

REPORT

on

SECOND ANNUAL SPRING CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

April 23, 1966.

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State of New Jersey

DEPARTMENT OF LAW AND PUBLIC SAFETY

DIVISION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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GEORGE S. PFAUS

DIRECTOR

ARTHUR J. SILLS
ATTORNEY GENERAL

In response to numerous requests that a report be issued on the Second Spring Conference on Civil Rights, held in Trenton on April 23, 1966, the Division on Civil Rights has prepared and printed the attached summary and synthesis. It includes the addresses of Governor Richard J. Hughes, Attorney General Arthur J. Sills, Division Director George S. Pfaus, State Commission Chairman J. Stanley Husid, and keynote speaker Roger W. Wilkins, Director of the United States Community Relations Service. Also included are syntheses of the five workshops held at the conference.

In almost any light, this year's conference must be termed as an outstanding success. Attendance soared some 300% over that for the 1965 conference, with a total of some 325 non-staff participants present. Workshop sessions were well attended, and workshop personnel were pleased with the amount of active discourse and dialogue which took place in their respective gatherings. A total of fifteen sessions were held for the five topics under examination and discussion.

The conference staff hopes that you will find as much to be gained from this report as was gained from the conference itself. Your comments in reference to it are encouraged and will be most welcome.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "George S. Pfaus".

George S. Pfaus
Director

Remarks of J. Stanley Husid
Chairman, New Jersey Commission on Civil Rights

I am particularly pleased and honored to welcome you here in behalf of the Civil Rights Commission and the State of New Jersey. As I greet you here this morning, however, I am struck by the irony of the situation that confronts us all. Here we are, and here we live in the most affluent time of the most affluent society the world has ever known, and still large segments of our population live in uncertainty, economic privation and intellectual poverty.

In the past four years, more civil rights legislation at every level of government has been discussed and made law than any other given subject, whether it be voting rights, housing, discrimination in employment -- you name it and we have it. We have emancipated our women. They're wearing our haircuts and we're wearing theirs.

In one of these areas we are running into strong resistance from the male members of our civil rights movement, and that is the replacement of the "bunnies" in the Playboy Club. We're not getting very far with that, and we hope that mission doesn't succeed too well. There is a strong movement, however, on the other hand, by the males of the Civil Rights movement to get more women lifeguards on the beaches -- and I think we might have more success there.

We have, indeed, come a long way in four years, but we're still a long way from a truly integrated society. Because, while we have enacted laws and implemented those laws, we have not, as yet, really changed community attitude. We have convinced enlightened legislators, business and industrial leaders, and labor unions that not only does morality and justice demand equal treatment for all our citizens, but, in addition, it is an economic fact of life that the cost of discrimination in any form carries with it an appalling cost to the community.

I believe it must be clearly and honestly stated that a large portion of our population today neither cares nor is totally ignorant of the magnitude of the problems within their own community...for in many instances only crisis situations bring forth interested citizens and expedient action. We of the Civil Rights Commission are deeply concerned with implementation of the laws concerning civil rights. But, I know my colleagues and myself are equally concerned with preventative action in all of our communities. The importance of municipal commissions in this role cannot be over emphasized. The involvement of an interested

local citizenry is the best guarantee of healthy community relations. We presently have 43 Municipal Civil Rights Commissions in this State. We should have 80 to 100 such commissions. Commissions represent the sounding board of our local communities. They are the most knowledgeable about conditions peculiar to their community, and are in the best position to recommend preventative and corrective action to both governmental authorities, civil rights groups, and others involved.

Many of the laws and new programs discussed earlier have, in turn, created new problems because we are no longer working in the realm of civil rights alone, but in the larger area of human rights and human relations. You will be discussing some of these problems today in workshops. As always, you will encounter frustrations and no easy solutions....but, solutions there must be. The issues are too important and too many of our citizens have already waited too long for these solutions.

Thank you for expressing your interest by being here today. I wish you a fruitful and interesting day.

Remarks of Arthur J. Sills
Attorney General of the State of New Jersey

Decades before the historic United States Supreme Court school desegregation case in 1954, the esteemed jurist, Louis D. Brandeis, said:

"If we would be guided by the light of reason
we must be let our minds be bold."

I believe the present generation of Americans has seen the light of reason, and we are steadily progressing in bold strides, toward the promise held out by our forefathers for a nation in which all men shall bask in the light of human dignity, equality and opportunity.

Within a short period of a dozen years, the tide of battle against the evils of a century of frustration and intolerance has turned sharply in the opposite direction. There has been an awakening in this country, and, where Abraham Lincoln asked for perseverance against "One or even one hundred defeats" in the cause of civil liberty, Americans today will not accept and indeed demand that the cause of civil liberty be not surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred victories.

Last year, I suggested to those who had gathered for the Annual Conference of Civil Rights Commissions that the first decade of the Civil Rights Revolution, climaxed by the passage of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, had only ushered in a new and even more challenging decade of progress. Certainly, the events since that momentous Law was passed allow me to welcome this Conference of Civil Rights Commissions on an equal and, perhaps, greater note of optimism.

Indeed, the convening of this Conference epitomizes the degree to which the struggle for equality and dignity is no longer fought in the abstract. At the highest level of government the Federal government has been a leader; and among the states New Jersey has been a leader. Now the impetus has been passed on to the grassroots level of government. New Jersey has always prided itself in enlightened government at the local level. This Conference is a demonstration of that enlightenment, for civil rights can be advanced only so far unless the major share of the burden is carried by that level of government closest to the people. It is the energy and talents of grassroots democracy which must provide the stone and mortar of meaningful and purposeful equality and human dignity.

The progress which New Jersey has made since we last met has continued to be fundamental and ever-expanding. Perhaps, the most important single occurrence was the passage last month of a Law which broadened the scope and authority of the Division on Civil Rights. The State Law Against Discrimination now covers all housing facilities, private or commercial, except the rental of one section of a two-family home in which the owner resides, or the rental of a room in a private home in which the owner resides.

While many advocates of civil rights in the past have urged the Civil Rights Division to make use of what they termed that "inherent power" of the Division to seek ancillary injunctive relief, and while the Division has, in appropriate cases, so attempted, that power has not been sufficient to effectuate the desired results because of the many technical defenses available to respondents. The ability to obtain this type of relief is greatly strengthened by the passage of A-164.

Most important, now that a vital tool has been given to the Division is to see that the tool is effectively used.

For this reason, I have taken immediate steps, in conjunction with the new statutory amendments, to provide the means for this effective enforcement. I have assigned a Deputy Attorney General, Richard Aronsohn,

who is with us today, to the position of Supervisor of Compliance. He has been given essential administrative functions and has been placed in charge of all discrimination proceedings brought by the Division. He will "ride herd" on all discrimination matters from the earliest proceedings to the highest of courts, as the case may be.

I believe the need for assigning full-time responsibilities to a Deputy Attorney General to represent the State in Civil Rights cases has been precipitated not only by the enlarged power of the Division on Civil Rights, but also by increased legal intricacies, such as the taking of depositions and the use of interrogatories, which are involved in the recent amendments.

In addition to the important changes I have heretofore mentioned, there have also been a number of significant court decisions which have, by statutory interpretation, expanded the scope of the Law Against Discrimination.

In 1965, in Frazer v. Robin Dee, the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld the Division on Civil Rights which charged the owner of a Trenton day camp with racial discrimination. In a unanimous decision, the Court ruled that the examples of places of public accommodations set forth in the Law were "merely illustrative of the accommodations the Legislature intended to be within the scope of the statute."

In February of this year, the Supreme Court ruled, unanimously, in favor of the Division's findings in a barbershop discrimination case. The Court noted further that the Board of Barber Examiners should, in the future, inquire into the willingness of each candidate for a license to cut the hair of any patron regardless of race, creed, national origin, ancestry or age.

Finally, on April 4, 1966, the Supreme Court ruled against the Clover Hill Swim Club which had denied membership to a Negro physician. The Court ruled that an enterprise which is not a distinctly private accommodation is not exempted from the public accommodation section of the Law Against Discrimination. The Court said "Clover Hill is a commercial venture operated to return a profit to its owners."

The Court also declared that:

"An establishment which by advertising or otherwise extends an invitation to the public generally is a place of public accommodation and cannot use race, creed or color as a basis for refusing to deal with those members of the public who have accepted the invitation."

As we have seen strides in the Legislature and in the Courts in expanding the scope of the Law Against Discrimination, so also have we witnessed fundamental progress in the Executive Branch of government.

Last year Governor Richard J. Hughes established the Committee on Poverty and the Law, of which I am Chairman, to survey all aspects of the Law as it relates to the poor. This is, of course, an extremely complex task which will require continued review and analysis. To date, some of the activities of the Committee and its subcommittees have included a preliminary report on the status of legal representation afforded the indigent accused and a preliminary report on the status of representation for the indigent in civil matters. The Committee has additionally engaged in an in-depth study of methods, such as the Public Defender System, to provide counsel to poor persons accused of crime.

On June 24, 1965, Governor Hughes issued Executive Order 21, "The Governor's Code on Fair Practices," the purpose of which is to insure equal employment opportunities in all agencies of State government. To implement this Code, the Governor, at a Cabinet Meeting in December of 1965, created the Interdepartmental Committee on Equal Opportunity. This Committee, of which I am also Chairman, is presently surveying all State agencies to determine whether or not there exist Patterns of Discrimination.

Finally, the most important, fundamental, and continued work being done in the Executive Branch of government is that which is performed by the Division on Civil Rights. Time does not permit me to elaborate on all its activities, but I can touch on some of the highlights.

The Division in 1965, for example, reached new highs for any comparative period in its 20-year history with the receipt of 584 discrimination complaints and the settlement of 498 cases. It also increased substantially its educational effort and this, combined with an expanded law enforcement effort, has brought the image of the Division closer to the attention of affected, interested and concerned citizens at the grassroots level.

One indication of this effort relates directly to some of you here today. During 1965, the number of Municipal Civil Rights Commissions in the State of New Jersey increased by 9; from 32 in 1964 to 41 last year.

Furthermore, in conjunction with and as a result of Titles VI and VII of the 1964 Federal Civil Rights Act, the Division has established a close working relationship with Agencies of the Federal government such as the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Department of Commerce and the U. S. Economic Opportunity Commission.

At the State level, the Division has also developed cooperative agreements with the New Jersey Departments of Health and Labor and Industry; the Real Estate Commission, and the newly created Human Relations Squad of the Division of State Police.

Related to this latter area, the Division's activities in Police-Community Relations Training during 1965 exceeded all estimates and became one of its most fundamental educational responsibilities.

Last year, 101 police training classes were offered to 4,988 police officers and the total for the first 3 months of 1966 alone has exceeded 2,000 officers receiving course offerings. The Division has also disseminated approximately 6,000 copies of the "Civil Rights Manual for Police Officers," which is devoted to the role of the local police officer relative to the Law Against Discrimination.

The Division on Civil Rights has likewise pursued an affirmative course of action affecting broad segments of the economic community. The U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has, for example, supplied funds to the Division for a comprehensive survey of employment patterns in the State's public utilities industry, an industry selected because of its size and impact on employment throughout the State. The results of this Survey, which will be available in the late summer of 1966, should provide valuable information which can serve as a guide to other studies in the field of employment discrimination.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Division on Civil Rights have been, and will continue to be, substantial; much more needs to be done, but it will not be done unless the people of New Jersey provide the essential revenues. Like almost every other State agency, the Division on Civil Rights is undermanned and, in my opinion, underpaid. But I believe the needs of the Division are more critical, because this agency, more than any other, is concerned with the rights, dignity and opportunity of a vast segment of the Economic, Social and Political fabric of this State.

We can no longer afford the luxury of false economy. New Jersey needs new revenues. It needs this money to provide many essential functions expected of a responsible and progressive government. Certainly, this money is required if there is to be continued and responsible progress in the civil rights field.

We have had, in the past, to shortchange many State functions. If, however, we continue to shortchange the Division on Civil Rights, we will be shortchanging Equality, Dignity and Opportunity. We must bring all of our citizens into the mainstream of society. To do otherwise is to pinch or sever our own arteries of progress.

The local Civil Rights Commissions of New Jersey have demonstrated their capacity to provide an essential and effective key to further solution to the greatest problem of our age. You indeed have a grave responsibility for the local implementation of rights, the changing of attitudes, the encouragement of the full use of minority economic, social and political potential, and the opening of doors of opportunity to those who serve to benefit us all.

Again, I urge you to reassert the leadership you have exhibited in the past, for the prime responsibility for fostering human equality and dignity falls upon those officials closest to the people.

Five months before his tragic death, our late and beloved President, John F. Kennedy, concluded his appeal to Congress for civil rights legislation by saying,

"(J)ustice requires us to insure the Blessings of Liberty for all Americans and their Posterity - not merely for reason of Economic Efficiency, World Diplomacy and Domestic Tranquility - but, above all, because it is right."

I believe we have taken the words and actions of John F. Kennedy as our guiding spirit. Let us get on with the task. Let us do what is right.

Remarks of Richard J. Hughes
Governor of the State of New Jersey

There can no longer be any doubt about the vigorous and growing support for the civil rights movement throughout New Jersey and throughout the country.

Our presence here today demonstrates that fact. Four years ago there were just a dozen active local civil rights commissions in New Jersey. Today there are more than forty. These statistics mean the civil rights movement has become a broadly representative movement, cutting across all New Jersey geographic, economic, social, political, and religious lines; representing cities, large and small; areas, urban and rural.

Excellent and substantial progress has been made in the past four years in advancing human rights in this State. We have moved from mere toleration to civil rights to equal opportunity in a few short years -- moved from a passive live-and-let-live philosophy to an active "help live" philosophy.

It is here that local commissions bear the greatest responsibility. Just over two weeks ago, on the occasion of the signing of the new Fair Housing Bill, I told a group that true democracy lies in the "feeling of the heart" which must accompany and sustain all human rights advancement.

In the same manner, civil rights are protected, strengthened, and made meaningful at the heart of society, which is at the community level. This is where the job hiring and promotion is done. This is where children are taken not just into the schools but accepted into the life of the community. This is where the under-privileged and the so-called non-members of our society are identifiable. This is where the administration of justice must be carried on fairly. This is where police-community relations are good or bad. This is where we can observe fair housing in practice or in denial.

Main Street, New Jersey, is the stage on which the civil rights drama is played every day of the year. It is not, therefore, idle to say that the local civil rights commission occupies a crucial place in any statewide civil rights program.

You must be active, not passive. You must be the human rights eyes and ears of your community. And you must accurately convey information to either the mayor or the governing body of your community. You cannot be apologists for inaction. You cannot be a mere sounding board for opinions. You must anticipate the human rights consequences of all public acts and policies. You must consider the human rights dimension of every public activity, no matter how small or how large.

Realistically, some human problems may never be subject to solutions satisfying everyone. On the other hand, we must not despair of achieving some harmony of group and individual interests on issues as fundamental as rights and freedoms. There can and must be accommodation of interests, but not by a loss of basic rights.

I do not expect laws to solve all our human rights problems, although they must serve as models for correct social behavior. I do not expect that laws will make people love one another, but they will make people respect one another. I do not expect civil rights laws, as such, to create new jobs or build houses or provide better teachers. But they will at least open opportunities to jobs and homes and education where those opportunities did not exist before. They will open opportunities for those kept on the outside of American life to come inside.

I believe we have now reached a new departure point in civil rights in New Jersey. It might be called the take-off point for some new programs. We have moved forward in broad social areas -- lessening discrimination

in employment, in rental and sale of housing, in training programs, in education, in accessibility of all services offered to the public. But we falter in the area of equal results. Those discriminated against want more than equal opportunity; they want and ought to get equal results. Men with comparable experience and education should receive comparable wages or salaries. A disadvantaged child should be able to emerge from school with the same potential as his classmates for a career. But, without some added attention, the disadvantaged child may still be disadvantaged when he emerges because the limitations which he brought to that opportunity prohibited him from taking full advantage of that opportunity. The discriminated against minority person is not immediately going to feel at home with new responsibilities unless he is well prepared for those responsibilities.

Civil Rights Laws, the whole gamut of anti-poverty programs, training and retraining, aid to education, all these are needed to undo the damage caused by hundreds of years of prejudice and social ostracism. These efforts are compensatory, in a sense, for damage done. We must now look to a future where equality of opportunity is accepted as natural, but where equality of results -- the quest for individual and social excellence in America -- continues.

The local civil rights commission is in a unique position to interpret this new phase of civil rights to the local community. You are, in a real sense, on the firing line. Your opportunity to serve has arrived. And in the interests of the broad ideals of freedom, equality, and opportunity, I know that you will do the job which must be done.

Keynote Address: Roger W. Wilkins
Director, U. S. Community Relations Service

I'm delighted to be here, and I'm delighted at the theme of your conference, "Hometown Homework" because I think that that's just right. That's just the theme that communities around this country; people involved in Civil Rights activities, should follow. That's the motive that should animate their actions.

I think it may be helpful if I just start out by telling you a little bit about the Community Relations Service. The Service was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It's less than two years old. Its purpose in the minds of some people I think, when we began, was to make peace in communities around the country.

A lot of people believed that the purpose of the Agency was to make peace; some people believed that it was to make peace at any price. We don't believe that that's what Congress intended. That is not the spirit and the purpose which animates our program, because any peace that is made in any community in this country at the price of the rights and freedom of any citizen is a false peace, a peace that will come back to haunt us later on. So -- our purpose is to help people in local communities develop programs and activities; to mobilize resources; to deploy organizational elements in a way that will make as effective and rapid and peaceful progress in race relations as is possible. Our goal, in a nutshell, is not peace, but justice.

One of the substantial elements in our program is work with State and local Human Relations Commissions. We decided upon this course after much debate as to the wisdom of the course, but the course was a foregone conclusion because, in the statutes, Congress told us to do it.

But, as you know, there has been, and is, a strong and lingering skepticism around this country in the hearts of minority group citizens about the validity and the value of local human relations commissions. We find ourselves in Washington in a similar position to State and local commissions. We serve as local commissions do -- as advisers on intergroup matters to other Federal agencies as they decide policies and programs, and design policies and programs which affect race relations across the country. We, as you, concern ourselves with all matters involving discriminations.

Our Field staff, as your Director and staff, serve as a channel of communication between leaders of the various racial and ethnic groups. Our agency, just as your local bodies, interprets the feeling-tones and the judgments and the notions and the ideas of people in the minority group community to the people in Washington and in other communities who make the judgments and policies by which we'll live. We, as you, reach out to encourage the private segments of our society to greater, more fruitful and more meaningful activities in this field.

And, finally, the very parallel that makes trouble for all of us, I think, is the fact that though we work with the minority group communities very closely and very carefully, we are also part of the power structure that makes the decisions, makes the judgments that so many of the people -- the Negro and the Mexican American and the American Indian communities are so skeptical about, and we spend a great deal of our time trying to balance our deep involvement in the

affairs of the minority group communities with the effectiveness that we must maintain and the leverage we must maintain for their benefit with the establishment in Washington; with my conferees in the Department of Justice; with the Labor Department; with the Department of Commerce; with the O.E.O.

We have heard from Commission Directors across the country that the problem of being in the establishment, the problem of being close to the policy makers, the problem of being involved, and identified with, and sometimes defending the policies and the decisions of the political administrations for which they worked have lessened their credibility and their effectiveness with the people in the local communities whom they are trying to serve. I don't think that this is a curse. I think it's a blessing; I think it's an opportunity for commissions and for us to better serve the people in the communities and the communities as a whole.

Now the last few years have been a phenomenal growth in the creation of new official commissions throughout the country. President Kennedy called, in 1963, for the creation of commissions all across the country. And, according to the United States Conference of Mayors, there are only 26 cities now in this country with populations of 100,000 or more which do not have official commissions; and about 45% of all cities of 30,000 population or more have established such groups.

As of last August, there were 63 cities and four counties which allocated a budget for full-time commission staffs. I am pleased to learn that here in this State there are 43 municipal civil rights commissions that are currently functioning.

It is important, I think, that one of your workshop sessions this afternoon deals with the topic of expanding the creation of local civil rights commissions. I hope that this workshop will also discuss ways to improve the effectiveness of existing commissions. We, at the Community Relations Service, are skeptical of the value of indiscriminate proliferation of commissions. We have seen too many commissions which were ineffective or stumbling blocks and mere paper mache facades without substance. Like any other agency that is not capable of doing the job, local commissions can easily become part of the problem and a further source of frustration. We, of the Community Relations Service, have been asked many times what constitutes a good and effective human relations commission. My answer is simply, "It is one that is relevant to contemporary urban racial and economic problems." That's really what I want to talk to you about this morning.

I want to go back a minute to the skepticism I voiced about the effectiveness of commissions. Many Negroes, including this one, have long been skeptical of the ultimate value of human relations commissions. Many of us have felt that the commissions were designed to talk rather than to act; to muffle discontent rather than to change conditions. But I think that as the country has developed, as the climate has changed, there is reason for optimism about the future of commissions. I see many exciting and interesting innovative things being done by commissions across the country.

I see that commissions are sticking fingers into the ghettos through roving leaders or detached workers. I see that some commissions are developing and even designing and administering programs funded by grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity -- and I see that many commission staffs are meaningfully and effectively involved in the decision making process of the cities they serve. But our faith, our Community Relations Service faith in commissions; our chips we've put on commissions stems from more than that optimism -- from more than those few strands of optimism. Our chips are placed on commissions really because of the enormous need that we see in this country. Some people would say that with the laws freighted with the civil...the books freighted with the civil rights laws that we've passed in the last decade, the civil rights problems are a thing of the past. You here in New Jersey know better -- or should know better -- because the summer of 1964 isn't even two years old; and I take it that you here in New Jersey are aware of what you saw and what you heard, in the summer of 1964, and what it meant. I take it that you do not make the mistake that many do to say that the summer of 1964 taught you only that you needed better police protection -- that you needed better riot-control techniques. I take it that it taught you more than that poor and unhappy people don't always act like neat and tidy and polite middle-class people. I hope it taught you a lesson on which you'll build, and people all around this country will build, a much better and much more decent society. I hope it taught you that there is a...we have set, and been setting for the last hundred years, raging fires in the ghettos of our country. I hope it taught you that there are people in this country who live in murderous and shameful conditions; conditions to shame our cities -- shame our nation. I hope it taught you that legal rights are fine, but that most of what we have done in the past decade is merely to clear away the underbrush and give us the opportunity to work on the really significant and hard heart of the civil rights problem.

This significant and hard heart of the civil rights problem is represented by impoverished members of minority groups all across this country. There are Puerto Ricans in New York City; there are Negroes everywhere; there are Indians in the North and in the Southwest, and there are Mexican Americans in the Southwest. Large portions of these

people are poor, disenfranchised, disinherited and totally isolated. It is no longer enough to work on civil rights by sitting around tables talking to middle-class people of minority groups; no longer enough to invite a Negro to a cocktail party. It is no longer enough to have a Brotherhood Week. The hard problem is ahead of us. And the hard problem poses an enormous challenge to commissions all across this country and the commissions in the State of New Jersey. One of the problems that the people in the ghettos in our country face is an awful and dreadful isolation from the rest of us. They are isolated from the rich white people and the rich Negroes, middle class white people and middle class Negroes. If that isolation is not ended it can prove the ruination of most of our cities. You've seen it here in New Jersey -- saw it in Philadelphia -- we saw it in horrible abundance in Los Angeles last summer. The one refrain that you hear over and over and over again is that "nobody comes here to talk to us." All the money; all the success "leaves Watt," "leaves North Philadelphia," or "leaves Harlem." Only misery and despair are left behind.

Now the responses that we see -- the large popular responses that we see -- to these riots and to the discourtesy and unpleasantness that so many of the poor and deprived people show us -- are very disheartening, because we hear people say, "No matter what the grievances are, it doesn't justify this kind of behavior." Well, that's right. That's right. Nothing justifies looting, burning, killing. By the same token, if our only response is the cry "the ill behavior" of the people who live in the ghettos, then we have missed the point -- because the point is that we have left a lot of people in those ghettos with a feeling that the only way that they can express their humanity and their Americanism and their freedom in any effective sense -- the only way they can get our attention is to burn something up -- to throw a brick -- to go on a rampage. Now this is not theory; I have talked to the rioters and I know what they say -- and this is what they say.

And we can no longer afford the luxury, it seems to me, of seeing those people as another nation, as a problem to be dealt with tomorrow. There is still time -- but the tomorrows are not nearly as numerous as they used to be because the progress that we have set in motion has created a revolution of expectations in this country so that all Americans -- black Americans; white Americans; Indian Americans; Mexican Americans; all Americans know that their Constitution says that they are free men and for none of them -- not for the most apprised -- the functionally illiterate -- for none of them is a little bit of freedom enough. These people don't want to be told tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow. They want, and need, and must have our help today -- and that's the challenge before local commissions.

There is another response that bothers me about these riots. People say, "if only the Federal government would appropriate more money"; "if only Washington wouldn't be so slow"; if only Washington this -- if only Washington that -- if only Washington the other thing. I quite agree; this

is a National problem about which all of us must be concerned. I think the President at Harvard University last spring enunciated as clearly and as eloquently and as movingly as one could do his own personal concern; the concern of the Federal government, and of his administration. He recognized and understood his administration understands there is a very hard and difficult part of the battle that is still to be won. And, there are programs and activities of the Federal government which are designed to help; to help local people meet local needs. But you know and I know that no amount of Federal money is going to solve the local problems unless the local people have the will and the ability and the energy and the drive -- and the desire -- to solve the local problems. No amount of Federal money can do for Trenton the kind of things that Mayor Holland described in Washington yesterday, and that the Poverty Program is doing here, without the kind of local will and initiative and drive that you have here in Trenton.

And, in addition, the badge of second-class citizenship, second-class schools, second-class housing, second-class job opportunities...these things are products of local judgments and local decisions. Those judgments and decisions have to be changed on the local level. They can't be changed by Federal money. They can't be changed by a bureaucrat sitting behind a desk, either in my office or the Attorney General's office, or in Labor, or O.E.O, or anyplace else. They've got to be changed right here in the streets of the cities where we all live.

And, finally, it is just quite clear that Federal funds unattended by an enlightened effective local commitment that could change for the better, can be perverted, misused, and used to perpetuate the same old systems that have created the problems that plague us all. And this is not just a problem in the State of Mississippi -- in the State of Alabama. The great end and the great purpose for which some of the Great Society programs were designed have been perverted in Northern communities and Northern ghettos, and all of us know it. Those decisions, whether the Federal programs and the Federal funds are going to be used appropriately to better the lives of American citizens in local communities; those decisions are going to be local decisions depending on local will and local commitment.

As I look at the communities and see these needs for the local will and the local communities -- the commitment and effective action -- I see human relations commissions as an enormous asset to us -- not the "us C.R.S.," but an enormous asset to our country. But, I think, in order to be that kind of asset the commissions are going to have to understand that the charge; the task that faces them demands new techniques -- new devices -- new initiative -- and much greater commitment than we have ever had before.

One thing to work, as many of us have - and that I had in New York City before I came into government, is many of you to find decent middle-class housing or a good middle-class Negro doctor who can afford it. It's one thing to go persuade the personnel manager or the vice president of a large corporation that he should hire a few Negro lawyers - or chemists - or business administrators, perhaps. It is quite another thing to go to the ghettos physically and face the hostility, face the anger, to face the skepticism, to work day after day in a community center or in a church or in a street -- or in a boys' club with people who don't believe you. They don't believe me! And it is much more difficult, I suspect, for a white person. But this is what's got to be done. This is the kind of commitment. You've got to go to the ghettos. You've got to find the people. You've got to find the leaders. You've got to know the feelings. And, you've got to face the hostility -- and you've got to face the rudeness. You've got to face anger -- unremitting anger. And, you've got to be willing to be reviled and rejected, and come back again - and again - and again - until we can develop and devise effective ways and means of working with -- not on but with -- the poor people on the problems of the murderous conditions of the lives that they lead in the ghettos of our country.

Let me say again that the problem we face is one which the Federal government is committed to give people in communities around this country as much help -- as much strength -- as many program ideas -- and as many funds as we have available and can get. But the ultimate decisions on the conditions of the lives of the people in the ghettos -- the ultimate decisions of whether our cities will grow and prosper and be healthy or whether they will rot and decay and become more and more ungovernable -- those are local decisions. And my judgment is that local human relations commissions across this country -- if they will only accept the challenge -- can be the instruments for generating the initiatives, the interests, the movement and the commitment, and the understanding of what our ghettos are about all across the country.

Ultimately, it comes down to this, I think, and this is --

- the question for liberals in this country is whether we cherish people as much as we love our ideals. And the question for us all -- all of us -- who decry rioting, who want order because we know our liberty is based on order -- but the question for all of us, for you to solve, is whether we, in the local community, are as committed to domestic decency as we are to domestic tranquility.

Thank you very much.

Remarks by George S. Pfaus
Director of New Jersey Division on Civil Rights

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS OF FAIR HOUSING AMENDMENT TO NEW JERSEY'S LAW
AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Coverage -- All real property offered for sale is now covered by the Law. All real property offered for rent, which was built with public assistance or which is financed by a loan guaranteed or insured by the Federal government or any agency thereof, is covered. All real property for rent, which was not built with public assistance or which is not financed by a Federally guaranteed or insured loan, is covered, except the rental of the other apartment in an owner-occupied two-family house, or the rental of rooms to roomers or boarders in one-family dwellings.

Public Accommodations -- A number of different kinds of places is added to the long list of examples in the section which defines "a place of public accommodation." Recent decisions of the New Jersey Supreme Court, however, have made it crystal-clear that this section of the Law (even before the addition of the places added by the amendment) was to be interpreted in a straightforward, common-sense manner; e.g. if any portion of the public is invited to use the facilities or services of the place in question, then no discrimination can be exercised against any other portion of the public.

Subpoenas and Discovery Procedures -- The Division is empowered to issue subpoenas and to take interrogatories and oral depositions in connection with any investigation as well as any hearing. Provision is also made for prosecution for perjury or contempt in answering or failing to answer subpoenas.

Reprisals -- All persons are prohibited from taking reprisals against complainants or witnesses in any proceeding under this Law.

Posting of Notices -- The Division is given the authority to require the posting of notices concerning the rights or responsibilities of persons affected by this Law.

Time Limit on Conciliation -- A maximum of 45 days from the date of the finding of probable cause is allowed for the completion of the conciliation process. Provision is also made requiring the Division to advise the complainant of the result of the investigation of his complaint.

Injunctions -- The following section has been added to the Law: "At any time after the filing of any complaint, the Attorney General may proceed against any person in a summary manner in the Superior Court of New Jersey to compel compliance with any of the provisions of this act, or to prevent violations or attempts to violate any such provisions, or attempts to interfere with or impede the enforcement of any such provisions or the exercise or performance of any power or duty thereunder."

Standards for Division Orders -- When an order is issued to a respondent following a public hearing, so that the order can "make whole" the complainant the following sentence has been added to the Law: "The director shall have the power to use reasonably certain bases, including but not limited to list, catalogue or market prices or values, or contract or advertised terms and conditions, in order to determine particulars or performance in giving appropriate remedy."

Workshop I --

"Maintaining Racial Balance in Public Housing Projects"

There are various approaches to the problem of integrating public housing projects, including: (a) open occupancy, (b) planned integration, (c) token integration, and (d) segregation.

For purposes of attacking the problems indicated by the workshop topic, projects considered token integrated or segregated were eliminated from the discussion.

It was concluded that it is easier to integrate Negroes into projects which are "all white" than it is to integrate whites into predominantly Negro projects.

It is very difficult to integrate people into public housing projects where there exists a marked difference in socio-economic status and background; conversely, it is more practicable to integrate people of the same or similar socio-economic standing, regardless of race.

The maintenance of racial balance in public housing projects presents a uniquely difficult problem for housing authorities and civil rights programs alike, in that there exist more minority group persons in need of low-rent housing accommodations than there are members of the majority group with the same needs. Consequently, a larger number of applications are filed by members of the various minorities than by members of the white majority. Negroes and Puerto Ricans, particularly, seem to constitute the vast majority of those falling into the lower-income bracket and in need of public housing. This is so primarily because, under normal conditions, members of these two groups are the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

The possible solution to this dilemma of maintaining racial balance, as advocated by the directors of many housing authorities, is the placement of elderly whites into projects occupied predominantly by minority group people.

More realistic, however, is the philosophy that our society should be more concerned for the housing needs of all people, rather than concern about maintaining racial balance in public housing projects. This should be the particular concern of both the State and Federal government.

It was further concluded that racial balance could be maintained only through a concerted effort involving tenants, community, and public relations, whereby the occupants would be educated and oriented to allow behavior patterns to approach a standard of livability acceptable to all tenants.

Use of the anti-poverty program, too, might provide necessary funds to accommodate an acceptable and suitable racial balance by adequate integrated staffing of competent personnel.

Workshop II --

"Implementation of New Jersey's New Housing Laws by Local Citizens Groups"

At the outset, it was agreed that one of the fundamental things that local fair housing and human relations groups must do to implement the new Fair Housing laws is to review their past activities in the light of the particular conditions under which they will henceforth be operating. Such a review should include reexamination of public information and education programs as well as contacts with the religious leaders of the community. The religious leaders should be involved not only in the direct action of housing groups but through programs in their churches, study groups and sermons.

The availability of community service organizations such as the Rotary, Kiwanis and Lion Clubs should be utilized in the attempt to inform all segments of the community of the new Law.

Other public information media should be employed in an attempt to allay the fears of community homeowners regarding "blockbusting" and similar techniques of unscrupulous real estate agencies. Panic selling can be prevented only when it is realized that "there is no place to run."

Another area which must take priority in any systematic reassessment and review of the activities of fair housing groups is the relationship existing between these organizations and real estate brokers in the community. Realtors and brokers in each community should be encouraged to join the membership of the fair housing groups, since liaison between real estate concerns and fair housing groups can be greatly facilitated through such membership.

Fair housing groups can achieve a better claim to acceptance in the community if their membership is based upon a broad representation of all minority and special interest groups within the framework of the total community. Local housing organizations need particularly to review their relations with the Negro community and create new channels of communication, if they do not already exist, through Negro churches, fraternal organizations and civil rights groups; such as the NAACP and CORE. These channels of communication will afford Negro home and apartment seekers the knowledge that a fair housing group, which is ready and willing to help them, operates in that particular community.

The matter of compliance with the amended State Law Against Discrimination is another area in need of reconsideration. It is recognized that when a sufficiently valid case is presented and adjudicated or settled by conciliation, the minority group apartment seeker, for example, will get the apartment; but the procedure required takes considerable time and effort. The Division should maintain regular complaint-surveillance of major apartments, listing corporations against which one or more complaints have been filed in which a finding of probable cause and a subsequent settlement has been made. It was felt that consent orders directed toward such corporations should be made in order to expedite the securing of apartments by subsequent minority group applicants. It was further felt that such consent orders should be widely communicated. A posting of notices in real estate offices and in the lobbies of apartment buildings to the effect that they are, respectively public accommodation offices for equal opportunity apartments, might be an advisable step forward, and should also be implemented in the immediate future.

It was felt that the Division should publish an "Outline Guide to Housing Accommodations Testing," which would be made available to organizations or individuals who choose to test. Such a guide would describe the fundamental features and methods by which to test any particular dwelling to ascertain its availability.

Many workshop participants expressed an interest in continuing and supplementing the checking and testing of real estate agencies and brokerages, based upon their assumption that the burden of nondiscrimination must necessarily rest with real estate concerns.

The workshop participants felt that there should be a clear, unequivocal statement coming from the Division to the effect that, in order to establish a complaint and achieve favorable adjudication of a situation which involves differential treatment in housing, it should not be necessary that the testers themselves be home or apartment seekers; rather, such testers might be engaging in their activity solely for the purpose of determining whether or not discrimination exists in the particular facility. The case should not be dismissed merely because the testers themselves do not seek housing accommodations.

The workshop concluded with the recommendation that the Division on Civil Rights be allocated a significantly larger budget for the purpose of enlarging its staff, thereby permitting more expeditious investigation of complaints.

Workshop III --

"Expanding the Creation of Local Municipal Civil Rights Commissions"

At the outset, a challenge to the basic topic of the workshop was raised by a number of people. The challenge was: "Will the extension of local municipal civil rights commissions help the cause of Civil Rights throughout New Jersey?" Representations of both unusually effective commissions, as well as less effective commissions; which were, perhaps, just a cloak of the mayor, existed in the workshop. This representation brought about the conclusion that the real question of the Seminar was whether we are going to expand effective commissions. On this there was unanimous agreement.

Perhaps weightier problems were presented by the question of what constitutes an effective commission and what are the characteristics of such a commission. It was felt that an effective commission would necessarily be appointed from all facets of the community structure, with special emphasis upon the inclusion of representatives selected by local civil rights and human relations organizations, and by the minority community itself. The need then exists for maximum feasible participation by human rights and minority group representatives themselves.

It was concluded that fairly large commissions seem to be among the most successful, because increased size affords the commission appointments from a broad cross section of the community. Typically, the mayor or city fathers have a few close friends who they will want to place on the commission. A small minority of such appointments must be planned for, but sufficient additional positions for committed and dedicated individuals who have previously indicated their interest and efforts on behalf of civil rights must be guaranteed. It is sometimes wise to allot a liaison position to be filled by a member of the governing body of the community who would sit in and be an active participant on the commission. The workshop felt that guidelines should be established by the Division including some of these points and stressing that municipal commissions be sufficiently large to accommodate the cross section which is needed.

In discussing the functions of any commission which is to be effective, it was concluded that commission members must mold more out of the organization than just a "handling agency for complaints." An effective commission should be established with a broad base and scope in mind. Commissions cannot complacently sit back and wait for problems to be dumped in their hands, or they may wait forever. Rather, they must possess an active initiative to ferret out problems in the community, expose them and then begin to attempt their solutions. The kinds of commissions which are plagued by complacency and a lack of initiative are obviously to be rendered ineffective.

It was recommended that, wherever possible, provision should be made for a full-time executive director or secretary. The need for such a provision is particularly great in the larger communities, and such action should also be taken in all communities where a city council may

be expected to establish a budget appropriation. One representative began its first year in existence with only a fifty-dollar (\$50.00) appropriation. That community's appropriation now exceeds \$1,000. Get something in your budget. Show activity; the kind of activity that justifies added increments and which is a part of the public recognition of the effectiveness of the commission.

Methods by which to stimulate the creation of effective commissions throughout the State were also discussed. It was felt that members of fair housing and human relations groups can be most useful in generating pressures upon their own mayors and councils, and can be influential in bringing people and votes to bear upon the power structures. This kind of pressure is often necessary in order to establish commissions and in order to assure broad-based representation on the commission which will lead to its effectiveness. It was suggested that the Division issue publicity on this matter and it was further recommended that members of the Division staff meet with mayors and councils to discuss the advantages and needs for establishing civil rights commissions in the community. There are many means by which the power structures may be sold on the utility of local commissions. One such means is to be found in the explanation that the new Fair Housing Law will create new problems in the community and advance preparation in confronting these problems would be desirable. The workshop group also felt that the aid of the Governor of the State should be enlisted in asking each mayor and council to establish civil rights commissions.

Lastly, regarding the Bill in the State Legislature which would enable county commissions to be established, it was felt that local groups should express their approval. Such county commissions must be considered desirable and can be predicted to have a great impact on communities throughout the State. Their establishment, for the first time, would enable many all white communities to have some kind of civil rights activity. The workshop urged that all delegates to the Conference contact their local representatives in the State Assembly or Senate to see that passage of this Bill is realized.

Workshop IV --

"Coordinating Civil Rights into Anti-Poverty Programs"

This was the only group of the workshops which was organized to deal exclusively with the problems of poor people. This means, primarily, problems of poor Negro people, but in New Jersey it also means poor Puerto Rican people.

One of the most important problems which needs to be dealt with is the existence of a language barrier regarding the definitions of civil rights and anti-poverty. This barrier exists principally because there are many people who seem to feel that anti-poverty organizations really have nothing to do with civil rights, but rather that they have their own unique and individual programs. A minimum of study, however, brings one unescapably to the conclusion that anti-poverty is civil rights. Thus, there

can be no mistaking that anti-poverty programs are intimately involved in civil rights. Perhaps an anti-poverty program cannot be expected to provide funds for developing outline procedures for NAACP or CORE, but it certainly can deal with the civil rights problems that immediately affect the community. Both programs are directed toward the same goal - the elimination of the inequities and inequalities which plague communities across the nation.

Another problem which needs to be dealt with at the outset is the concept that the purpose of the anti-poverty program is to "rock the boat" in the local community in order to ensure that those things are done which need to be done for poor people.

The question then arises, "What happens when the local political organization says to the anti-poverty group; 'You can't do it.'" This is a problem of considerable magnitude, and is one which should be faced up to by those concerned immediately upon its manifestation. Some communities have handled the problem effectively and in others it was not taken care of at all. We are told of the community where the anti-poverty corporation is completely dominated by City Hall. We are told of other communities where there appears to be a fair split. For example, in the City of Newark, the original conception of an anti-poverty group appeared to have stemmed from the City Administration, the Board of Education and the United Community Fund; but it was the religious and civil rights leaders in the community who came together and said, "We are going to press upon you, Mr. Municipal Government, a program in which the poor people and their representatives will have the majority control." The demands of these Newark leaders were implemented and the various groups are now getting along, although not perhaps as warmly as in some communities where the political organizations, the municipal administration, dominates.

The problems, "How do you gain such control and hold it? How do you succeed in getting a program approved which does not fit into the way of thinking of the power structure?" were discussed at some length. The creation of publicity might be one means of resolving the problem, but is unquestionably a last resort. The concept, "throw the scoundrels out through election activity," is also a last resort. While it may be true that the community power structure generally attempts to impede and block those programs which tend to "rock the boat," if the boat must be rocked it would seem most advantageous to rock it when the captain is not looking. Perhaps, then, it might be concluded that overt confrontation with the power structure is undesirable in terms of achieving the desired results, but ingenuity and imagination will uncover many means by which to encourage people to work together for the common good.

The civil rights movement has provided the seeds for the grass roots organizations of the anti-poverty group. This concept would seem to spell out the ideal relationship between the anti-poverty groups and the civil rights organizations. It is the duty and the purview of civil rights organizations to create pressures to establish the legitimate anti-poverty control by the representatives of the poor and to insure affirmative action as well. Perhaps significant political persons must be

elected to anti-poverty boards in order to appease the power structure, but the number of such figures should be kept to a minimum.

What are some examples of the kind of relationship between anti-poverty and civil rights organizations that have been discussed? How did they work? Take the area, for instance, the vital area of legal service. Legal services can be provided under O.E.O. funds. How does this affect civil rights? Only the poor go to jail and stay there. It was indicated, for example, that Candy Mosler, who was charged and later acquitted for murder, had been released on \$50,000 bail almost as soon as she was arrested. When she appeared before the Judge, she looked extremely well, having lived in a health spa during the interim. She was the picture of decency and good health. The poor person who is picked up for a minor violation, however, is often held in jail. Many times bail is not set, or, if it is established by the Court, the poor person cannot raise enough money to meet it. Subsequently, he may come into Court looking like the last rose of summer or much worse. He has no chance of getting as fair a deal as he should get. On top of it all, having been put in jail, he has already lost his income and perhaps his job, his family may have gone on welfare, and the whole process of impoverishment has been created by the simple action of jailing an individual for a minor infraction. Civil rights enters into the question, too, in that so many of our society's poor are either Negro or Puerto Rican.

Legal services can provide the stimulus for studying bail-bond procedure as has been done in Morris County. There it was discovered that certain characteristics and attributes of individuals under active investigation by authorities revealed that bail-bonding was unnecessary. The individual may be sent home on his own recognizance. In New York, the return rate of those released on recognizance averaged 98.5 percent, a figure far better, incidentally, than the return rate of those who were released on bail.

Another example of the coordination of civil rights and anti-poverty groups has to do with a group called "Friends of the Court." This group forms for the purpose of getting people involved in minor deviations from the Law assigned to the parole custody of responsible citizens in the community, thereby obviating the necessity of sending the offender to jail. This type of group has been organized in a number of New Jersey communities and has already begun to make a significant contribution.

Another area in which inter-organizational cooperation would surely be beneficial is in the field of education. The point was made that our public schools remain, after 20 and 30 years, ill adept in carrying out their responsibilities with respect to guidance. As a result, too many young people are automatically thrown into less than desirable paths simply because of their color, economic, or minority group status. This is a civil rights issue. It is the dual role of civil rights and anti-poverty organizations not only to encourage but to insist upon improvements in this area. Additional educational programs should also be offered which would include adults. Programs instructing individuals in the proper use of credit or how to shop for bargains might be areas in

which the poor and minority groups may be given assistance. Educators should also develop programs designed to train underprivileged people in the proper methods to be used in applying for employment. It was further suggested that the educational establishment throughout the State might devise and implement a program designed to elevate the aspirations of impoverished people and abandon a defeatist attitude.

It was suggested that anti-poverty programs are frequently not trusted by some leaders of the civil rights movement because those leaders feel that the program will ultimately result in a threat to the established community. In some cases, these leaders' fears are sincere. They choose only to better the lot of those who live in the ghetto, not to disband the ties which secure the group. Others are afraid because if the Negro community is threatened, they, too, are threatened. Certain Negro leaders throughout our nation have amassed both wealth and power by their exploitation of the downtrodden masses. The Negro community as it now exists is the principal source of the wealth and power of these "leaders." Any changes in the status quo, such as those which anti-poverty groups seek to implement, would disrupt their source of wealth and power and, ultimately, would spell political and business doom. Perhaps programs of education and persuasion should be attempted in dealing with those who are truly sincere in their concern for the welfare of their communities. Other means will necessarily have to be developed to deal with the less desirable leaders.

Local civil rights commissions might require municipalities to demand indicia of non-discrimination by employers under municipal contract. Ordinances should be passed requesting all contractors involved in any municipal work to have integrated work forces, or sacrifice their contracts. In general, it is within purview of the civil rights commissions to bring to the attention of the local municipal government its role and responsibility in fostering non-discriminatory practices within the framework, direct or indirect, of its own activity. It is likewise within the purview of the anti-poverty organizations to bring similar matters to the attention of either the civil rights organizations or municipal government. A further example of coordination between civil rights organizations, governments and anti-poverty programs would be on-the-job training programs in which jobs previously closed to Negroes would be opened by means of officially sanctioned training sessions supported by the anti-poverty group and paid for by government.

It was suggested that there exists a significant lack of communication among various civil rights organizations, including anti-poverty groups. In New Jersey there are some 43 official agencies which are being informed of each other's activities through publications of the Division on Civil Rights. This is so because, in a sense, they are all structurally a part of the Division. On the other hand, the private agencies, be they statewide, countywide, or local, or whether they are general human rights organizations, anti-poverty groups or fair housing councils, do not receive similar communication of an inter-agency nature. While it was suggested that the Division undertake the task of providing such communication for private groups, there are certain deficiencies and problems encountered in such a proposal. For example, we all agree that there is a

need for both municipal commissions and private voluntary agencies. Typically, the latter should exist so that it can prod the former. Without the prodding of such voluntary organizations, it is questionable whether or not New Jersey's laws relating to discrimination would be as strong as they are today. If the Division were to act as the communication link, this prodding would not be accomplished to such a degree. It is the responsibility of the voluntary groups to coordinate their own activities, not the responsibility of the Division on Civil Rights. The voluntary groups should be unwilling to delegate that responsibility to any official body. Perhaps a more adequate center of communication for voluntary groups might be found in the New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, inasmuch as the last year has seen that organization assume responsibility in all areas of civil rights activities.

Another problem which was discussed was the condition of apartments and rental units in ghettoized New Jersey communities. Interwoven with this problem is the problem of the exorbitantly high rents which are demanded for these housing accommodations. There are rent control measures in the Legislature at the present time, and it is incumbent upon all civil rights and anti-poverty organizations to lend adequate support to these Bills for obvious reasons. Another facet of this same question has to do with another provision of New Jersey Law which could be implemented in such a way as to provide that the courts could withhold rent from landlords who fail to properly maintain their properties. Such a program has met with considerable success in New York City and could be equally enforced in New Jersey, should the Legislature pass a similar law.

In summary, the combined effort of civil rights and anti-poverty groups can influence the "poor" to help and to better themselves. But the success of these efforts is contingent upon the adequate fulfillment of the responsibility of both civil rights and anti-poverty groups in examining the needs of minority peoples and recommending and encouraging the institution and implementation of such programs of their sister organizations as would satisfy the needs of the community.

Workshop V --

"Developing a Cooperative Approach to Common Problems in the Community"

History or civilization is measured by historians when they arrive upon conclusions as to what it was that a civilization cared about. With what particular problems was it most concerned; what factors seemed to influence it most? If our civilization is to fare relatively well in comparison to past or future civilizations, we had better examine ourselves to determine exactly what it is that motivates us; exactly what do we, as a society, care about?

The difficulties encountered in the development of a cooperative approach to community problems, then, would appear somehow related to the creation of concern -- getting people to care -- getting people to be concerned not only with the existence of the problems, but also with the discovery and implementation of solutions to those problems.

And concern for problems and solutions must not only be developed among the more articulate and affluent members of our society, but it must also be developed among those who are most directly affected by the problems which confront the society. For example, the "poor" demonstrate little but apathy and skepticism, however well grounded, when approached regarding programs designed primarily for their benefit. There is, no doubt, a wealth of contributing factors to such an attitude. Frustration and "minority group paranoia" may enter to confuse the issues. But these factors must be overcome. The more articulate in society must communicate with and develop in the other segments of society a concern and a motivation toward "problem-solving."

Presupposing that the necessary measure of concern can, indeed, be established, one possible point of departure on the road to the development of a cooperative approach to common problems is to be located in the creation of municipal commissions on civil rights. But be cautioned at the very outset that the nominal formation and simple appearance or existence of such organs is necessarily far less than a panacea. A commission, from its inception, should be founded upon a clearly defined but broad purpose. It should have a similarly well-defined series of duties and methods of implementation of those duties. It should serve as a conciliating agency for community civil rights problems; it should function as a systematic study group for the broad-based problems which confront the community; it must develop trust and confidence in the minority group community, and in the community at large as well; it should serve as an intercessor between the minority community and the community power structure; it should serve as a liaison between the community and those organizations designed and empowered to enforce State and Federal law. In short, it must do all these things and more.

When membership in the commission is named, committed individual leaders must be included. The commission must include people who care, people committed to the ideals of civil rights and the concept of the local commission. The individuals who are selected must also be representing as well as representative of all religious, racial, ethnic and age groups that compose the community, so the minority group leader appointed to serve on the commission be perceived as a leader by the minority group itself and not only so perceived by the power structure of the community.

The commission should also be founded upon broad representation of the community, designed to bring about total community involvement through the involvement of the total community leadership. In bringing about such a total commitment to the goals and ideals of the commission, it must be remembered that there exist in every community "special interest" groups which must be included among the membership. Take, for example, the youth of a community. Surely that interest group should be included to represent points of view which might not otherwise be accessible to the commissioners.

In this same manner, neighborhood meetings involving all minority groups should be promoted. Small meetings such as block meetings, church group discussions, civic meetings, political groups and educational group meetings should be encouraged and actively promoted in the minority community.

While there can no doubt be numerous advantages to the existence of such groups, perhaps the two greatest of these are to be found in the fact that it is within such groups that minority group consensus may be found and developed, and it is also within these groups that grassroots leadership is manifested.

Thus, the commission must project itself into the community as a catalytic agent rather than a catholic agent. That projection must, of necessity, consist of programming by the commission predicated upon a very careful analysis of a "problem census" taken of those situations which exist in and plague the community. Wherever possible, there should be adequate budget and staff to afford the commission to dedicate itself to the anticipation and resolution of problems in advance of their becoming trauma or crisis situations. Among presently existing commissions, there is, perhaps, far too great a tendency to "react" rather than to act.

The "problem census" in most, perhaps all, areas of our State will include consideration of housing. This is true even where Fair Housing Councils operate. Exactly how do we develop a cooperative approach to opening doors in predominantly white areas of the community? In many areas, the problem is not so much in opening the doors but, once they have been opened, in generating sufficient motivation among minority group members to bring them into a new and strange area of the community. The problem, again, can be tackled best by Fair Housing groups, private and voluntary human relations councils, and municipal commissions, working in concert to combat both the discrimination which keeps the doors closed and the lack of motivation and willingness on the parts of minority groups to face the challenge of resettling in a neighborhood that may initially be unfriendly and opposed to their presence.

There can be little doubt that the new Fair Housing amendment to the Law Against Discrimination will be a significant benefit in combating the inequities which exist in housing in this State. However, we dare not become sanguine about it because many of the real estate firms may be predicted to discover and utilize the many means of circumvention at their command which are, perhaps, not overt violations of the Law. The problems encountered in housing, then, must remain our constant and on-going concern.

Police-Community Relations presents another elusive problem. Community appreciation of the difficult role of the police officer must be developed. Likewise, the public must attempt to help the police recognize the difficulty the community has in trying to understand his role. Recommendations might be made to police department officials that they undertake a program of education of the police officers to the needs and problems of the community. It is manifestly just as important that the police understand the community as it is that the community understand the officer of the law. In short, the need for opening wider channels of communication between the police and the community is paramount. There are manifold means by which to achieve this goal. Among them, we might consider the presentation by civil rights, government and police groups of lectures directed at both student and faculty in

schools throughout our State. We might consider "workshops" with police and citizen participation which are designed to promote a healthier atmosphere. More Negro policemen and State troopers should be put "on the road."

The problems encountered in the broad field of "education" are, indeed, formidable. The "dropout" rate in recent years has not decreased. Educators, city officials, parents and civil rights groups must share the responsibility for acting as "prime motivators" in any attempt to curb this socially dangerous situation. The problems of juvenile delinquency and the inability of the present power structure to deal with it are unquestionably and inextricably intertwined with problems of civil rights and poverty. These problems might be ameliorated, in part at least, by the education of parent, teacher and student, himself. The self-image of the minority group member, after he has been forced to use textbooks principally directed at and about a white majority, cannot be described as stable and positive. Similarly, the self-image that may be created in these same children as a result of the teacher and the impact of a definitive lack of good human relations must be considered of prime import. Programs should be undertaken by cooperative community effort to review and examine the curriculum, the textbooks, teacher preparation and education, and development of sensitivity to human relations problems on both in-service and training levels. Here other organizations specifically related to education can be brought in to join the common effort of the civil rights groups.

Public accommodations is another highly significant problem area. Country clubs, eating clubs, swimming clubs, and the like are institutions of prejudice which provide some measure of respectability and public sanction for discrimination and exclusion. In reality, these institutions of our society promote an atmosphere which does little good and considerable harm in terms of creating good inter-group relations.

Up to this point, the problems which confront the local municipal civil rights commission have been discussed, but what about the solutions? It would seem obvious that a good rapport with and between the city, state, and federal governments and private organizations as well, should be developed. This good rapport is not always simple to establish, but is more likely to achieve success if the members of the local commission make personal contact with members of the other groups. The commission should attempt also to secure publicity for all its meetings to the degree that the community at large will be aware of them and those who choose to attend might do so. Likewise, the commission should secure publicity for its activities. The mere existence of an organization in a community is self-sufficient to generate interest in it. The commission must, therefore, let the residents, which it is designed to serve, know exactly what it is doing. Lastly, rapport may be achieved by actively working together with minority and civil rights groups on specific community problems.

Before this last suggestion may be implemented, the commission must, of course, be aware of the problems which exist in the community. Often a different kind of problem exists in the thinking of the power structure than exists in the thinking of the minority group itself. It is, therefore, essential that the commission be aware of the thinking of both groups. Acceptance of the problems common to the community is extremely important. Though a specific problem may affect only a specific group directly; indirectly it affects the total community, and thus, the whole arena of civil rights cannot be relegated only to the interest of one group, but is of vital purport to the entire community.

And, when problems exist and several of the civil rights groups seek to solve them jointly, the commission should be responsible for coordinating these activities in such a way that each group has a specific and important responsibility. The commission must also be responsible for maintaining a liaison between civil rights groups and the town or city officials.