A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

CIVIL RIGHTS DURING
THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION,
1963–1969

Part V:
Records of the National Advisory Commission on
Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission)

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA
A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

BLACK STUDIES RESEARCH SOURCES:
Microfilms from Major Archival Manuscript Collections
August Meier and John H. Bracey, Jr.
General Editors

CIVIL RIGHTS DURING
THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION,
1963–1969

Part V:
Records of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission)

A collection from the holdings of
The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library,
Austin, Texas

Editor
Steven F. Lawson

Project Coordinated and Guide Compiled by
Robert E. Lester

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NOTE ON SOURCES

The records of the Kerner Commission are located at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas, Record Group 282, Records of Temporary Committees, Commissions, and Boards. These files document the Commission's creation and contain the working papers of its operation and preparation for the Final Report.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Executive Order #11365, establishing the Kerner Commission, provided for the publication of an Interim Report by March 1, 1968, and a Final Report by July 29, 1968. Since time was an essential factor, the Commission decided in December 1967 that the Interim and Final Reports would be issued as a single report by March 1, 1968. In this way the major conclusions and recommendations of the Commission might be applied so that a recurrence of the previous summer's disorders could be avoided in the summer of 1968.

Dr. Steven F. Lawson, collection editor, selected material from the voluminous holdings (219 cubic feet) that detail the Commission's investigation stages and resulting accumulated information. Reproduced are the subject [office] files of its staff—executive director, investigations director, congressional relations director, and associate director for public safety—as well as Commissioner Fred R. Harris's files, including internal reports, research obtained from consultants and government agencies, and correspondence with public officials and private citizens. Finally, the collection offers complete transcripts of the Commission's extensive hearings.
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INTRODUCTION

When President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law on August 6, 1965, many Americans considered the goals of the civil rights movement fulfilled. A year earlier, Congress had passed a comprehensive statute barring racial segregation in public accommodations, expanding federal enforcement of public school integration, and providing legal machinery to combat employment bias. Together with the suffrage law, these measures went a long way toward demolishing Jim Crowism and opening up the political system to Afro-Americans. However, jubilation over passage of these long-awaited proposals came to an abrupt end. On August 11, less than a week after President Johnson authorized the enfranchisement of thousands of southern blacks, an explosive riot in the Watts section of Los Angeles, California, shattered the sense of elation over these recent achievements.

The eruption in Watts was more destructive than any of the race riots that had broken out in several cities a year earlier. Violence during these "long, hot summers" continued throughout the rest of the 1960s, reaching a peak in 1967. That year saw rioting mainly in northern cities, most prominently Newark and Detroit, which left over ninety people dead, more than four thousand wounded, and some seventeen thousand arrested. Following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the next year, violence consumed the ghettos of over one hundred cities, including the nation's capital, leaving another forty-six killed and more than three thousand injured. Overall, from 1965 to 1968, approximately a half-million blacks in three hundred cities participated in these upheavals that resulted in fifty thousand arrests, eight thousand injuries, and more than $100 million in property damage.

These convulsions were sparked by black rage in urban ghettos chiefly in the North, though some southern cities such as Tampa, Florida, were gripped by rioting. Unlike the South where the civil rights movement had centered, in the North blacks could vote and did not encounter racial segregation by law. Instead, the rioters' complaints stemmed from a lack of real economic and political power. Their furious outbursts expressed genuine discontent with living conditions in the ghettos—slum housing, rat infestation, unemployment, police brutality, and a lack of control over local institutions. The burning and looting that accompanied these riots displayed the pent-up anger against white law enforcement officers and merchants who were perceived as the most visible agents of white exploitation in the black community. The menacing cries of "Burn Baby Burn" and "Get Whitey" replaced the soothing calls for "Black and White Together" that had originally guided the civil rights struggle.

The riots polarized white Americans and brought mixed results for blacks. One response was for federal, state, and local governments to appropriate funds and establish crash programs to alleviate some of the grievances highlighted by the bloody uprisings. More commonly, however, white officials and their constituents advocated tough measures to repress the rioters, who were seen as common criminals and not as freedom fighters. The force of this white backlash helped propel the segregationist governor of Alabama, George Wallace, as a serious presidential candidate and contributed to the election of the conservative Richard Nixon to the White House in 1968. In the political arena, the advocates of "Law and Order" triumphed over the proponents of "Equality and Justice," and a crucial phase of the civil rights era ended.

During this turbulent period, the Johnson administration mirrored the conflicts within the electorate. On the one hand, the president remained sympathetic to the traditional goals of the civil rights movement and understood the continuing frustration felt by impoverished blacks. His War on Poverty programs attempted to address their despair. Furthermore, in 1968, Johnson succeeded in obtaining from a hesitant Congress a major civil rights law dealing with equal access to housing. On the other hand, the chief executive felt betrayed by the rioters, took offense at their lack of gratitude for what
he had accomplished in his Great Society, and became embittered with black leaders like Dr. King, who criticized his programs for not going far enough. Preoccupied emotionally with and drained financially by the Vietnam War, Johnson lacked both the energy and resources to fight a full-scale war against poverty and the remnants of racial discrimination at home.

The creation of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders on July 27, 1967, underscored Johnson's dilemma. Chaired by Otto Kerner, Democratic governor of Illinois, this eleven-member, bipartisan panel conducted a detailed investigation into the riots and issued its far-reaching report on March 1, 1968. The findings were grim. Even after more than a decade of civil rights and economic reform, the Kerner Commission concluded, the United States was “moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” The committee blamed the riots on the wretched conditions in which blacks were forced to live in the ghettos and on the white racism that perpetuated them. To remedy this situation, the Kerner Commission recommended a massive and costly governmental assault on unemployment, poor housing, and poverty.

Neither the president, who was entering his final year in office, nor his growing conservative opposition was interested in waging such a struggle. Johnson ignored his committee's suggestions, and those riding the crest of the white backlash denounced them. The latter dismissed the conclusions of the Commission as the product of “bleeding heart liberals,” and instead blamed the instigation of the riots on criminals, Communists, and black nationalists. Rather than embracing sweeping social programs that would coddle lawbreakers, they proposed harsher penalties for perpetrators of violence.

Although the recommendations of the Kerner Commission generally went unheeded in a hostile political climate, its investigation holds great significance for historians, sociologists, political scientists, and students of public policy. The agency's hearings furnish a rich source of data related to social and economic conditions existing in American cities in the 1960s. The panel took testimony from over 130 witnesses during twenty days of questioning and heard the views of federal, state, and local officials as well as civil rights leaders, ghetto residents, business and labor leaders, and scholars. Its professional staff conducted intensive field surveys of twenty-three cities and drew riot profiles of ten disorders. The abundant records of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that are housed in the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library offer striking accounts of these major racial crises. Over 30,000 pages from this extensive collection have been microfilmed and contain transcripts of hearings, task force and consultant reports, staff files, and correspondence.

This material will help reconstruct the struggle of ordinary Americans who desperately sought to transform the quality of their lives. At the same time, it will aid in understanding the varied responses of public officials who had to cope with these violent confrontations. In addition to detailed information on the inner-city conditions that sparked the disorders, this archival collection reveals the day-to-day chronology of the riots, the amount of violence and destruction, reaction by police and National Guard units, and community attitudes toward the rioters. These documents vividly portray the growth of radicalism in the black freedom struggle, the changing contours of race relations in the 1960s, and the consequences for the future.

Two decades later, the work of the Kerner Commission still has relevance for a society that continues to face virtually the same problems in its inner cities. What the Commission so eloquently stated then ought to be remembered today: “This nation will deserve neither safety nor progress unless it can demonstrate the wisdom and the will to undertake decisive action against the root causes of racial disorder.”

Steven F. Lawson, Editor
National Humanities Center
Research Triangle Park, North Carolina
SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Records of the National Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) includes transcripts and background material of Commission meetings and Commission and staff subject [office] files. The addenda includes a copy of the Final Report, copies of Army After Action Reports, and previously restricted material from the Office of Investigations—City Files on Detroit. The materials reproduced in this micropublication are classified by series numbers and series titles assigned by the Commission. Listed below are descriptions of the records reproduced. Unless otherwise noted, each series is arranged alphabetically by subject.

Commission Meetings [Series 1]. Transcripts, agendas, proceedings, statements of witnesses, and lists of participants. [Arranged by date of hearing.]

General Counsel and Public Safety Hearings [Series 4]. Testimony of David W. Hardy, Plainfield, New Jersey, and of police and public safety departments of Charlotte, North Carolina; Boston, Massachusetts; Kansas City, Missouri; Los Angeles and Oakland, California; and Cincinnati, Ohio. [Arranged by date of hearing.]

Memoranda and Attachments Sent to the Commission [Series 5]. Reports, statements, articles, and excerpts from Commission testimony on civil disorders, the ghetto, racism, and legislation responding to these issues, from President Johnson, senators, and government officials. [Arranged by date of transmittal.]

Government Agencies Publications [Series 19]. Reports and research studies on Negroes. [Arranged topically by agency.]

Subject Files of the Director of Investigations [Series 20]. Files of Milan C. Miskorsky: reports, correspondence, statistical data, and press items on civil disorders; also material on congressional investigations into civil disorders.

Subject Files of the Associate Director for Public Safety [Series 21]. Files of Arnold Sagalyn: statements and studies on control of civil disorders and police-community relations; in addition, correspondence, supplemented by reports, regarding Commission findings, statistical data, and a list of the Public Safety File headings.

Selected Substantive Letters Received by the Commission before Publication of the Final Report [Series 29]. Letters of particular interest to Commission, containing substantive statements and suggestions on civil disorder problems from state and local officials, business leaders, religious leaders, and general public.

Letters Received After the Publication of the Final Report [Series 30]. Letters expressing reactions to conclusions reached by Commission in Final Report. [No internal arrangement.]

Data Relating to the Commission Hearings [Series 31]. Material from the Office of the General Counsel relating to Commission meetings, i.e., participants, agenda, prospective witnesses, draft statements of witnesses, and correspondence and memoranda with government officials and witnesses. [Arranged numerically.]

Reading Files of Various Commission Officials [Series 37]. Correspondence and memoranda from Central Files and Office Files of General Counsel. [Arranged alphabetically by name of official.]
General Subject File of the Office of Information [Series 39]. Files of Alvin A. Spivak, director: correspondence and memoranda of Commission staff with congressmen, business leaders, and consultants.

Administration of Justice: Files of Henry B. Taliaferro [Series 43]. Subject files of the Office of Congressional Relations director: reports, memoranda, and studies on cities, poverty, and revolutionary movements; and Commission correspondence regarding administration of justice, public safety, and riots.

Files of Commissioner (Senator) Fred R. Harris [Series 44]. Discussion papers, research studies, correspondence, and reports regarding civil disturbances.

Subject Files of the Office of the Executive Director [Series 46]. Files of David Ginsburg: correspondence, reports, recommendations, and studies on various problems before Commission; as well as correspondence, memoranda, and reports from Commission consultants and statements from government, labor, and university officials.

Subject Files of the Special Assistant to the Executive Director [Series 47]. Files of David L. Chambers: Commission correspondence and memoranda on Final Report; also on city analyses, rent supplements, and youth.

Subject Files of the Deputy Executive Director [Series 48]. Files of Victor H. Palmieri: reports and statements on civil disorders, statistical data, and Commission correspondence.

Subject Files of the Special Assistant to the Deputy Executive Director [Series 49]. Files of John A. Kurzman: draft history of Commission, notes on Commission organization and task forces, and correspondence and memoranda with advisers, consultants, and Commission members.

Research Studies of Other Government Agencies [Series 51]. Reports and statistical data prepared for government agencies, various commissions, and task forces, and used as research material by the Commission. [No internal arrangement.]

Subject Files of Robert Conot [Series 59]. Summaries of field team interviews with community leaders, local officials, and residents; in addition, final city profiles, correspondence, and memoranda regarding civil disorders in various cities. [Arranged alphabetically by city.]

Files of Howard Margolis [Series 60]. Correspondence, memoranda, and reports on the Interim Report and analyses of civil disturbances in various cities.

Addenda. Final Report, Data on Department of the Army, and Office of Investigations—City Files on Detroit. [Described below.]


The Data on the Department of the Army [Series 23]. Army report on Negro participation in Army reserves and After Action Reports and Army Information Briefs on civil disturbances throughout the continental U.S. [No internal arrangement.]

The Office of Investigations—City Files [Series 4]. Box 22 regarding the Detroit riots has been opened for research use. The remainder of the Office of Investigation—City Files is still restricted. These files were closed [embargoed] by the Commission due to their private nature and were listed as administratively classified by various city police departments and by the federal government. [No internal arrangement.]
ACRONYM LIST

The following acronyms and abbreviations are used frequently in this micropublication and are reproduced here for the convenience of the user.

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<td>ACLU</td>
<td>American Civil Liberties Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFL-CIO</td>
<td>American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>AID</td>
<td>Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONUS</td>
<td>Continental United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>CORE</td>
<td>Congress of Racial Equality</td>
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<td>DOD</td>
<td>Department of Defense</td>
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<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation</td>
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<tr>
<td>FCC</td>
<td>Federal Communications Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>HEW</td>
<td>Department of Health, Education, and Welfare</td>
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<td>HUAC</td>
<td>House Un-American Activities Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUD</td>
<td>Housing and Urban Development [Department of]</td>
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<tr>
<td>IACP</td>
<td>International Association of Chiefs of Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERPOL</td>
<td>International Criminal Police Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.S.</td>
<td>Independent School</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAACP</td>
<td>National Association for the Advancement of Colored People</td>
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<td>OEO</td>
<td>Office of Economic Opportunity</td>
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<td>SCLC</td>
<td>Southern Christian Leadership Conference</td>
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The following is a guide to the documents found in this micropublication. The four-digit frame number on the left side of the page under the heading "Document Frame #" represents where in the microfilm each document begins. File folder titles and the box number from which the material was filmed are indicated by bold lettering. To provide further identification of certain types of documents for the researcher, frame numbers and identifying material have been indented under the document name. Instances where this occurs are the transcripts in Series 1, the city analyses reports in Series 47, and the field team interviews in Series 59. Listed in the transcripts are the names of individuals or groups providing testimony, statements, and memoranda before the Commission and their affiliation. In the City Analyses reports, UPA has listed each of the cities involved, the date of the analysis, and the date of the report. The field team interviews of various community leaders, local officials, and residents are found in the Subject Files of Robert Conot. UPA has listed the individual or group, their title, and, when possible, the date of the interview.

While undated documents are indicated by n.d., in Series 1, which is divided by meeting dates, dates are only provided for documents not generated at that particular meeting. "Commission" always refers to the Kerner Commission, and its interchangeable use of the terms meeting and hearing is reflected throughout this micropublication.

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Statement of James Q. Wilson, government professor, Harvard University, and police-community consultant to Commission. 18pp.


Statement of Patrick V. Murphy, assistant director for law enforcement, Office of Law Enforcement, Justice Department. 9pp.
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0002 Transcript of Proceedings cont. 121 pp.
0063 Statement of Thomas J. Whelan, mayor of Jersey City. 32 pp.
0095 Statement of Theodore B. McKeldin, mayor of Baltimore. 27 pp.
0123 Corrected pages to Transcript of Proceedings. 9 pp.

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0133 Transcript of Proceedings. 219 pp.
0137 Statement of Dr. Herbert J. Gans, senior research sociologist, Center for Urban Education. 20 pp.
0157 Statement of William L. Taylor, staff director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and formerly staff attorney for NAACP. 17 pp.
0174 Statement of M. Carl Holman, deputy staff director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. 11 pp.
0263 Statement of Paul Shrade, director, Western Region 6, United Auto Workers, and member of Executive Board, United Auto Workers. 11 pp.
0274 Statement of Marian Wright, legal director, Office of NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in Jackson, Mississippi. 11 pp.
0285 Open discussion between Commission members and various witnesses. 67 pp.

0352 Corrected pages to Transcript of Proceedings. 6 pp.

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0359 Transcript of Proceedings. 221 pp.
0378 Statement of Stanley H. Ruttenberg, assistant secretary and manpower administrator, Labor Department. 17 pp.
0395 Statement of Dr. Eli Ginzberg, professor of economics, Columbia University, and member, National Manpower Policy Task Force. 15 pp.
0410 Statement of Dr. Garth L. Mangum, professor of economics, George Washington University, and former executive director, National Commission on Technology, Automation and Manpower. 18 pp.


Statement of Alfred L. Green, executive director, New York State Division of Employment. 11 pp.


Statement of Dr. Paul Bullock, associate research economist, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles. 21 pp.

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Statement of Dewey C. Fuller, director, economic development and employment, Urban League of Greater Cincinnati. 27 pp.


Statement of W.H. Bachrach, Cincinnati mayor. 3 pp.

Statement of R.J. Campbell, assistant to city manager, Cincinnati. 2 pp.

Statement of C. Reynolds, acting director, Cincinnati Human Relations Commission. 6 pp.

Open discussion between Commission members and various witnesses. 40 pp.

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Statement of Dr. Kenneth McFarland, educator and superintendent of schools, Topeka, Kansas. 64 pp.

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0046 Statement of S.W. Yorty, Los Angeles mayor. 27pp.
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0085 Statement of Alexander Summer, former president, National Association of Real Estate Boards. 36pp.

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0221 Transcript of Proceedings. 191pp.
0222 Combined question-and-answer session between Commission's consultants and Commission staff. 190pp.

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0413 Agenda. 5pp.
0418 Memo to security police, Executive Office Building, listing attendees. October 30–November 1, 1967. 7pp.
0425 Memo: tentative hearing schedule for the first two weeks of November. October 18, 1967. 2pp.

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0448 Statement of William F. McCandless, federal co-chairman, Ozark Regional Commission. 10pp.
0458 Statement of Dr. John F. Kain, professor of economics, Harvard University. 8pp.
0466 Statement of Dr. Paul W. Persky, professor of economics, Harvard University. 2pp.
0532 Statement of Paul W. Briggs, superintendent of schools, Cleveland. 22pp.
0554 Statement of Dan W. Dodson, director, Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University. 32pp.
0620 Statement of Dr. Mario D. Fantini, program officer, Division of Public Education, Ford Foundation, New York City. 17pp.
0637 Statement of Harold Oostdyck, director, New York Urban League Street Academy, New York City. 10pp.

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0686 Statement of Gerald W. Christenson, executive director of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity (accompanied by E. Lester Levine, director of research, President's Council on Youth Opportunity; Bruce Terris, member of President's Council on Youth Opportunity; and John Stewart, assistant to vice-president). 60pp.
0746 Statement of Mark Battle, administrator, Bureau of Work Programs, Labor Department. 26pp.
0859 Statement of Earl Johnson, Jr., director, Legal Services Program, OEO. 16pp.

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0927 Memo to security police, Executive Office Building, listing attendees. November 6, 1967. 5pp.
0932 Transcript of Proceedings.
0936 Statement of Dr. Hyman Rodman, sociologist, Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit. 12pp.
0944 Statement of Dr. John Mogey, professor of sociology, Boston University. 20pp.
0964 Statement of Dr. Elliot Liebow, acting chief, Special Projects Section, Mental Health Study Center, National Institute of Mental Health. 10pp.

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0034 Statement of Leon Atchison, administrative assistant to Congressman John Conyers, Jr. 26pp.
0062 Statement of Cyrus R. Vance, president's special representative in Detroit, member, Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, and former deputy secretary of defense. 4pp.
Statement of Thomas R. Sheridan, chairman, American Bar Association Committee on Administration of Justice during Disorders. 18pp.

Statement of Stephen J. Pollak, special assistant to attorney general. 12pp.

Statement of Ronald L. Goldfarb, consultant to Commission on administration of justice. 13pp.

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0225 Combined question-and-answer session between Arnold Sagalyn, associate director, Public Safety, National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders; John Ingersoll, chief of police, Charlotte, North Carolina; Edward McNamara, commissioner of police, Boston; Clarence Kelley, chief of police, Kansas City, Missouri; Charles Gain, chief of police, Oakland, California; and Henry Sandman, director, Public Safety Department, Cincinnati. 212pp.

Public Safety Hearing, November 2, 1967
0438 Transcript of Proceedings. 183pp.
0440 Combined question-and-answer session between Arnold Sagalyn, associate director, Public Safety, National Advisory Commission in Civil Disorders; John Ingersoll, chief of police, Charlotte, North Carolina; Edward McNamara, commissioner of police, Boston; Clarence Kelley, chief of police, Kansas City, Missouri; Charles Gain, chief of police, Oakland, California; Henry Sandman, director, Public Safety Department, Cincinnati; and Thomas Redden, chief, Department of Police, Los Angeles. 162pp.
0600 Testimony of Major General George Gelston, adjutant general, Maryland National Guard. 20pp.

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0623 Memo on excerpt from newsletter circulated by Senator Ernest Hollings regarding riots. August 12. 3pp.
0735 Memo on congressional relations and activities. August 21. 6pp.
0753 Memo from Middlesex County Economic Opportunities Corporation (New Jersey). August 29. 2pp.
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0026 Memo transmitting article on Commission functions. October 5, 1967. 1p.


0054 Memo: tracing riots to source. October 6. 3pp.


0059 Memo listing witnesses having appeared before Commission to date. October 9. 7pp.


0108 Memo on Commission’s work program and schedule of hearings. October 15. 10pp.


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0274 Summary of current Commission research programs. October 31. 29pp.

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0303 Address by Warren Christopher, deputy attorney general, at Rice University, Houston, Texas, regarding disturbances. November 2. 9pp.

0312 Press release on alleged rumors that Commission will blame riots on unresponsive city governments. November 2. 2pp.

0314 Memo on Commission members’ visits to cities under study. November 2. 1p.


0394 Summary of October 27 meeting of survey research scientists active in study of Negro-white attitudes. November 7. 9pp.


0531 Press release on November 9 Commission meeting. n.d. 1p.


0599 Memo on Joseph Alsop article discussing black power organizations. December 1. 3pp.

0602 Memo on system devised to index and digest transcripts of meetings. December 1. 3pp.

0605 Memo on staff-prepared chronologies of disorders in Milwaukee (Wisconsin), Dayton (Ohio), Rockford (Illinois), New Brunswick (New Jersey), and Elizabeth (New Jersey). December 3. 85pp.

0690 Memo on Bayard Rustin's article: "The Lessons of the Long, Hot Summer." December 5. 9pp.


0709 Memo transmitting material for Commission use. December 12. 1p.

0710 Memo on research materials prepared for Commission by private institutions. December 13. 8pp.


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0792 Press release on irresponsible and inaccurate press reports and reporting. December 29. 1p.

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0366 Press release and excerpts from Commission testimonies of Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College; Rev. James Groppi, civil rights advocate; J. Stanley Sanders, Yale law student and Watts resident; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of SCLC; and Berkley G. Burrell, president, National Business League. January 14. 48pp.
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0414 House Special Subcommittee report to inquire into National Guard’s capability to cope with civil disturbances. January 15. 19pp.


0529 Press release and excerpts from Commission testimonies of Kenneth M. Wright, vice president and chief economist, Life Insurance Association of America; Alexander Summer, former president, National Association of Real Estate Boards; Harold Howe II, commissioner of education; Dr. Paul W. Briggs, Cleveland school superintendent; Dr. Dan W. Dodson, director, Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University; and Harold Oostdyck, director, Education Department, New York Urban League. January 26. 68pp.


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0715 Memo on attorney general’s letter offering his views on interstate compacts for sharing National Guard troops during civil disorders. February 1. 7pp.

0722 Memo on Commission’s February meeting schedule. February 1. 1p.

0723 Memo on comments and news release by I.W. Abel on employment, education, and welfare programs sections of revised draft of January 29. February 9. 18pp.

0741 Memo on sample attitude survey by Johns Hopkins University social scientists to be sent to fifteen mayors nationwide. February 3. 2pp.

0743 Press release and excerpts from Commission testimony on problem of black migration from rural to urban areas as a factor in recent civil disorders. February 4. 30pp.


0774 Press release on Commission recommendations to Justice Department and FCC with respect to police communications during civil disorders. February 7. 5pp.

0779 Secretary of defense letter regarding military recruiting efforts in poverty-stricken areas of cities. February 10. 2pp.


0782 Mayor Lindsay’s summary draft report of Commission activities. February. 13pp.

0795 Memo on comments from Labor Department, HEW, and HUD on Commission’s employment, education, welfare, and housing program proposals. February 12. 14pp.

0809 Memo on Final Report’s program recommendation chapters. February 12. 1p.

0810 Memo on Commission’s tax incentive proposals for manpower training and Treasury Department. February 15. 13pp.
Remarks of Stanley S. Surrey, assistant secretary of the treasury, before Financial Executives Institute, Dallas, Texas, regarding taxes and the federal budget. February 14. 16pp.

Memo transmitting materials. February 22. 1p.

Memo on proposed summary draft to be included in Final Report. February 23. 30pp.

Memo on "sniping" in Detroit. February 29. 6pp.

Memo on various surveys and studies being continued under Commission auspices. February 29. 3pp.

Telegram from Commission complaining of inaccuracies in draft copy of Bantam book on Commission work. March 5. 1p.


Memo on letter and telegram exchange between Congressman Albert Watson and Governor Otto Kerner, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Governor Otto Kerner regarding Final Report and Commission work. March 11. 7pp.


Report: "The Negroes in the U.S.: Their Economic and Social Situation." June 1966. 238pp. [Note: the frame numbers between 0375 and 0385 have not been used; there is no material missing.]


Correspondence from Kilsoo Haan regarding his fears of international conspiracy and the Korean underground movement. December 4, 1967. 5pp.

Memo: questions which Commission may have to answer regarding possible conspiracy. February 29, 1968. 25pp.


Chronology of high school incidents. n.d. 5pp.

High School Incidents—Philadelphia


Investigations—House of Representatives


Investigations—Senate


0712 Memos, news clippings, and wire service reports: McClellan Committee hearings on riots in Houston and at Texas Southern University. November 1967. 29pp.

0741 News clippings and wire service reports: McClellan Committee’s “conspiracy search.” October–November 1967. 3pp.


0750 McClellan questionnaire sent to various police departments. June 1966. 1p.

0751 Memo: Commission’s interest in the riot chronologies compiled by the McClellan Committee. October 31, 1967. 1p.


0757 Correspondence acknowledging support of public and private organizations and individuals. March 1968. 2pp.

0759 Memo on Office of Investigations studies being continued under Commission auspices. March 1, 1968. 1p.


Review of flow charts on level of violence and level of law enforcement response. February 8, 1968. 2pp.


List of informal private-sector contacts to be made by Commission. n.d. 2pp.

Correspondence on and to private institutions and groups by Commission for public relations. December 18, 1967. 7pp.


Files on property damage compiled by Detroit and Newark, New Jersey, police and fire departments. December 15, 1967. 52pp.


Memo transmitting an article on weapons theft from armories in Plainfield, New Jersey, area. December 6, 1967. 2pp.

Memo defining “white armist” as one who advocates use of arms to prevent Negro intrusion into “white domain.” December 1, 1967. 1p.


Wire service report: Senate investigators believe guns are being stockpiled for future use. November 18, 1967. 1p.


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Subject Files of the Associate Director for Public Safety [Series 21]

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Loose Material Filed, 4/8/87

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0018 Outline of reduction of crime objectives. n.d. 8pp.
0026 List of public safety section file headings. n.d. 2pp.

Comments on the Public Safety Sections of the Final Report
0028 State University of New York [SUNY], Buffalo, on police-community relations. February 17, 1968. 7pp.
0039 University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison, on police-community relations in Harlem. February 21, 1968. 2pp.
0041 Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, Justice Department, on police-community relations. February 21, 1968. 2pp.
0043 Center for Research on Social Organization, University of Michigan, on police-community relations. February 15, 1968. 6pp.
0073 Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on police role in civil disorder prevention. December 26, 1967. 3pp.
0086 Police Grants Department, Justice Department, on police role in civil disorder prevention. n.d. 2pp.
0097 Analysis of police-community relations and police role in civil disorders prevention in 23 cities. n.d. 5pp.

List: major discrepancies between McClellan Committee's chart on riots and Commission's. n.d. 1p.

Memo on disturbances' seriousness. n.d. 3pp.

List and memo on analysis of numbers injured or killed during civil disorders. n.d. 7pp.


Correspondence: public access to emergency community agencies, and problems with telephone use to secure emergency assistance. October–December 1967. 10pp.


Office of Civil Defense, Department of the Army, letter concerning use of civil defense system to deal with civil disorders. October 24, 1967. 10pp.


Comments: riots' seriousness. n.d. 3pp.

Correspondence: proposed Physiological Crowd Control System. November 21, 1967. 9pp.


Comments by Office of the Mayor, New York City, on fire fighting and riots. November 1, 1967. 27pp.


Summaries of special riot fire problems as collected by National Fire Protection Association. n.d. 6pp.


Memos: police establishments of West Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom, and riot control efforts of foreign police departments. February 9, 1968. 14pp.


List of disorders not studied by Commission and comments on McClellan Committee civil disorders chart. n.d. 5pp.

Correspondence with NAACP on Commission’s task. September 6, 1967. 2pp.


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0014  Outline and analysis of threat posed by radicals. n.d. 10pp.
0062  Senate bill, S. 2545, regarding assurance to small business concerns of opportunity of obtaining insurance against property losses resulting from crimes and civil disorders. October 17, 1967. 9pp.
0071  Article on Disaster Research Center, Ohio State University, Columbus, and Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. n.d. 4pp.
0098  Press release announcing that Justice Department will hold training conferences for city officials on civil disturbance prevention and control. November 1, 1967. 2pp.

Control—Ingersoll, John E. [Chief]

Control—Legal Problems
0101  House amendment, H.R. 421, to amend title 18 of U.S. Code to prohibit travel or use of any facility in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to incite a riot or other violent civil disturbance. October 2, 1967. 10pp.
0111  Memo: views of Justice Department on interstate compacts for sharing National Guard troops during disorders and state riot laws. February 1, 1967. 18pp.
0158  Correspondence with Justice Department regarding civil disorders legislation. October 1967. 2pp.
0165  American Bar Association recommendations based on findings of its Committee on Criminal Law Problems in Civil Disorders. February 18, 1968. 11pp.

Control—National Guard
0176  Special subcommittee of House Armed Services Committee report inquiring into National Guard’s ability to cope with civil disturbances. December 18, 1967. 18pp.
0232 Memo: National Guard mobilizations in civil disturbances since World War II. n.d. 10pp.
0243 Address list of National Guard adjutant generals. n.d. 1p.
0244 Article: military solution to revolt in our cities. 1968. 2pp.
0249 Memos on New Jersey National Guard Experiment. February 9, 1968. 2pp.
0251 Correspondence regarding National Guard use and operational employment to control civil disturbances. December 1967–January 1968. 5pp.
0256 Wire service report on Defense Secretary McNamara’s decision to increase National Guard and Army Reserve strength in order to provide troops for riot control. November 6, 1967. 1p.

Control—Police Department
0264 Comparison of salaries and promotions between federal government and average police department. n.d. 2pp.
0278 Special orders issued by District of Columbia’s Metropolitan Police Department including police department’s protection plan, arrest procedures, communications arrangements, and distribution of personnel in connection with National Committee to End the War in Viet Nam demonstration. October 1967. 52pp.
0380 Outline: proposed control of demonstrations. n.d. 4pp.
0402 Memo: connection of Detroit police strike and July disorders. n.d. 2pp.
0404 Article: escalation of violence. n.d. 6pp.
0413 Address by Deputy Attorney General Warren Christopher at Rice University, Houston, regarding past summer’s domestic violence. November 2, 1967. 9pp.
0422 Howard Zinn, Boston University, letter stating Commission’s aim should not center around only civil disorder control. November 4, 1967. 2pp.
0426 Letter transmitting material on Detroit riot and reconstruction program. October 25, 1967. 2pp.


Check list of thoughts on police and National Guard topics to be included in Interim Report. November 9, 1967. 11pp.


Letter concerning Detroit Police Department actions during July civil disturbances. October 20, 1967. 5pp.


Memo: emphasis on community relations by Chicago Police Department. n.d. 3pp.

Memos: sniping incidents listed by cities. n.d. 16pp.

Memo: times of day civil disturbances began in various cities. n.d. 1p.

Memo: weapons used by police in Riot of 1863. n.d. 1p.

Memo: fire control discipline. n.d. 1p.

Memo: computation of police officers per population. n.d. 1p.


List of evening shift patrolmen in various cities. n.d. 3pp.


Chronology of and police reactions to Detroit riot events. n.d. 4pp.

Survey of 23 cities where National Guard was called in and tear gas was used. n.d. 1p.


Memo on use and characteristics of chemical agents, particularly CS (tear gas), in civil disorder control. February 28, 1968. 5pp.


News clippings: police use of "tank-like" personnel carriers, a dysentery device, and gas for riot control. August, September, and December 1967. 3pp.


Police-Community Relations

Manuals on riot control. [The bodies of these manuals were removed and were not replaced by Commission.] n.d. 2pp.

Memo: nature of aggressive preventive patrol from police standpoint. n.d. 1p.


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Remarks (proposed testimony) of Mr. Andreotti before Commission. n.d. 8pp.


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Title page from report entitled “Notes and Comments: Program Budgeting for Police Departments.” March 1967. 1p.
0821 Materials on ACLU activities during Newark and Seattle riots and urban riots, and on ACLU's role. October 20, 1967. 22pp.
0930 Article by Martin Luther King, Jr., on Watts riots. November 13, 1965. 3pp.
0933 Consultants memo: scope, understanding, and available resources to be used in Commission's report on police-community relations. October 13, 1967. 6pp.
0994 Letter transmitting information on St. Louis Police Department and its handling of civil disturbances. December 4, 1967. 5pp.
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0035 List: Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, Justice Department, police-community relations projects. n.d. 1p.


0106 Sample questions pertaining to ghetto residents' grievances. November 1, 1967. 1p.

0107 Check list for police in preventing civil disorders. October 20, 1967. 7pp.

0114 Material on police patrol structure and training. November 1967. 3pp.

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0236 Senate hearing on Kraft Attitude Survey of Harlem and Watts. n.d. 48pp.

**Police-Community Relations: Reiss, Albert J., Jr.**


**Police-Community Relations: Remington, Frank J.**


**Police-Community Relations: Ruth, Henry S., Jr.**

0348 Letter: comments on police-community relations and systematic evaluation of programs and techniques. October 20, 1967. 7pp.

**Police-Community Relations: Schwartz, Herman**


**Police-Community Relations: Strecher, Victor G.**


**Police-Community Relations: Wasserman, Robert**

0476 Memo on draft outline to be used by Michigan State University in preparing their report for President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. October 16, 1967. 3pp.

Police-Community Relations: Wilson, James Q.

International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) Survey
0513 Correspondence regarding IACP assistance in determining capabilities of state, county, and local law enforcement agencies to prevent and control civil disorders. October–November 1967. 20pp.

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0533 Correspondence with public: need for and development of assistance programs. August–September 1967. 11pp.

Business Community
0544 Correspondence with Negro businessmen: civil disorders and their prevention. September 1967. 9pp.

Communications, Mass

Crime
0570 Correspondence: relationship of juvenile court system to civil disorders. August–October 1967. 5pp.

Education
0575 Correspondence with public: education and proposed solutions to problem of "underachievers" and juvenile delinquency. 1967. 20pp.
0595 Proposal to Philadelphia Board of Education to consider a dynamic and revolutionary plan to help "underachievers." May 22, 1967. 8pp.
0616 Correspondence with public: riots and education. August–September 1967. 10pp.

Employment
0645 Letter transmitting article: "If You Are a Negro—How to Become Employed." October 18, 1967. 11pp.
0687 Letter: concerning poverty, living conditions of the poor, and a proposal for providing adequate employment and housing for Negro population. August 9, 1967. 6pp.
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<td>Letter from National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice announcing that the theme of their annual conference will be the “Catholic church and the urban racial crisis.” August 11, 1967. 4pp.</td>
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0889 Correspondence with public: use of National Guard for law enforcement. September–October 1967. 3pp.


0899 Letter regarding Michigan National Guard as “white only” organization. September 12, 1967. 3pp.


0908 Correspondence from public: use of National Guard for law enforcement. September 1967. 5pp.


0915 Department of the Army memo regarding National Guard training program on civil disturbances and riot control. August 7, 1967. 12pp.

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0953 Proposal to provide federal grants to city police departments to recruit and deploy auxiliary police forces called Neighborhood Peace Officers. August 2, 1967. 3pp.


0973 Memo on sniping from public housing in Newark, New Jersey. September 18, 1967. 1p.

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0974 Letter: migration from rural to urban areas as a cause of slums and urban riots. October 3, 1967. 3pp.

Poverty Area Environment

0977 Correspondence regarding grievances and ghetto situation. July and September 1967. 10pp.

0987 Letter proposing plan to remove basic causes of civil unrest and disorder in urban Negro slums. September 13, 1967. 8pp.


0999 Letter: “What has caused the black man to riot” and “what can be done to alleviate the problems.” October 5, 1967. 12pp.


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Poverty Programs


0006 Correspondence supporting assistance programs similar to those of Works Progress Administration of 1930s. September–October 1967. 10pp.


0024 Statistics on OEO poverty workers that were arrested in riots. August 1967. 3pp.

0027 Memo transmitting OEO material on Watts area and compilation of major federal programs affecting youth. August 24, 1967. 15pp.


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0062 Letter: prominent, nonmilitant black leaders should organize their communities to stop riots and help improve their communities. October 3, 1967. 3pp.


Social Pathology

0076 Correspondence: plight and alienation of poor, lack of sufficient programs to assist the poor, and the potential use of “Reality Therapy.” August–September 1967. 15pp.


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Reaction to the Commission's Report (I)

0123 Correspondence expressing approval and disapproval of Commission report. March 1968. 15pp.

Correspondence with negative view of Commission findings. March 1968. 3pp.


Correspondence with Scientific Research and Civil Rights Foundation: need to “create wealth.” March 8, 1968. 8pp.


Correspondence regarding alleged Commission conclusion that riots were caused by racism and disinterest of white community in general. March–April 1968. 26pp.


Letter transmitting press release from Rotary International on their Symposium on Youth and Law and Order. March 1, 1968. 4pp.

Correspondence condemning Commission conclusions. March 1968. 5pp.


Correspondence from public expressing both positive and negative reactions to Commission conclusions. March 1968. 9pp.

Data Relating to the Commission Hearings [Series 31]

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Report: "Power of the President to Use Troops to Deal with Disorders Arising within the States." August 7, 1967. 52pp.

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