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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM: JOHN CALHOUN

For Your Information.

1976

***** *Bicentennial Edition* *****

Facts About Blacks

lj

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BASIC STATEMENT

In 1975, a year which saw America in the throes of its worst recession since the 1930s, the size of the Black middle-class population continued its meteoric growth. More Blacks bought homes than ever before; Black youths were attending and being graduated from college in unprecedented numbers. It was a year in which the national Black income reached \$63 billion, and the Black consumer market proved a lucrative resource for those corporations capable of analyzing and servicing this ever-growing market.

Demographically, \$63 billion spread among 24 million Americans may not seem an impressive figure. It is only seven percent of the total national income. Psychographically, however, when the life styles of Blacks are taken into account, their motivations and buying habits, the growth of the Black consumer market takes on real meaning to knowledgeable entrepreneurs. The fact that more and more corporations are developing programs designed to attract this expanding market is testimony to its importance.

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

As the third in the biennial series of **FACTS ABOUT BLACKS** brochures, this Bicentennial issue contains valuable information for corporations which are aware of the economic importance of Blacks and have tailored their sales programs accordingly. For corporations which have yet to develop programs to attract this vast market, the facts contained in this publication and the services offered by its authors can be indispensable.

America's Black citizens have long and adamantly refused to accept second-class citizenship status. They have made major gains in every area of life, and finally are entering the mainstream of the nation's economy.

As America begins the observance of its 200th year of independence, its largest minority group represents a new and vibrant consumer market, one with needs, desires and demands, and one which no corporation can afford to ignore.

POPULATION

Since the 1970 Census the Black population of the United States has increased by some 1.5 million persons, bringing the official estimate to more than 24 million, or 11.3 per cent of the total population. This estimate has been challenged by some demographers, who claim that additional millions of Blacks have been "lost" due to the failure of census takers to record them accurately. Some estimates of the Black population in America range as high as 30 million, or one of every seven of the nation's citizens.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census, 28 per cent of the population of the cities and five per cent of that of the suburbs is Black. As one of every three persons residing in metropolitan areas, the Black consumer is an easily reachable target. Moreover, in the 48 cities where sales exceeded 50 per cent of total sales in America, the size of the Black population ranged from 50,000 up to 1.6 million (see table page 14).

EDUCATION

Between 1970 and 1974 college enrollment of Blacks increased by 56 per cent, while the number of whites attending college rose by only 15 per cent. During this period Black and white college graduates increased at about the same rate, approximately 25 per cent.

Today nearly one of every five Black youths between the ages of 18 and 24 is enrolled in college. In addition, 8.1 per cent of the nation's Black population, some two million, has completed four or more years of college.

This new emphasis on post-secondary school education by Blacks and the new employment opportunities available to them, particularly at the professional and technical levels, seem to assure a continuation of the expansion of the Black middle class. In fact, there are indications that the rapid growth rate of this class in recent years will accelerate even more in the years ahead.

School Enrollment of Persons 3 to 34 Years Old, by Level: 1970 and 1974
(Numbers in thousands. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease)

Level of school and race	1970	1974	Percent change, 1970 to 1974
BLACK			
Total enrolled	7,307	8,215	12.4
Nursery school	178	227	27.5
Kindergarten	426	463	8.7
Elementary school	4,868	4,585	-5.8
High school	1,834	2,125	15.9
College	522	814	55.9
WHITE			
Total enrolled	44,960	50,992	13.4
Nursery school	893	1,340	50.1
Kindergarten	2,706	2,745	1.4
Elementary school	28,638	26,051	-9.0
High school	12,723	13,073	2.8
College	6,759	7,781	15.1

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

EMPLOYMENT

That Blacks have been hardest hit by the downturn in the economy is an indisputable fact. Among adults, the unemployment rate is 14.3 per cent, nearly twice the rate for whites. Among employable youths, an alarming 39.8 per cent were out of work in 1974. By contrast, those Blacks who are employed have improved their work situations, and their incomes, appreciably.

In 1964, for example, 16 per cent of the Black labor force was employed in white-collar jobs — professional and technical, managerial, sales and clerical. By 1974 the percentage had risen to 24. In blue-collar jobs — crafts, operative, transport and non-farm laborers — the percentages held fairly steady, 58 per cent in 1964, 57 per cent in 1974.

UPWARD MOBILITY

Not shown in these statistics is the upward mobility of the Black worker. Blacks today hold positions that seemed unattainable 10 years ago. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Federal government, which employs 390,000 Blacks in full-time positions. In grades GS 9 (\$13,483) and higher, Blacks held 9.5 per cent of the positions in 1970. By 1974 the percentage had increased to 13.6. Although no accurate statistics are available on the upward mobility of Blacks other than those employed by the Federal government, there is little doubt that unprecedented numbers in business and industry have risen to managerial and supervisory positions in recent years.

POLICY MAKERS

Even more important has been the rise of Blacks to policy-making positions. Today some 110 major corporations have Blacks on their boards of directors. A cross section of such firms follows: *General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, AT&T, IBM, RCA, Zenith Radio, Metropolitan Life Insurance, Standard Oil of Ohio, 20th Century Fox, Delta Airlines, General Foods, Philip Morris, Liggett and Myers, Miller Brewing Co., Levi Strauss, Amalgamated Trust & Savings, Midwest Savings and Loan, General Electric, New York Stock Exchange, Kraftco Corp., Greyhound Corp., and the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co.*

Occupation of the Employed Population, Excluding Federal Employment: 1974
(Numbers in thousands. Annual averages)

OCCUPATION	Total	Black	White	Percent Black of total
Total employed.....	85,936	8,112	76,620	9
White-collar workers.....	41,738	2,302	38,761	6
Professional and technical.....	12,338	710	11,368	6
Managers and administrators, except farm.....	8,941	277	8,562	3
Sales workers.....	5,417	158	5,203	3
Clerical workers.....	15,043	1,202	13,629	8
Blue-collar workers.....	29,776	3,411	26,029	12
Craft and kindred workers.....	11,477	769	10,603	7
Operatives, except transport.....	10,627	1,421	9,075	13
Transport equipment operatives.....	3,292	459	2,805	14
Nonfarm laborers.....	4,380	763	3,547	17
Service workers.....	11,373	2,130	9,037	19
Private household.....	1,228	458	755	37
Service workers, except private household.....	10,145	1,672	8,282	17
Farm workers.....	3,048	225	2,793	7

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

INCOME

In 1974 the Black wage earner's position on the economic ladder was virtually the same as it had been four years earlier. The median family income was \$7,800, or 60 per cent of the \$13,400 earned by white families. Nationally, 38 per cent of all Black families had incomes in excess of \$10,000, while 19 per cent exceeded \$15,000. Poverty, however, remained a crippling factor for many Blacks, since nearly one out of every four was below the low-income level.

Of the three out of four Blacks above the poverty level, most reside in the North and West. In these regions 47 per cent of the Black families earned \$10,000 or more in 1974, with 26 per cent topping the \$15,000 mark. Among young (under 35 years) Black families in the North and West, when both husband and wife are wage earners, income parity with white families has been achieved. In the South young Black families have yet to earn as much as their white counterparts, but the income gap has narrowed to the point where Blacks now earn 87 per cent of the young white family income.

CONSUMERISM

In planning sales campaigns, American business firms traditionally have relied heavily on demographics, the statistical study of populations. In recent years, however, increasing emphasis has been placed on psychographics, or why people behave as they do. This latter approach is essential to any seller who would successfully explore the Black consumer market.

In demographic terms alone, the buying potential of the Black wage earner is only 60 per cent of that of his white counterpart. Psychographically, it is far greater. Black and white spending habits vary widely. In 1975, for example, it is estimated that approximately \$1 billion was spent by delegates and participants at some 400 major Black conventions. Blacks also spent about \$300 million on air travel during the year.

Blacks also spend a larger percentage of their income on consumer products than do whites, and buy many items in proportionately greater volume than whites.

continued

**Distribution of Families, by Income in 1965, 1970, and 1974
(Adjusted for price changes in 1974 dollars. Families as of the following year.)**

Income	Black			White		
	1965	1970	1974	1965	1970	1974
Number of families . . . thousands	4,424	4,928	5,498	43,500	46,533	49,451
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under \$3,000	20	15	14	7	5	4
\$3,000 to \$3,999	10	8	9	4	3	3
\$4,000 to \$4,999	10	7	8	4	4	4
\$5,000 to \$6,999	17	13	14	9	8	8
\$7,000 to \$9,999	18	18	17	17	14	14
\$10,000 to \$11,999	8	9	8	13	11	11
\$12,000 to \$14,999	8	11	11	16	16	15
\$15,000 and over	9	18	19	30	39	42
Median income	\$6,072	\$7,978	\$7,808	\$11,333	\$13,000	\$13,356

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

CONSUMERISM (continued)

Food is one example. Proportionately, Blacks buy more poultry, fish and seafood, processed foods, pork and other meats, excluding beef. Blacks also buy more alcoholic beverages and soft drinks. This is true too of some wearing apparel — overcoats, sweaters, suits, sport coats, pants, shoes and jewelry.

There are more mouths to feed in the Black home and more bodies to clothe. Females are the heads of household in 34 per cent of Black homes, in contrast to 10 per cent of white homes. Blacks travel greater distances to make their purchases and shop less frequently than whites.

Increasingly, Blacks are becoming more brand conscious, relying on the reputation of products to protect them from inferior quality. They are unwilling to risk their dollars on lesser known items, and they are no longer willing to shop in inferior surroundings. As inner cities deteriorate and the quality of products and services declines, Blacks are finding their way to the city periphery and the suburbs, where they can get non-risk products in a pleasant environment. Blacks also tend to buy products which use Black models in their advertising and shop at stores which employ sales personnel of their race. This pattern persists, however, only as long as the products prove to be of high quality and the service is good.

DEVELOPING TRENDS

Yet there is no stereotype Black consumer. Like white shoppers, Blacks are a diverse lot. Age, education, income and place of residence all are factors which influence their behavior. Nevertheless, several trends seem to be developing as a result of the group's economic emergence and its new racial awareness.

Blacks today are putting more and more of their dollars into markets with great growth potential — housing, home furnishings, education, clothing, accessories, medical and personal care, travel, recreation, automobiles and entertainment. Setting the trend are the young, better-educated, more affluent families. It is their buying habits that will present a real challenge to the marketing strategy of industry in the years ahead.

POLITICS

In the 10 years since the Voting Rights Act of 1965 the number of Black elected officials in the United States has increased from slightly more than 100 to in excess of 3,500. Several factors have accounted for this phenomenal rise. The legislative act itself enfranchised millions of Southern Blacks who had been denied the right to vote. The civil rights movement of the early and mid-Sixties and the activist protests which followed, the concepts of Black Power and Black Awareness, and the continuing flight of whites to the suburbs all contributed to the solidification of the Black vote.

Nowhere is this new Black voter solidarity more evident than in the South, where since 1971 the number of Black U.S. Representatives has increased from two to five, state legislators and executives from 70 to 124, mayors from 47 to 82, and other elected officials from 763 to 1,702.

The Congressional Black Caucus, made up of the 17 Black U.S. Representatives, has been a leader in stimulating the Black voter. Since 1971 the Caucus has worked diligently to make Blacks aware of the problems affecting them, the poor of all races and Third World countries. The goal of the Caucus is to use the political leverage of Blacks in the legislative structures to help solve many of these problems.

Among the 3,503 Black elected officials listed by the Joint Center for Political Studies in 1975 were the following:

- 1 U.S. Senator (Massachusetts)
- 17 U.S. Representatives, including 4 women (California, Illinois, New York and Texas)
- 13 statewide-elected officials, including 2 Lieutenant Governors (California and Colorado)
- 53 State Senators
- 223 State Representatives
- 140 Mayors, including six in major cities (Los Angeles, Detroit, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Newark and Gary, Ind.)
- 1,237 City Councilmen, Aldermen and Commissioners

BUSINESS

Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Four was anything but a good year for business, Black-owned enterprises in particular. The nearly 200,000 Black businesses had an estimated \$7.3 billion in sales, their highest volume ever. But with inflation, 1974 also saw a shrinkage in profits and an alarmingly high rate of bankruptcies and other failures.

The failures notwithstanding, Blacks refused to be deterred in their attempt to enter the business mainstream. The well-established Black businesses continued their steady upward climb.

The 100 largest firms, as compiled by *Black Enterprise* magazine, had total sales of \$675.24 million, up \$7 million from the previous year. Excluding financial institutions, Motown Industries, the Los Angeles-based entertainment corporation, led the nation with sales of \$45 million. Rounding out the first five were Johnson Publishing Co. (*Ebony*, *Jet*, etc.) of Chicago, \$34 million; Johnson Products (cosmetics) of Chicago, \$33.2 million; Fedco Foods of New York City, \$30 million; and Garland Foods of Dallas, \$17.2 million.

In terms of dollar volume, automotive dealers, including service stations, ranked first in sales among Black business firms, well ahead of food stores, the second-ranked category of enterprises.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Among financial institutions, Independence Bank of Chicago led commercial banks with \$50.7 million on deposit. Carver Federal of New York City, with deposits of \$52.9 million, topped savings and loan associations, while North Carolina Mutual of Durham was first among life insurance companies with \$2 billion insurance in force.

Blacks have barely scratched the surface of the business world, however, a fact that has not gone unnoticed in the Black community. Today many Black institutions, the colleges in particular, are beginning a concerted effort to guide more students into business careers and more salaried employees into businesses of their own. The success of these efforts could determine if the Black entrepreneur will get a larger share of the nation's business in future years.

WHY JEFFRIES AND ASSOCIATES

By virtue of its long years of experience with the Black consumer market, Jeffries and Associates is uniquely qualified to offer advice and counsel to corporate and privately-owned firms interested in exploring this \$63 billion market. Among the accounts currently serviced by J & A are the *Coca Cola Bottling Co. of Los Angeles*, *Exxon*, *Hiram Walker*, *Safeway Stores*, *United Airlines*, *Miller Brewing Co.*, *Chrysler Corp.* and *Alpha Kappa Alpha* sorority.

J & A has a staff of specialists with many years experience in the fields of business, industrial, educational and governmental relations. The firm is headed by LeRoy Jeffries, a veteran of nearly 30 years in advertising, marketing, personnel management and public relations. Jeffries holds the Bachelor of Arts degree in economics and psychology from Wilberforce University in Ohio and the Master of Arts degree in vocational guidance and personnel administration from Columbia University. He also has been awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Humanities by Wilberforce, and is a guest lecturer in public relations at the University of Southern California and the University of California at Los Angeles.

CORPORATIONS COUNSELED

Prior to establishing J & A, Jeffries held positions with the Urban League of Greater New York, National Urban League and the Johnson Publishing Co., where he was senior vice president for advertising. In addition to his present accounts, he has counseled *Anheuser Busch*, *Arma Corp.*, *DuPont*, *Ford Motors*, *Frigidaire*, *General Motors*, *Hallmark Cards*, *Hunt-Wesson*, *Mattel*, *Proctor and Gamble*, *Saks Fifth Avenue*, *Swift & Co.*, *Admiral Corp.* and others.

Jeffries has traveled worldwide, observing firsthand sociological and economic factors influencing human relations. His wide travels throughout Africa, in particular, have provided him with an expertise of that continent shared by few in his field. Until mid-1975 Jeffries served as Consul in Los Angeles for the Republic of Liberia.

Jeffries and Associates' wealth of knowledge and experience can prove extremely profitable to companies interested in helping meet the needs of the Black consumer.

**BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION
OF SELECTED CITIES
1970**

Cities	Total Population	Black Population	Black Percent of Total
NEW YORK CITY	7,867,760	1,666,636	21.2
CHICAGO	3,366,957	1,102,620	32.7
DETROIT	1,511,482	660,428	43.7
PHILADELPHIA	1,948,609	653,791	33.6
WASHINGTON	756,510	537,712	71.1
LOS ANGELES	2,816,061	503,606	17.9
BALTIMORE	905,759	420,210	46.4
HOUSTON	1,232,802	316,551	25.7
CLEVELAND	750,903	287,841	38.3
NEW ORLEANS	593,471	267,308	45.0
ATLANTA	496,973	255,051	51.3
ST. LOUIS	622,236	254,191	40.9
MEMPHIS	623,530	242,513	38.9
DALLAS	844,401	210,238	24.9
NEWARK	382,417	207,458	54.2
INDIANAPOLIS	744,624	134,320	18.0
BIRMINGHAM	300,910	126,388	42.0
CINCINNATI	452,524	125,070	27.6
OAKLAND	361,561	124,710	34.5
JACKSONVILLE	528,865	118,158	22.3
KANSAS CITY, MO.	507,087	112,005	22.1
MILWAUKEE	717,099	105,088	14.7
PITTSBURGH	520,117	104,904	20.2
RICHMOND	249,621	104,766	42.0
BOSTON	641,071	104,707	16.3
COLUMBUS	539,677	99,627	18.5
SAN FRANCISCO	715,674	96,078	13.4
BUFFALO	462,768	94,329	20.4
GARY	175,415	92,695	52.8
NASHVILLE - DAVIDSON	448,003	87,851	19.6
NORFOLK	307,951	87,261	28.3
LOUISVILLE	361,472	86,040	23.8
FORT WORTH	393,476	78,324	19.9
MIAMI	334,859	76,156	22.7
DAYTON	243,601	74,284	30.5
CHARLOTTE	241,178	72,972	30.3
MOBILE	190,026	67,356	35.4
SHREVEPORT	182,064	62,152	34.1
JACKSON	153,968	61,063	39.7
COMPTON	78,611	55,781	71.0
TAMPA	277,767	54,720	19.7
JERSEY CITY	260,545	54,595	21.0
FLINT	193,317	54,237	28.1
SAVANNAH	118,349	53,111	44.9
SAN DIEGO	696,769	52,961	7.6
TOLEDO	383,818	52,915	13.8
OKLAHOMA CITY	366,481	50,103	13.7
SAN ANTONIO	654,153	50,041	7.6
TOTALS . . .	37,523,292	10,360,922	27.6

Source: 1970 Census — U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

NOTE: Since 1970 an estimated 1,000,000 Blacks have been added to the population of the cities.

FACTS ABOUT BLACKS Information Sources

Advertising Age
Black Enterprise
Clothes
Progressive Grocer
 Johnson Publishing Co.
 Joint Center for Political Studies
 U.S. Department of Commerce
 U.S. Department of Labor

Marketing Consultants

Corporate and Management Counseling
Public Relations
Product and Market Development
Minority Advertising Consultation
Market Research
Executive Recruitment
Affirmative Action Programs

For additional information write:



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90010

Brochure No. 1—1-76

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: COUNSELLOR ROBERT HARTMANN
FROM: STANLEY SCOTT *JS*
SUBJECT: Meeting With Key Black Republicans
Cabinet Room, 9:30 a. m., Sept. 13, 1974

It would be meaningful if you would share with this group your views on the following talking points:

1. The need to broaden the base of the GOP and bring minorities into full participation of the two-party system.
 - A. Polls and black support of GOP
 - B. President Ford wants minorities to be a part of and play a role in his Administration.
2. Welcome their input. We depend on each person making their concerns known to Stan Scott.
3. We welcome your recommendations on approaches to meet and solve the pressing problems of the day. I understand you are leaving with Stan Scott position papers and suggested solutions to domestic concerns. Please be assured that your recommendations will be given priority consideration as we work to find solutions to our domestic problems.

Note: I do not recommend that your remarks be restricted in any manner in view of your wide-ranging responsibilities. This group is primarily concerned that their loyalty and support is wanted and needed in a partnership in progress as we move ahead to make this a better country for all Americans.

Bob, it would be appreciated if you would give the group a few minutes of your time just before or immediately after the President's appearance at 10:30 a. m.

Bob, thanks for your support.



President's Briefing Paper

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1974

MEETING WITH KEY BLACK REPUBLICANS

Friday, September 13, 1974

10:30 a.m. (10 Minutes)

The Cabinet Room

From: Stan Scott

I. PURPOSE

To personally assure black Republicans that the President is a strong advocate of the two-party system and wants to broaden the base of the GOP with blacks as an integral part of this effort.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: As your liaison with the black community, my office has received numerous requests from a wide cross-section of black Republicans expressing their support of your Administration and a desire to meet their new Chief Executive.

Today's meeting is the first in a series that Stan Scott will be conducting at the President's request to gain input from a cross-section of black Republicans. To provide these Republicans a sense of involvement at the highest level of government, each participant has been asked to leave with us a position paper and recommended solutions to problems facing blacks and the poor.

GOP Chairwoman Mary Louise Smith and Anne Armstrong will participate in the meeting and provide input from their respective areas of responsibility. Counsellors Robert Hartmann and John Marsh are expected to drop-in and meet our supporters.

- B. Participants: Robert Hartmann, John Marsh, Anne Armstrong, Stan Scott, John Calhoun, Mary Louise Smith.
- C. Press Plan: Press photo

III. TALKING POINTS

1. I want you to know that I welcome and appreciate your support and eagerly look forward to working with all of you as we move to strengthen and broaden the base of our party.
2. I have asked Stan Scott to solicit your comments and thoughts on the most serious concerns of black Americans to assist my Administration as we move ahead to find solutions to our domestic problems. The position papers you leave with us today will be carefully reviewed and considered by my staff as we work to find solutions.
3. While we are determined to broaden the base of the Republican party with black and other minority support, we are also determined in our commitment to beat inflation, high unemployment and other social and economic problems affecting our country. We need your help.
4. I also want and need your support as we move to build bridges to human dignity across that gulf which too frequently separates black from white America.
5. I understand that our new Republican Chairwoman Mary Louise Smith, Counsellor Anne Armstrong and other White House Staffers have been meeting with you this morning, but none of that is important unless we all work together in a partnership in progress to achieve common goals to strengthen our party and our nation.
6. Mayor Lyman Parks from my hometown in Grand Rapids is on Presidential assignment in Yugoslavia, but I see we are represented by Paul Phillips, my friend from the Grand Rapids Urban League.
7. I welcome and need your support--you have mine as we move ahead to unify and strengthen our great nation.

FLETCHER, ART



Republican
National
Committee.

October 22, 1974

Honorable Gerald Ford
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear President Ford:

Per your recent reference to busing and quality education, you might find a definition sent to me by a highly qualified and committed Black educator useful.

Attached is a copy of recent correspondence received from Lawnie H. Taylor of Los Angeles. Mr. Taylor's definition of "quality education" and his statement about "How To Achieve Quality Education for Black Children" are included in the letter.

Sincerely,



Arthur A. Fletcher
Consultant to the Chairman
For Minority Affairs

CC: Robert Hartmann

13 October 1974

Mr. Arthur Fletcher
Republican National Headquarters
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C.

Attn: Mrs. Pat Holt

Dear Art:

I deeply appreciate the time taken out of your personal schedule which you accorded me today. In response to your suggestion, I submit the following definitions:

QUALITY EDUCATION -

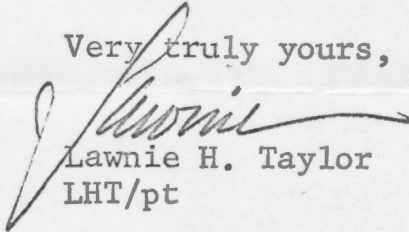
Preparation of the child sufficient to produce such results that the product can realize an opportunity for equal employment.

HOW TO ACHIEVE QUALITY EDUCATION FOR BLACK CHILDREN -

By means of academic programs designed and implemented by Black expertise and parents, as agents within a school system; programs which comport with the Black child's lifestyle, and home and community environments, i.e., which are relevant.

I will look forward to a response from your office with regard to the case TAYLOR VS. PASADENA CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION, CV74 2870 FW(K), filed October 4, 1974 in the United States District Court Central District of California.

Very truly yours,


Lawnie H. Taylor
LHT/pt



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 23, 1974

MEETING WITH KEY BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

Friday, October 25, 1974

12:15 p.m. (30 Minutes)

The Cabinet Room

From: Stan Scott

I. PURPOSE

To let these leaders know that the President intends to build bridges to human dignity across that gulf which today too frequently separates black from white America. To solicit the recommendations and suggestions of these respected Americans as the President seeks solutions to domestic problems.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: Immediately after assuming the Vice Presidency, Mr. President, you requested that I set up a meeting with top civil rights leaders to establish a spirit of cooperation and willingness to work with all segments of American society to help insure success of the Administration's civil rights and minority-oriented programs. Your first White House meeting, as Vice President, was with top black Administration appointees.

Today's meeting is the latest in a series that you have held with blacks (Black Caucus, Black Republicans and Black Appointees) to gain their views on pressing domestic problems. Each participant in today's meeting has been asked to leave with us a position paper and recommended solutions to problems facing blacks and the poor.

Roy Wilkins, elder statesman of the civil rights movement, is out of the country and could not be with us today. His organization is ably represented by Clarence Mitchell. Roy Wilkins will meet with you at a later date here at the White House. Mr. President, you met with several of these black leaders when you were Vice President.

- B. Participants: Robert Hartmann, John Marsh, Donald Rumsfeld, Stan Scott, Geoffrey Shepard, John Calhoun, William Walker, Roger Semerad.
- C. Press Plan: Press Photo

III. TALKING POINTS

1. BUSING: While I am opposed to the busing of school children, especially the younger ones outside their neighborhoods in order to achieve racial balance, I reiterate that I intend to see that the laws of the land are faithfully executed and that the law established by the Supreme Court, as the final arbiter of Constitutional rights, will be carried out even where I might personally have some disagreement with those decisions.

(The President might want to state the view that a spirit of racial harmony and understanding, even among those with different opinions on the busing issue, will greatly improve our ability to enforce the constitutional rights of everyone, and do so in a way which is sensible and effective).

Assure the civil rights leaders that those individuals found guilty of violating the civil rights of others--black or white--will be dealt with by the Department of Justice.

2. I welcome and need your support--you have mine--as we move ahead to unify and strengthen our great nation. We are determined to win the battle against inflation, high unemployment and other social and economic problems affecting our country. We need your help.
3. VOTING RIGHTS ACT EXTENSION: The President might take the following approach: a) There is no right more important than the vote, and state his commitment to enforcing all laws that guarantee that this right will not be abridged by reason of race or color. b) Note that when the Act was passed in 1965 and extended in 1970, he voted for such actions on both occasions, and does not have a private political agenda to torpedo the Voting Rights Act, particularly if compelling arguments for extension are made.
4. MINORITY BUSINESS: The development of minority business is not only a top priority of this Administration, but one to which I have a personal commitment.

5. FAIR HOUSING: Civil Rights Commission report concludes that not nearly enough is being done to insure fair housing opportunities. President might want to instruct HUD and Justice to review concerns expressed by the Commission and report to the President through their respective Cabinet officers.
6. OEO-POVERTY PROGRAMS: As the programs proved themselves, they were spun off into the agencies that had similar ongoing activities. For instance, Job Corps was delegated to Labor, Head Start to HEW, Comprehensive Health Centers to HEW, etc. The Administration feels that such moves strengthen rather than weaken the programs. With the signing of legal services legislation, the only major program remaining in OEO is Community Action, which, if approved by Congress, will be turned over to other levels of government.
7. UNEMPLOYMENT: Under the actions which I took on September 11, over one billion dollars in public service employment funding has been released under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, providing 170,000 public service jobs. Further I believe there is a need for federal standby authority with minimal inflationary impact which will help alleviate the impact of unemployment should unemployment rates rise further as a result of economic conditions. I have stated repeatedly that our policies, while stringent in economic terms, would be compassionate in human terms; that I would not let the impact of inflation control measures fall disproportionately on those Americans least able to bear the cost. The National Employment Assistance Act of 1974 would implement those pledges by authorizing, through December 31, 1975, two programs which would begin to operate in local areas with the heaviest unemployment should the national unemployment rate average 6 percent or more for three months.
8. EMPLOYMENT: The civil rights leaders would be pleased if the President were to acknowledge his belief that despite important and significant progress in the field of equal opportunity, there are situations where jobs are denied because of race and national origin, and that he believes that it is important for all citizens to have a fair chance to work at their chosen jobs.