsidized housing as ways to ease the problem.

Presenters stated that little has been done to improve the housing situation. One-third of the residents live in old, crime-ridden public housing projects. Of the 600 low cost housing units authorized, only 300 have been built during the 19 years since the riots, and no single family housing has been built in the area. At the same time, extensive middle and upper income development has taken place in nearby Carson and Dominguez Hills, and 5,000 luxury units have been built on Bunker Hill by the Los Angeles City Community Development Agency. The sole positive note is the WLCAC housing renovation project cited in the Employment section of this report.

## Transportation

According to the findings of the McCone Commission, the South Central area lacked access to adequate, reasonably priced public transportation, and recommended a public subsidy to remedy this problem. At the hearing it was pointed out that the Southern California Rapid Transit District (SCRTD) received its first State subsidy in 1971, and in 1974 Federal funding became available. A current local subsidy also helps to keep fares at an affordable level.

The Commission also recommended that SCRTD acquire the existing small, independent transit systems serving Watts, as these were expensive and lacked coordinated service plans. Since that time, SCRTD has acquired most of the smaller bus companies, which has standardized and simplified service and improved efficiency.

An additional McCone suggestion, to establish transfer privileges among various bus lines, was fulfilled in 1974. These agreements are administered through the Los Angeles County Transportation Commission and provide for

uniform fares of 50 cents, and 10 cent transfer costs. Immediate establishment of improved east-west cross town service for the Watts area was in the final McCone recommendation. The "radial" system in existence in 1965 required riders to travel to the downtown area first in order to get to their destination. 1974 saw the system designed into a grid in two experimental sectors, South Central and the San Fernando Valley. This technique led to an immediate surge in ridership, and today all 13 of SCRTD's sectors utilize the grid system. SCRTD also renumbered the lines so riders can easily identify north-south and east-west lines, downtown buses, and limited or express lines.

Testimony cited the need for the proposed Metro Rail System. While it would not have a specific service impact on the South Central Los Angeles area, it would provide thousands of jobs during the decade required for construction. It was suggested that SCRTD could best provide service by looking forward rather than resting on past accomplishments.

### Education

The McCone Commission found widespread inequalities between schools in advantaged and disadvantaged areas. This was true with respect to teacher qualifications, double sessions to ease overcrowding, cafeteria and library facilities, and course offerings for academically talented students. Low achievement in the South Central area was blamed on these and other factors, such as environmental differences, increased enrollment, high population mobility, disciplinary problems, threats to personal security, and lack of pre-school training.

In order to close the gap, the McCone Commission made two recommendations. The first was the designation as "Emergency Schools" of those elementary and junior high schools in disadvantaged areas which had achievement levels significantly below the City average. Included in this would be an emergency literacy program, in classes reduced to a maximum of 22 students. Additional support personnel would provide other special services as needed. The second recommendation was the establishment of a permanent pre-school program to provide education beginning at age three. This would include a special focus on language skills.

It was stated that despite an infusion of government funding for the South Central area under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the problems persist today. The funding was inadequate compared to the need.

Another persistent problem is staffing. Several hundred classrooms in South Central Los Angeles are staffed by substitutes, and there is a chronic shortage of Math and Science teachers. According to the testimony by the Los Angeles Unified School District, the problem is exacerbated by Federal personnel regulations that inhibit the ability of the District to transfer teachers to areas of greatest need. A "Hard to Staff Schools Program"

involving incentive pay was implemented in the Summer of 1984 with the concurrence of the major union, United Teachers of Los Angeles. All schools were staffed for the current year.

Certain presenters testified that student achievement is hampered by the belief of many teachers that poor and minority children lack academic ability. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy despite substantial and mounting research evidence that virtually all children are educable. The research indicates that success hinges on the beliefs of all participants: teachers, administrators, parents, and the students themselves.

Testimony presented at the hearing by Mr. Phillip Jordan, Superintendent of District C, Los Angeles Unified School District, which includes the Watts area, is another refutation of the long-standing belief that academic achievement is directly correlated with socio-economic status and home environment. Mr. Jordan's statement shows that substantial improvement in academic achievement can and does occur despite the multiple disadvantages faced by students in the South Central area. A student population 61 percent Black, 34 percent Hispanic and overwhelmingly poor, has demonstrated in three years that schools do make a difference and that school policies and programs can lead to higher educational achievement, regardless of family background or socio-economic status.

### Summary

Although many presenters acknowledged the progress that has been made regarding the issues mentioned in the McCone Commission Report, testimony before the Human Relations Commissions reflected many feelings of hopelessness, despair, and disenchantment. There was a strong feeling, and considerable evidence, that the policy changes needed in both the public and private sectors have not been achieved and continue to be major obstacles to improvement in the South Central area. Further, many believe that Federal, State, and local budget cuts will continue to affect social welfare and other needed programs in a negative manner.

Even though the intended emphasis of this hearing was on solutions, not surprisingly much of the testimony tended to focus on existing problems, which for the most part are substantially the same as those in 1965. Then, as now, solutions are neither simple nor without massive costs. They demand the full cooperation and dedication of the total community, both the government and private sectors.

## Findings

The following findings of the Los Angeles County and Los Angeles City Human Relations Commissions are based on the testimony presented at this hearing and in supporting documents. In some cases, specific and detailed information was presented to support assertions and conclusions of the speakers. In other cases, the presentations were anecdotal or summarized the opinions and feelings of limited segments of the South Central Los Angeles community. The Commissions have found that perceptions are often as important as facts, however, and they have been treated as such in the assessment below.

1. We find that the greatest progress since 1965 has been made in Transportation.

A. The McCone Commission called for a public subsidy to give Southern California Rapid Transit District (SCRTD) financial ability to provide an adequate and reasonable bus transportation system. SCRTD now receives Federal, State, and local subsidies.

B. The Commission also urged SCRTD to acquire the existing small transportation companies. SCRTD has done so, and only eight municipal operators continue to provide fixed-route services today.

C. The third McCone suggestion, to establish transfer agreements between the various operators within the region, was accomplished in 1974.

D. The McCone Commission also called for the immediate establishment of an adequate east-west cross town service to permit efficient transportation to and from the area. In 1974 the system was designed into a grid in two sections, South Central and San Fernando Valley. This reduced the need to transfer when making intercommunity trips.

E. The proposed Metrorail system, while not necessarily having an immediate service impact on South Central Los Angeles, is perceived to be a potential source of jobs for South Central Los Angeles residents during construction.

2. We find that significant progress has been made in Health, although many critical problems remain.

A. The McCone Commission urged that a new, comprehensively equipped hospital be built in the South Central Los Angeles area. The Martin Luther King Jr. Hospital and Drew Post-Graduate Medical School were completed in 1972.

B. The Commission also urged the Los Angeles County Departments of Health and Mental Health to increase the number of facilities and services in South Central Los Angeles. The Hubert H. Humphrey Health Center was completed in 1976, and other improvements in health care delivery have been reported.

C. Despite the progress noted, South Central Los Angeles still has the highest infant mortality rate, the lowest rate of immunization, the highest incidence of communicable disease, an alarming rate of drug abuse, and the fewest doctors per capita in the County. The area leads the County in morbidity and mortality rates. The number of Black teenage pregnancies increases each year. Homicide is the primary cause of mortality among Black males in South Central Los Angeles.

3. We find that despite substantial progress Police-Community Relations and the issue of equitable law enforcement continues to be one of the most contentious and serious problems for residents of South Central Los Angeles.

A. The Board of Police Commissioners has been strengthened: it now assumes a more active role in Department management, meets once a week, and determines policy governing use of deadly force, retention of intelligence files on private citizens, review of disciplinary cases, and arrest of undocumented workers. The position of Inspector, Administration of Discipline was established in 1967, and in 1977 it was replaced by a Commission Services Coordinator to assist the Board of Police Commissioners. Nevertheless, there remains significant dissatisfaction with the performance of the Board of Police Commissioners, and sentiment for a Citizens Police Review Board still exists.

B. The Los Angeles Police Department has developed a number of programs since 1965 to address the need for non-punitive police-citizen contact and better police-citizen communication: Community Relations Officers, the Police Role in Government programs, and programs to involve the community actively in crime prevention, such as the Basic Car Plan and the Neighborhood Watch Program. In 1971 the Department decentralized, placing top command physically closer to the community. The Department indicates that human relations training is emphasized at all levels, and in 1983 a formal Community Orientation Program was initiated in the Southeast area. Despite these efforts, however, criticism of the Department in regard to communication remains.

C. The Department has made a serious effort to recruit Black and Latino sworn personnel, and there has been a significant increase since 1965. The issue of how sworn personnel are assigned throughout the City has become a matter of substantial controversy, however, with organizations such as the Los Angeles Branch of NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and South Central Organizing Committee, among others, contending that the allocation formula fails to make a sufficient distinction between crimes against property and crimes against people, to the detriment of South Central Los Angeles. The allocation formula is a source of considerable discontent.

4. We find that problems of Employment in South Central Los Angeles remain critical.

A. Despite efforts of organizations such as Chad McClellan's Chamber of Commerce Committee, the Watts Labor Community Action Committee, the Los Angeles Urban League, and the Westminster Neighborhood Association,

there now appears to be no comprehensive job training and placement center or program in the area, and coordination of existing programs is described as poor.

B. Plant closures and the disappearance of jobs in heavy manufacturing have made a major impact on South Central Los Angeles, whose residents are least able to avail themselves of the high tech, light manufacturing, defense, and service jobs that may replace many of the low-skilled and semi-skilled jobs previously available.

C. The California State Department of Fair Employment and Housing ensures employers' adherence to non-discrimination regulations, but they no longer maintain an office in South Central Los Angeles, and the effectiveness of their work in promoting affirmative minority hiring is unclear.

5. We find that problems of Welfare and Social Services remain critical.

Poverty is becoming increasingly feminized: nearly one-third of all households with children in South Central Los Angeles are headed by women. The Federal program for Targeted Jobs, Tax Credits, which is designed to offer private sector employers a tax credit for hiring welfare recipients, does not appear to be working. Reduction in Federal funds for welfare and social services has had a disproportionate negative impact on the level and quality of life in the South Central area.

6. We find that problems of Education remain critical and may be growing worse.

A. The McCone Commission recommended that elementary and junior high schools with achievement levels below the average for the Los Angeles Unified School District be designated "Emergency Schools," but this was not done. The Commission recommended establishment of a permanent pre-school program beginning at age three to focus on development of language skills, but this was not done.

B. Schools in South Central Los Angeles are as racially isolated today as in 1965, perhaps more so. Achievement scores remain among the poorest in the District. Parent participation is extremely low throughout the area.

C. Problems stemming from teacher shortages in the area and the use of year-round schools primarily for Blacks and Latino pupils did not exist in 1965 and were not cited by the McCone Commission.

D. The expansion of the Permits with Transportation Program (PWT) is perceived to have a deleterious effect on the schools of South Central Los Angeles, pulling needed teachers, students, and resources away from the area without having a substantial impact on district-wide desegregation.

E. The School Based Quality Assured Instructional Delivery System, developed and implemented in Region C of the District, appears to be effective but has not been utilized throughout the South Central area.

7. We find that Housing remains one of the most critical problems in South Central Los Angeles.

A. The McCone Commission urged implementation of a continuing urban rehabilitation and renewal program for South Central Los Angeles. This has not been done, and clear public housing policy for the area--Federal, State, and local--is still lacking. Affordable and desirable low-density units for lower and middle income households are not being constructed, exacerbating the continuing shortage.

B. Redlining, although declared unlawful, is still perceived as a substantial problem, as are high interest rates, rising material and labor costs, speculation, and the absence of information and education regarding available housing services.

## Recommendations

Some problems reported 19 years ago by the McCone Commission have been resolved. Many have not. In some cases, the problems are complex and difficult. In some cases, cooperation and coordination among the groups and organizations which are essential for the development of solutions have been lacking. Responsibility, accountability, and will, and their absence, seem to be at the root of many problems described in this report. The recommendations that follow attempt to overcome this difficulty. While realizing that involvement of other agencies is critical, we have focused on one key agency in each problem area.

The Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission and the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission recommend:

1. In each area where the Commissions have found serious problems in South Central Los Angeles, a key agency should be designated by the appropriate authority to review the McCone Commission Report, the Report of the Joint Task Force on South Central Los Angeles, and this hearing report on McCone Revisited in order to develop specific solutions to the problems identified, ways to implement those solutions, resources required, and a timetable for implementation, however long-range. These agencies should be designated as quickly as possible and should report back to the appointing authority by July 1985.

a. The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors should direct the County Health Department to develop a plan to reduce infant mortality, increase the rate of immunization, reduce communicable disease, reduce drug abuse, increase the number of physicians, and otherwise address the health problems of South Central Los Angeles.

b. The Mayor of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles City Council should request the Board of Police Commissioners to develop a plan, in cooperation with the Chief of Police, to improve police-community relations, police-community communication, and the current allocation or deployment formula in South Central Los Angeles. The plan should also address the issues of drug traffic and homicide in South Central Los Angeles.

c. The Board of Supervisors, Mayor, and City Council should request the Governor to direct the California State Employment Development Department to develop a plan, including legislation if necessary, to address the critical employment problems of South Central Los Angeles.

d. The Board of Supervisors should direct the County Department of Public Social Services to develop a plan, including legislation if necessary, to address the critical welfare and social services problems of South Central Los Angeles.

e. The Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education should direct the Superintendent of Schools to develop a plan to decrease racial isolation, increase achievement scores, increase parent participation, reduce teacher shortages, improve year-round schools, and otherwise address the education problems of South Central Los Angeles.

f. The Mayor and City Council should request the City Planning Commission to develop a plan, including legislation if necessary, to address the critical housing problems of South Central Los Angeles.

2. A Blue Ribbon Task Force composed of elected officials and leaders from private industry, religious institutions, and the community, should be appointed by the Governor by January 1986. This Task Force, acting with the same sense of responsibility and urgency as the McCone Commission, would evaluate responses to the preceding recommendations and the effectiveness of solutions offered, making a report to the Governor and the public.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the critical nature of the problems described in this report and the implications of continued inaction. We should not have to wait for a second Los Angeles riot to erupt to bring these problems to serious public attention.

LOS ANGELES CITY AND COUNTY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS  
PUBLIC HEARING

McCone Revisited: A Focus on Solutions to Continuing  
Problems in South Central Los Angeles  
March 28, 1984

Seminar Room, Hall of Economics and Finance, Exposition Park

9:00 - Welcome and Opening Statements - City and County Human Relations Commissions

Name	Organization/Affiliation	Topic
9:15 Ms. Judy Solkovitz <sup>1</sup>	President, United Teachers Los Angeles	Education
9:30 Rev. Hartshorn Murphy <sup>1</sup> Ms. Lorraine Watts <sup>1</sup>	Acting Chairpersons - South Central Organizing Committee	Consumerism
9:45 Mrs. Mary Henry	Director, Avalon-Carver Community Center	Health Care
10:00 Ms. Annabella Hwa	District Administrator, Department of Fair Employment and Housing	Employment
10:15 Honorable Kenneth Hahn	Supervisor, 2nd Supervisorial District	General Perspecti
10:30	B r e a k	
10:45 Mr. Mark Ridley-Thomas	Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Los Angeles	Law Enforcement
11:00 Mr. James C. Hardin	Deputy Chief Los Angeles Police Department	Law Enforcement
11:15 Mr. Robert C. Gates	Chief Deputy, County Department of Health Services	Health Care
11:30 Mr. John W. Mack	President, Los Angeles Urban League	Employment
12:00 - 1:15	L u n c h	

Name	Organization/Affiliation	Topic
1:25 Welcome/Opening Statements		
1:30 Mr. Robert Jones	Executive Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews	Summary of South Central Task Force/ Law Enforcement
1:45 Mr. John T. McDonald III <sup>2</sup>	President, Los Angeles Branch National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Law Enforcement
2:00 Honorable David Cunningham <sup>3</sup>	Councilman, Tenth District	General Perspective
2:15 Mr. Joseph F. Guerra	Assistant Director, County Department of Public Social Services	Welfare/Social Services
2:30 Mr. Albert Perdon	Assistant to the General Manager Southern California Rapid Transit District	Transportation
2:45 Mrs. Rita Walters	Member, Los Angeles City Board of Education	Education
3:10	- - - - - B r e a k - - - - -	
3:30 Mr. Sidney Thompson <sup>4</sup>	Assistant Superintendent of School Operations Los Angeles Unified School District	Education
3:45 Mr. Ted Watkins	Executive Director, Watts Labor Community Action Committee	Housing
4:00 Honorable Robert C. Farrell	Councilman, Eighth District	General Perspective
4:15 Dr. Nicelma J. King	Black Leadership Coalition on Education	Education
1 Did not appear		
2 Represented by Mr. Charles Jackson		
3 Represented by Mr. Lloyd Rakes		
4 Mr. Phil Jordan, Area Superintendent, also made		

Los Angeles City and County Human Relations Commissions

Public Hearing  
March 28, 1984

McCone Revisited: A Focus on Solutions to Continuing Problems  
in South Central Los Angeles

FIRST OPENING STATEMENT

On behalf of the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission and the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to today's hearing.

I think we should begin by saying that this event has significant implications for our two agencies. It represents the first time the City and County Human Relations Commissions have co-sponsored a hearing or project of any kind. We believe this is a most important occasion, and we look forward to continuing cooperative efforts.

Our combined work at this hearing reflects the reality that many critical human relations problems respect no geographical or political boundaries. Especially in a region such as Los Angeles, where we have larger numbers of more different peoples than any other place in the world, the problems of one group are the problems of all. The ways in which we solve, or do not solve, these problems affect our entire community.

The Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission was created in 1966. Since its inception, it has worked to assure all citizens fair and equal participation in the affairs of the City and to promote the public health, welfare, and security of its residents. Its nine members are appointed by the Mayor and approved by the City Council. In addition, the Commission is assisted by a 35-member Advisory Committee broadly representative of the religious, racial, economic, industrial, labor, and professional groups throughout the City. The Committee is organized into subcommittees, each concerned with a specific human relations problem.

The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations was initially created in 1944. It is one of the oldest human relations agencies in the United States. Fifteen Commissioners, three appointed by each member of the Board of Supervisors, establish policies and approve programs. An Executive Director, professional staff, and volunteers carry them out. The Commission's goals are to reduce and eventually eliminate racially and religiously motivated vandalism and violence, intergroup tension and conflict, discrimination, and prejudice in the entire County. Each year it develops a variety of projects designed to help achieve these goals.

This hearing is designed to provide both Commissioners and the public with information and opinion from a wide range of community leaders and experts on the topic we are addressing today. We are here to listen, to learn, and to ask questions where it might help us clarify the testimony. We look forward to the hearing and to our work together.

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SECOND OPENING STATEMENT

On behalf of the Los Angeles City and County Human Relations Commissions, I also want to welcome you to today's hearing.

In August 1965 Governor Edmund G. Brown, Sr. appointed a Blue Ribbon Commission to make an objective study of the Los Angeles riots, also known as the Watts riots, which had just shocked this community and the nation. Chairman John McCone and members of the Commission were also charged with developing recommendations for action designed to prevent a recurrence of those tragic disorders.

Unfortunately, according to a number of authoritative sources, while some of the McCone Commission recommendations have been implemented, there has been a significant lack of response to many others. As a result, there are numerous recommendations that remain partially or totally ignored, and many of the problems at the root of the Watts riots still exist today.

This hearing is designed to focus on the problems identified by the McCone Commission, provide an analysis of current problems in South Central Los Angeles, and most importantly elicit solutions for those problems and ways in which the solutions might be implemented.

Despite an increasing Latino population in the original "curfew area" of the riots, our hearing will concentrate on the Black population, as did the McCone Commission. Blacks have moved substantially beyond the curfew area in recent years, and the area we will consider today has been extended to La Cienega Boulevard on the west. Testimony will be presented on the subjects addressed in the McCone report.

Both the City and County Human Relations Commissions view this hearing as an important first step in bringing together elected and public officials, community leaders, and organizational representatives willing to work on solutions to the problems of South Central Los Angeles, which are in fact problems of our entire region.

Aside from the intrinsic value of the hearing itself, and the attention it will focus on these problems, we also plan to prepare a report based on the hearing, with findings and recommendations addressed to all levels of leadership in our community.