

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: CICCONI, JAMES: Files

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File Folder: Minorities & Women Ad hoc Group On [2 of 2]

Date: 2/2/99

~~box 9112~~ Box 11

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Note	Re: appointment, 1p	n.d.	P5/F6 B6
2. Memo	to James Baker Re: social issues, 1p	2/6/82	P5 OPEN CIS 10/18/00

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1, 1982

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the Advisory Committee on Small and Minority Business Ownership. The President also announced his intention to designate R. Miller Hicks Chairman.

AL CARDENAS is co-founder and senior partner of the firm Barron, Lehman & Cardenas in Miami, Florida. Previously, he was senior partner of Cardenas, Chomat, Geiss, Amador & Dienstag in 1978-79. He has practiced law since 1974. He has been active in community affairs and served as a member of the Dade County Mayor's Committee on Economic Development. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Greater Miami Restoration Board. He was born January 3, 1948 in Havana, Cuba.

WILLIAM JACKSON GREER is Chairman of the Board of Intex Products, Inc., of Greenville, South Carolina. In 1971 he purchased the industrial and textile divisions of Texize Chemicals, Inc., and formed Intex Products, Inc. He founded Texize Chemicals in 1945, serving as President and Treasurer and Chairman of the Board until 1971. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers. Mr. Greer was born November 20, 1908 in Honea Path, South Carolina.

R. MILLER HICKS is President of R. Miller Hicks & Company, a business development and consultant firm incorporated over 23 years ago in Austin, Texas. He is Past Chairman of the Board of Dynamic Broadcasting Corporation and Vice President of Investors, Inc., a mortgage banking corporation. He is Past Member of the U.S. Regional Export Expansion Council. He was born April 29, 1925 in Athens, Texas.

LEROY W. JEFFRIES is Founder and President of LeRoy W. Jeffries and Associates, Inc., a marketing and public relations firm in Los Angeles, California. Previously, he was Senior Vice President and Director of Advertising with Johnson Publishing Company. He has also held positions with the Urban League of Greater New York, the National Urban League, and served as a consultant to the chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. He was born August 14, 1912 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

-More-

KATHERINE D. ORTEGA is a consultant with Otero Savings and Loan Association in Alamogordo, New Mexico. Previously, she was President and Director of Santa Ana State Bank in Santa Ana, California, in 1975-77; Vice President and Cashier, Pan American National Bank in Los Angeles, California, in 1972-75; and Tax Supervisor, Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Company in 1969-72. She was the first woman president of a bank in the State of California. Ms. Ortega was born July 16, 1934 in Tularosa, New Mexico.

LINCOLN JOHNSON RAGSDALE, SR. is President and Chairman of the Board of Valley Life and Casualty Insurance and Owner of International Investment Company in Phoenix, Arizona. He is Past President of the International Construction Company and was Secretary and a member of the Board of Directors of the Southwest Savings and Loan Association. He is currently a member of the National Urban League Board of Trustees and member of the Board of Directors of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He was born July 27, 1927 in Muskogee, Oklahoma.

STANLEY S. SCOTT is Vice President of Public Affairs, Philip Morris U.S.A., in New York, New York. He was Director of Corporate Public Affairs and Assistant Director, Corporate Relations and Communications, in 1977-79. Mr. Scott served as Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, Department of State, in 1975-77, and was Special Assistant to the President in the White House in 1973-75. He was Assistant Director of Public Relations, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in 1966-67. Mr. Scott was born July 2, 1933 in Bolivar, Tennessee.

WALTER LARKE SORG is President, Walter Larke Sorg Associates, a management consulting firm in Washington, D.C. Previously, he was appointed to participate in organization and development of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, Department of Commerce, in 1969. He later served as Assistant Director, Director of National Programs and Acting Director. He was engaged in financial printing in 1947-69. Mr. Sorg was born April 5, 1926 in Springfield Gardens, New York.

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PHILIP MORRIS INCORPORATED
COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017
(212) 679-1800

BIOGRAPHY

STANLEY S. SCOTT

VICE PRESIDENT - PUBLIC AFFAIRS

PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

Stanley S. Scott was appointed Vice President - Public Affairs for Philip Morris U.S.A., largest of the operating companies of Philip Morris Incorporated, in February 1979.

Mr. Scott was previously Director of Corporate Public Affairs for Philip Morris Incorporated.

Mr. Scott joined Philip Morris Incorporated as Assistant Director of Corporate Relations and Communications in February 1977 and was appointed Director of Corporate Public Affairs nine months later.

Prior to joining Philip Morris, Mr. Scott, a former Special Assistant to President Gerald Ford, served as Assistant Administrator of the State Department's Agency for International Development.

Mr. Scott is a former New York newsman who also served as Assistant Director of Communications during four and one-half years in the White House. He joined the White House staff in 1971 and served as Assistant to the President from February 1973 to November 1975, when he was appointed by Mr. Ford and confirmed by the Senate to his post with AID as Assistant Administrator.

As a Presidential representative in the White House and State Department, Mr. Scott worked on domestic concerns and traveled

extensively in Europe and Africa while involved in the area of foreign policy.

Before joining the White House staff, Mr. Scott served for four years as a radio newsman at Westinghouse Broadcasting Corporation in New York City. He was an Assistant Director of Public Relations for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in New York, and a general assignment news reporter for United Press International. Mr. Scott is a former reporter for the Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga., and Editor-General Manager of the Memphis World, Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Scott is the recipient of numerous awards, including the Pulitzer nomination while at UPI for his eye-witness account of the assassination of civil rights advocate Malcolm X, the Russworn award for excellence in journalism, the Silurians award presented by veteran New York newsmen, and the Lincoln University distinguished alumni award.

He is a member of the Board of Directors of the New York City Convention Center, and serves as a member of the Board of Visitors of the North Carolina Central University School of Law. In September 1979, Mr. Scott was elected to the Board of Directors of Associated Industries of New York State.

Born in Bolivar, Tenn., Mr. Scott attended Palmer Memorial Institute, a preparatory school in Sedalia, N.C., the University of Kansas in Lawrence (1951-1953), and Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo. (1957-1959), where he received his B.S. degree in journalism. He served in the U.S. Army from 1954 to 1956, including one year in Korea.

Philip Morris U.S.A. produces Marlboro -- the number one selling cigarette in the U.S.A. and the world -- Benson & Hedges 100's, Merit, Virginia Slims, Parliament Lights, Saratoga 120's, Philip Morris regular and Commander, Benson & Hedges Multifilter, Alpine, and other cigarettes.

Philip Morris Incorporated also includes Philip Morris International, Miller Brewing Company, The Seven-Up Company, Philip Morris Industrial, and Mission Viejo Company.

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5/20/81

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

—
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

3/22 → JC - NS

Bring to JAB's
attention?

MEMORANDUM

March 22, 1982

TO: James Baker III, Chief of Staff

FROM: Drew Lewis

The attached comes to me from Legree Daniels, Chairman of the National Black Republican Council.

I feel the points made by Legree are thoughtful and worthwhile. I would be pleased to discuss them with you at your convenience.

In view of the critical nature of this memo, I only have submitted it to you.

{ Davenport - Fletcher
Spec Asst for Urban Aff
who

- ① Art Fletcher
- ② Stan Scott
- ③ Lawrence Davenport
- ④ John Tiller

Disburse w/ JAB

A BLACK PLAN FOR THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

- I. The Problem
- II. Implications
- III. Causes of Our Predicament
- IV. Ten Actions Steps To Restore
The President's Reputation
- V. Issues Which Have or Will
Contribute To Black Polarization
Against The President

A BLACK PLAN FOR THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

The Problem

The Administration's handling of affirmative action, voting rights and social program budget cuts have resulted in the worse polarization of black Americans against a President in American history. A Gallup Poll in September indicated that in 45 years of Gallup measurements there has never been a greater disagreement between white and black on the performance of a President. Some 42% of blacks felt that they were being treated unfairly by the President as against 9% of whites on the same question. A Harris survey in October showed that 79% of blacks gave negative ratings to President Reagan as compared to 39% for whites. That was last fall. Today, matters are far worse.

As a result of the tax exempt schools problem, many blacks now openly call the President a racist despite the fact the President is without racial prejudice. Many black opinion leaders attribute the current record high unemployment among blacks to Reagan policies and politics. The sad truth is that there is a crisis of confidence in black America today about the President's ability to govern for all the people.

Implications

1. As matters now stand, some historians and most black Americans will look back at this Administration as one that undercut the civil rights and economic opportunities of black Americans. It will be said that we were anti-black.
2. The President will not be able to exert moral leadership in the black community should urban disturbances erupt. Miami's Liberty City disturbances of May, 1980 proved that the era of urban riots is not yet over. Should record high black youth unemployment ignite into lawlessness, the media and others will point to Administration policies as being a prime cause.
3. State and local Republican candidates will suffer a black voter backlash because of the President's poor standing in black communities. Already recent Republican losses in Maryland's 5th Congressional district and Virginia's Gubernatorial races were due in great part to unusually large turnouts of black voters who voted for Democrats in record percentages.
4. The black middle income group, half of the black population, holding views on crime, busing, and tax cuts virtually identical to the President and most Republicans, will continue to rebuff Republican outreach. Black Republicanism will be permanently damaged. The new black conservative movement will be stillborn and its significance lost.

5. Some black appointees, unable to influence policy and increasingly stigmatized by their affiliation with an Administration largely loathed by blacks, will resign and effective replacements may not be found.
6. At a time when many blacks thought the civil rights struggle had been won and an era had ended, Administration actions are serving to resurrect the movement and its leaders.

Causes of Our Predicament

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

1. Insensitivity At the Civil Rights Office
The Justice Department's Civil Rights Office has effectively abandoned President Reagan's pledge to "protect the civil rights of black Americans" and has substituted an initiative to dismantle the Federal civil rights guarantees of the past 18 years. Our position on voting rights, affirmative action, and tax exempt schools all originated or passed through this office. Normally, the office serves to carefully screen such proposals and protect the President from charges of insensitivity. Its posture of approving anti-civil rights proposals then marketing these at the White House is a reserval of its role and is the chief immediate cause of the current crisis.
2. Absence of a Designated Black Spokesman at the White House
Ours is the first Administration since Truman's not to designate a senior black White House official to handle black concerns. Our failure to have an official spokesman/surrogate and empower him to represent the President's interest as they relate to blacks has been a powerful negative signal inside the Administration.
3. Absence of a Policy Notification Process
We lack a process that requires agencies to notify the White House in a timely manner of all policy initiatives (not just black ones) prior to being announced.

UNDERLYING CAUSES

4. A Premature Attempt at A Color-Blind Policy
There is a widely held belief among White House officials that our society has evolved to the point where we can effectively think and behave in non-racial terms. Our attempt to be color-blind ignores long-held prejudices and current political realities. Our objective is noble but causes us to act in insensitive ways.
5. Black Republicans Not Viewed as an Important Constituency
Traditional Republican politics have written-off the black vote in elections. The harvest of this legacy of political neglect is bitter distrust of Republicans by blacks and

ignorance of blacks and black issues by many Republicans. Had more-senior White House officials been in closer contact with black Republican leaders on black-related issues, we would have been forewarned on sensitive issues like tax-exempt schools.

6. Budget Cuts and Black Unemployment Created Mistrust
Last spring most blacks perceived our budget cuts as being targeted against the poor and blacks, despite our social safety net. The recent record high levels of unemployment are seen as a result. This has created a foundation of mistrust upon which the new crisis is built.
7. Over-reliance on Public Relation Approaches to Black Concerns and a Failure to Vigorously Defend the President
Too often we have relied on yearly speeches to black audiences, one sentence inserts into other addresses, and Presidential interviews as a substitute for substantive approaches to black America. Only decisive Presidential actions will improve the President's standing among blacks. Equally as important, we have failed to actively counter many of the outrageous charges made against the President. We have been far too passive in challenging inaccurate and often biased media reports as well as polarizing pronouncements by some civil rights leaders.

Ten Action Steps to Restore the President's Reputation

The following steps will communicate to the black community that the President is not bigoted and that racial justice is on the agenda of the Reagan Administration. This is not a laundry list and all ten steps need to be taken. (Confer with leading black supporters like Clarence Pendleton, Gloria Tooté, Henry Lucas, and Art Fletcher in taking these steps.)

1. Replace the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights with a person who is willing to meet the letter and spirit of the President's civil rights pledge.
2. Name a black White House spokesman/surrogate to be Deputy Assistant to the President and director of a new Office of Urban Affairs. Have the office oversee virtually all black affairs of the Administration. Provide the office with adequate budget and staff. Situate the official in the West Wing and have the person attend the daily senior staff meeting.
3. Publically announce a Reagan policy of preserving the civil rights advancements of the past 18 years. Set up a permanent Working Group on Civil Rights of the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy to enforce this policy and have it review all agency and White House initiatives affecting civil rights. Have the black official chair the group.

4. Name a Presidential Urban Policy Advisory Board to advise the President on minority issues similar to the Economic Policy Advisory Board. Have the Board chaired by Clarence Pendleton and name as members Toote, Lucas, Fletcher, Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams and LeGree Daniels.
5. Drop all opposition to the House version of the Voting Rights Act.
6. Make minority business development a major Presidential initiative. This is the number one policy priority of black Republicans and conservatives. Launch a major initiative in March or April.
7. Make the election of five black Republican Congressmen by 1984 a top political priority. Charge the Office of Political Affairs and the RNC with carrying out this directive.
8. Name qualified black Republicans to professional positions in the White House offices of Presidential Personnel, Press Secretary, Advance, and Counsel to the President.
9. Establish a formal policy notification process in which agencies notify the White House of all agency policy initiatives (not just black ones) prior to announcement.
10. Conduct a Cabinet Meeting on the President's determination to have his Administration be fair to blacks. This would be like the one Stephanie Lee Miller and Art Fletcher proposed last April and again in July but which was never scheduled.

Issues Which Have or Will Contribute to Black Polarization
Against the President

The following nine issues have or will polarize black opinion against the President. Analysis of these issues can be provided upon request.

- Voting Rights
- Tax Exempt Schools
- Affirmative Action in Employment
- Unemployment and CETA
- Social Program Budget Cuts
- Welfare
- Housing
- U.S. South African Policy
- D.C. Amendment

February 19, 1982



ACTION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20525

TO: James A. Baker, III
FROM: Richard English *Richard*
SUBJECT: Special Assistant for Minority Affairs
DATE: March 12, 1982

Ford ref

It is my understanding that Dr. Lawrence Davenport is being considered for the position of Special Assistant to the President for Minority Affairs.

During the year that I have worked with Lawrence at ACTION, I have been impressed with his intelligence, competence, professionalism, and dedication. He is skilled in dealing with people and impressive in meetings. He is a very hard worker and never fails to "follow up." His conduct reflects well on himself and this Administration.

Send to Dale?

]



OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

ACTION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20525

March 15, 1982

To: James A. Baker, III, Assistant to the President

From: Thomas W. Pauken, Director, ACTION

Subject: Dr. Lawrence F. Davenport

It has come to my attention that Dr. Davenport is being considered for a position at the White House as a Special Assistant for Minority Affairs. I know that he has received recommendations from a number of outstanding Republicans and I would like to add mine to that number.

Dr. Davenport was the first minority Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, where I came to know him. He also served as Vice President for Development for Tuskegee Institute. He has served ably as an Assistant Director here at ACTION and I believe he would bring the appropriate sensitivity and understanding to this particular assignment.

12255 Angel Wing Court
Reston, Virginia 22091

Business Phone: (202) 254-7290

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

July, 1981 to Present

ACTION

Washington, D. C.

Position: Associate Director for Domestic
and Anti-Poverty Operations

Responsibilities: ACTION is an independent Federal agency whose mission is to be the focal point for voluntarism within the Federal government. The Associate Director for Domestic and Anti-Poverty Operations is appointed by the President with advice and consent of the Senate, and is responsible for administration of the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973, as amended. The Domestic Operations organizational structure consists of two program offices (Volunteers in Service to America and Older American Volunteer Programs); ten regional offices and 48 state offices. The annual budget for Domestic Operations is \$148,000,000.

The Associate Director for Domestic and Anti-Poverty Operations is responsible for the management of all domestic volunteer programs of the agency, including: VISTA; National Center for Service Learning; Foster Grandparents Program; Senior Companion Program; Retired Senior Volunteer Program; and other special and demonstration programs.

The Associate Director is responsible for the effective implementation of policies, rules and procedures of the Agency as they apply to Domestic Operations.

The Associate Director develops policy internal to the needs of the Office of Domestic Operations and develops forward plans for domestic programs, proposes new policies, and recommends assistance in the development of evaluations of domestic programs.

The Associate Director maintains liaison with the appropriate Congressional committees and individual Members of Congress relative to policy and programs, and provides information to support authorization and appropriation requests.

Serves on sub-cabinet level policy development committees on urban policy and minority business.

continued

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

July 1979 to 1981 San Diego Community College District
 San Diego, California
Position: Provost

Responsibilities: The provost serves as chief academic officer for the San Diego Community College District, the second largest district in the state of California and the third largest district in the United States.

The provost chairs the Instructional Council composed of Instructional Deans representing the four colleges, six adult centers and the Educational Cultural Complex.

The provost is responsible for class schedule development for all credit and non-credit programs offered by the district.

The provost's additional responsibilities include the Resource Center for the Handicapped; Student Services for Disabled; Deaf Supportive Services; Special Curriculum for Disabled; Library Resources; the College of the Emeriti, an institution designed to bring the Community College District's programs to senior citizens; the Office of Resource Development, which coordinated the district's efforts to obtain outside funds for District programs - over \$18 million a year has been obtained through this office.

The office of the provost is responsible for educational programs provided for military and is responsible for the district's Military Coordination Program.

The provost is responsible for District Curriculum Development, including the College of the Air, a credit program, and TV Classroom, a non-credit program.

The provost also serves as the district representative to Evening College Faculty Senate and associated student bodies, and serves as representative of the district working with state and federal agencies.

The provost assumes the responsibilities of the chancellor in his absence.

September 1974 to
 June 1979

San Diego Community College Educational Cultural Complex
 San Diego, California
Position: President

Responsibilities: As chief executive officer, plan and

organize the staff, facilities and schedule of the Educational Cultural Complex to effectively achieve its goals and objectives through:

- *Providing direct leadership to all ECC programs.
- *Interpretation of the instructional program to staff, students and community.
- *Assignment, supervision and evaluation of all ECC personnel.
- *Providing and encouraging inservice training and professional improvement for staff, both certificated and classified, to achieve maximum effectiveness.
- *Planning and directing effective utilization and maintenance of facilities consisting of the Ocean View, Lincoln, Bell and Morse Campuses.
- *Planning, developing and administering administrative policies and controls over the instructional and extra-curricular activities to insure public understanding, acceptance and support of ECC programs.
- *Developing, submitting and defending the budget for the ECC and exercising budgetary control over the adopted budget.

Participate in districtwide community college planning, articulation and evaluation of programs and policies through:

- *Membership on the Executive Management Council which reviews policies, procedures, facilities, programs and budget to ensure coordination and effective utilization of district resources.
- *Membership on the District Executive Council which reviews instructional, student personnel and community services programs to plan effective means of articulating these programs to faculty, staff, students and community, and to recommend modifications.
- *Membership on the Steering Committee for Management Studies and Educational Master Planning which is responsible for overseeing district planning, research and evaluation efforts to insure focus on issues of primary concern to the district.
- *Membership on the Legislative Task Force which reviews proposed legislation to analyze potential effects on the district and aids in preparing district legislative packages.

August 1972 to
September 1974

Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Position: Vice President for Development

Responsibilities: Planning and executing institutional advancement programs, which included public relations, fund-raising, alumni relations, federal relations, corporate relations and new student relations. Participated in institute-wide planning, budget review and policy-making efforts. Provided informational and technical resources to instructional areas in budget development, departmental advance programs and special appeals for funding. Served as Chairman of the Development Council and Executive Secretary of the Board of Trustees Subcommittee on Development.

continued

June 1972 to
September 1972

The University of Michigan - Flint, Flint, Michigan
Position: Assistant Dean for Special Projects

Responsibilities: Planning and implementation of Equal Educational Opportunity programs, tutorial and reading improvement programs, volunteer bureau and other support services provided by the campus. Provide liaison between Ann Arbor, Dearborn and Flint Campuses through the Human Relations Coordinating Committee. Planning, implementation and follow-up of campus special projects. Recruitment, selection and training of professional and volunteer staff. Responsible for operation of Student Services Department in the absence of the Dean of Students. Supervision of training program for graduate students.

May 1969 to
May 1972

The University of Michigan - Flint, Flint, Michigan
Position: Director of Special Projects

Responsibilities: Planning and implementation of Equal Educational Opportunity programs and campus special projects. Supervision of training program for graduate students in Counseling and Guidance. Interpretation of the Equal Educational Opportunity programs to the community. Recruitment of students. Recruitment, selection and training of professional and volunteer staff.

July 1968 to
May 1969

Lansing Community College, Lansing, Michigan
Position: Assistant Director of Student Activities

Responsibilities: Planning and directing student activities program. Providing group and individual counseling.

RELATED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Camp Pendleton, California, Webster College, St. Louis, Missouri, Adjunct Professor

Off-Campus Locations, Pepperdine University, Los Angeles, California, Adjunct Professor.

Center for Career Planning, California State University, Long Beach, California. Adjunct Professor.

The University of Michigan, College of Education, Graduate School. Visiting Lecturer in Counseling and Guidance, 1970 to 1972.

Lansing Community College, Instructor in Afro-American History, Social Science and Education, 1967 to 1969.

Lansing Public Schools, Instructor in Adult Basic Education, 1967.

Lansing Fine Arts Project, Consultant, July 1968 to April 1969.

Lincoln Community Center, Lansing, Michigan, Program leader responsible for planning and supervision of activities for boys from eight to twenty in all phases of club work and recreation. Provided counseling to youths with adjustment problems. Taught Afro-American History. 1967 to 1968.

Remedial Reading Center, Lansing, Michigan, Counselor responsible for making home visitations and counseling with parents of students. Consultation with teacher in the development of individualized instructional programs. Follow-up on student progress. 1966 to 1967.

Lansing Public Schools, Lansing, Michigan, Family Helper responsible for providing counseling services to families in culturally disadvantaged neighborhoods. Assisted the family in developing a program of personal hygiene, budget and nutrition. Organized a youth achievement club that designed to encourage youngsters to explore the world around them and to introduce them to the world of work through movies and speakers. March 1966 to August 1966.

APPOINTMENTS

National Institute of Education Task Force on Vocational Education. Appointed 1977.

Steering Committee for the 1977 Education Conference sponsored by the San Diego Urban League, Inc.

National Advisory Council on Equality of Educational Opportunity. Vice Chairman, appointed by the President, January 1973.

National Advisory Council on Vocational Education. Chairman, appointed by the President, March 1971.

National Manpower Advisory Council. Appointed by the Secretary of Labor, 1972.

National Advisory Council on Vocational Education. Appointed by the President, July 1970.

State Community College Task Force. Appointed Fall 1976.

1976 White House Conference on Domestic Affairs - San Diego.

National Advisory Council on Career Education in Manufacturing. 1973 to 1975.

National Task Force on Career Education and the Blind, National Foundation for the Blind. 1974.

Advisory Committee to the Orange County Consortium Career Education Project. 1972 to 1974.

Carver Research Foundation Board of Directors, Tuskegee, Alabama. 1972 to 1974.

Tuskegee Area Health Education Center Planning and Development Committee. 1972 to 1974.

Mayor's Council on Manpower. City of Tuskegee, Alabama. 1973 to 1974.

National Task Force on New Strategies for Vocational, Technical and Adult Education in Urban America. U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education. 1972.

- 1970 White House Conference on Youth. Member of the Education Task Force and sub-committee chairman for the section on Equal Educational Opportunity.

CONSULTANTSHIPS

Advanced Institutional Development, U.S. Office of Education. Consultant.

National Institute of Education. Consultant.

Systems Development Corporation, Oakland CA. Member, National Reviewing Team.

Educational Planning Consultants, Inc. Member, National Panel of Consultants.

Educational Trainers and Systems, Inc. Consultant.

Research Planning Associates. Consultant.

EDUCATION

Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey

Doctorate of Education

Area of Emphasis: Higher Education Management

Doctoral Project: Career Education and Minorities

Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan

Master of Arts Degree, Adult and Continuing Education

Area of Emphasis: Education and Cultural Deprivation

Cognate Area: Sociology

Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan

Bachelor of Arts Degree, Social Work

Lansing Community College, Lansing, Michigan

Associate Arts Degree, Social Work

St. Marv's High School, Lansing, Michigan

High School Diploma

OTHER TRAINING

Carnegie-Mellon University/NCHEMS

Executive Management Training Program, 1980

University of San Francisco

The Fund-Raising School, 1980

San Diego State University

Financial Management Seminar (Extension) 1975

Thomas Payne Associates

Cost-Effectiveness Seminar, training in time motion studies. 1975

McMinnis Associates

Management by Objectives Seminar. 1974

Collective Bargaining Seminars. San Diego,

California. 1976

CIVIC AND NATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Former:

Chairman of the Board of Directors of Urban League of San Diego

Member of the Board of Directors of San Diego Opportunities Industrialization Center

Member Neighborhood Home Loan Counseling Service's Citizens Advisory Committee

Member of the Board of Directors of the Neighborhood House Association of San Diego

Michigan State University Social Work Alumni Association

Member of the Michigan State Alumni Association

Member of the Michigan State College of Education Alumni Association

Member of the American Alumni Council

Member of the American Higher Education Association

Member of the American College Public Relations Association

Member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of San Diego

Member of the Urban Coalition of Flint

Member of the Board of Directors of the Urban League of Flint

Member of the Board of Directors of Flint Opportunity Industrial Center

Member National Black Economics Union

Member of the Advisory Committee to the Coordinating Council of Genesee County for Business and Education

Member of the Michigan Welfare League

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Lansing, Michigan, 1968

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Department, Flint, Michigan, 1970

Resolution - San Diego Urban League, Inc., June 1977

Congratulatory letter from Pete Wilson, Mayor of San Diego, June 1977

Don Diego Trophy for Outstanding Achievement - San Diego Convention & Visitors Bureau, June 1977

Certificate of Appreciation - A. Hakim Majied, June 1977

Roots Challenge Award for promoting academic excellence and progressive community development in ECC service area, June 1977

Certificate of Recognition - San Diego Black Nurses Association, June 1977

Proclamation from the Board of Education of the San Diego Unified School District, June 1977

Certificate of Recognition - Neighborhood House Association, June 1977

Plaque - Model Ex-Offenders, Inc. - for tireless efforts in the field of education in San Diego County, June 1977

Plaque - Councilman & Mrs. Leon Williams - in honor of dedicated services to ECC, June 1977

Plaque - Action Interprises Development - for achievement in planning, coordinating, directing and motivating the outstanding growth of ECC, June 1977

Resolution - The Senate, California Legislature - Senator James R. Mills, June 1977

Certificate of Merit - San Diego Chapter Operation PUSH, 1976

Certificate of Appreciation - North Park Lions Club, 1974

Certificate of Appreciation - Greater Lansing Urban League, 1973

Recipient of the Keys to the Cities of New Orleans, Louisiana; Tuskegee, Alabama; and San Diego, California

Honorary Citizen of New Orleans, Louisiana - January 1973

Plaque from National Advisory Council on Vocational Education for services as Chairman of the Council

Award of Merit for "Service to Vocational Education" - the Bureau of Occupational, Adult and Technical Education

Citation and the Presidential Cufflinks for service as Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education - The President of the United States

Resolution from the Michigan House of Representatives for "Service as Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education and Contribution to the Youth of Michigan and of the United States." - January 13, 1973

National VICA Appreciation Certificate for "Special Service in the Development of Industrial Youths"

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The American Registry, First Edition, Fall 1980

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International Who's Who in Community Service, Winter 1980

Men of Achievement, Seventh Edition 1979-80, Eighth Edition, Spring 1981

Who's Who Among Black Americans, 1975-76, 1977-78, 79-80, 80-81

Who's Who in the West, 17th Edition

Notable Americans of 1978-79

Personalities of the West and Midwest, 1978, 79, 80

Outstanding Young Citizen of San Diego, 1978 - San Diego Jaycees

One of the Ten Outstanding Citizens of San Diego, 1977 - San Diego Jaycees

Certificate of Recognition - Masjid Muhammad #8, June 1977

Honorary Lt. Colonel, Aide-de-Camp, in the Alabama State Militia in the service of the governor of Alabama, June 1977

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Award for "Outstanding Achievement in Education" - National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women, Fling Club - March 12, 1972

Honorary Co-Chairman for the National Black Adult Educators, National Membership and Awards Banquet, 1972

VICA - "Blue Blazer" for contributions to youth organizations and education - California chapter

DECA Association - "Blue Jacket" for contributions to youth organizations and education

Award for "Outstanding Service to Education" - Hawaii Practical Arts & Vocational Assoc.

Award for "Outstanding Service to the Industrial Youth of America - Engaged in Vocational Education"

Selected to assist in the selection of Star Agri-Businessman of 1971 - Future Farmers of America Conference, 1971

Representative to the Emergency Conference on Higher Education for Minority and Poor Youth - Antioch College, 1970

Honorary Adjutant in the Silver State Militia in the service of the governor of Nevada, 1971

Honorary Texan - March 1971

Resolution passed by the Michigan State House of Representatives for service in Compensatory Education

Award for "Outstanding Service to Vocational Education and FFA" from the Future Farmers of America, October 14, 1971

Recipient of the Vocational Industrial Clubs of America (VICA) Gavel as a symbol of leadership, National VICA, California Chapter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM:

ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT:

Erosion of Hispanic Support

BACKGROUND

Hispanics welcomed the Reagan Presidency with high expectations. Hispanics had accorded the President with 36% of their votes nationally, compared with 51% for Carter. These voting statistics were up significantly from 1976, when Ford received just 17% of the Hispanic vote against 87% for Carter.

As a Californian, it was anticipated that Ronald Reagan would feel a close identification with Hispanics and that he would enhance Hispanic visibility and participation in his Administration. This positive perception contrasted with the negative perception of Jimmy Carter among Hispanics. As a Southerner, and as a Baptist, Carter was not predisposed to be closely allied with the Hispanic community. As his Administration progressed, Hispanic alienation grew and the "black/brown issue" became a very important if unpublicized campaign issue.

The feeling of goodwill among Hispanics toward the President grew during the early months of this Administration. A July 1981 Wirthlin poll indicated that Hispanic support for the President rose from 58% in March 1981 to 63% in June, while the national ratings fell from 72% to 69% during the same period. In addition, Republican affiliation among Hispanics rose from 26% to 38% during that period, while aggregate Democrat affiliation dropped from 59% to 53%.

The early surge of support, combined with a positive record of first-year Hispanic appointments have contributed to a sense that "all is well" with this community. In fact, Hispanic supporters and organizational leaders have been alerting us to significant defections in recent months and warning against over-confidence. In a relatively short time period, the President's momentum appears to have been reversed and has been steadily spiraling downward. This negative trend was verified last week, when several western newspapers published a poll conducted in San Antonio and Los Angeles by the Southwest Voter Registration Drive. Of those polled, 25% voted for Reagan and 70% voted for Carter in 1980. This group now identifies itself as 84.4%

Democratic and 7.8% Republican. In addition, 64% disapproved of the President's performance during a period when the national disapproval rate was 35% according to NEWSWEEK.

These rather ominous trends have been verified by recent Wirthlin poll data which shows a drop in the President's approval rating from 51% to 42% from September 1981 to February 1982. In addition, Wirthlin revealed that the President's disapproval rating among Hispanics went up 15 points for a net drop of 24%.

ISSUES

The evidence indicating an erosion of Hispanic support is compelling, and merits our immediate attention. A measure of the erosion can be attributed to economic concerns such as the recession, unemployment, high interest rates, etc. However, added to these are a number of specific issues which have sent a negative message to Hispanics.

- o Voting Rights Act: Hispanic organizations opposed the President's position on VRA and many are actively working against it. They view the President's support for a simple 10-year extension as retrogressive. They actively support the effects test provision, and view the Administration arguments for the intent test as racist.
- o Affirmative Action: The Justice Department's statements equating quotas with goals and timetables have antagonized several Hispanic organizations with a keen interest in the promotion of affirmative action for Hispanics in both government and private employment and contracting.
- o Budget Cuts: Budget Cuts are viewed as disproportionately hurting Hispanics. Specific areas of concern are bilingual education, Title I and student aid, since education programs are viewed as particularly important to Hispanic upward mobility.
- o Minority Enterprise: Minority business programs, once a major attraction for Hispanics, are now considered in a shambles by them. They also feel SBA has done little on behalf of minority business since we took office. SBA contracts and loans are and have been at a standstill, according to Hispanic community leaders. In addition, Hispanic supporters report being virtually excluded from contract consideration under MBDA programs at Commerce.
- o Appointments: No longer can we unabashedly tout first-year comparisons of Hispanic appointments in the Carter and Reagan administrations. While Hispanic appointments are fairly respectable in terms of gross numbers, a number of our critics are making headway by referring to them as undistinguished in terms of rank and visibility, especially among Mexican Americans. Hispanics still remember how close

to a cabinet appointment, and the firing of Michael Cardenas at SBA eliminated the only sub-cabinet level Hispanic appointee.

- o Recognition and Visibility: Because of their high expectations, Hispanics have become increasingly dispirited over the perceived lack of attention to the important symbolic gestures which would make them feel valued as part of the Reagan team. For example, few Hispanics have been invited to State dinners and there have been few, if any, references to Hispanics in Presidential speeches and statements. The President has not addressed a major Hispanic organization, or done a "color" event in an Hispanic area.

PROPOSED SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR MINORITY AFFAIRS

Hispanic supporters reacted quite strongly to last week's Los Angeles Times and Washington Post stories revealing plans to create a new Special Assistant for Minority Affairs to address the erosion of Black support for the President. We have received numerous calls from our Hispanic supporters asking for verification of this rumor and emphasizing the negative impact such an appointment would have in the Hispanic community.

Hispanics fear that the creation of a "minority affairs" office in the White House will work to their detriment. There has historically been considerable competition between Blacks and Hispanics for Federal appointments, program funds, contracts and White House visibility. In view of a decade of even-handed treatment of Blacks and Hispanics by the White House, the elevation of a Black by this Administration to a position of authority over Hispanics would clearly send a signal that this Administration views Hispanics as a politically unimportant subclass. In recent years, Hispanics have increasingly removed themselves from the "minority" umbrella label, on the basis that their own concerns and assets are substantially different from those of Blacks. Not since the Nixon years have Blacks and Hispanics been lumped into one office. They have each been represented by a Special Assistant to the President, and have been accorded more or less equal status and access. It is crucial that this Administration maintain an equilibrium in its treatment of minority concerns.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT: Special Assistant for Minority Affairs

Stories last week in the Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post revealed plans to create a new Special Assistant for Minority Affairs in the White House to address the erosion of Black support for the President. We have received numerous calls from our Hispanic supporters asking for verification of this rumor and pointing out the impact such an appointment would have in the Hispanic community.

There is great concern among Hispanics that the creation of a "minority affairs" office in the White House will work to their detriment. There has traditionally been considerable competition between Blacks and Hispanics for Federal appointments, program funds, contracts, and White House visibility. In recent years Hispanics have increasingly removed themselves from the "minority" umbrella label, on the basis that their own concerns and assets are substantially different from those of Blacks. Not since the Nixon years have Blacks and Hispanics been lumped into one office -- they have each been represented by a Special Assistant to the President, and have been accorded more or less equal status and access.

The strong message from grassroots Hispanic supporters is that a publicized effort to win over disaffected Blacks will intensify the erosion of support among Hispanics, who accorded the President unprecedented support in 1980. A July '81 Wirthlin poll indicated that Hispanic support for the President had risen while aggregate support was falling. This same poll showed that Republican affiliation among Hispanics had risen from 20% to 38%. A recent poll of Adult Mexican Americans in San Antonio and Los Angeles shows a much bleaker picture, with a Reagan disapproval rate of 63%, and Hispanic Republican identification at less than 8%.

This is obviously a delicate situation, and one which merits careful and immediate consideration. I would therefore urge you to assure that the downside risks are understood and weighed by Ed Meese, Mike Deaver and you before any final decision is made concerning the selection and announcement of a Special Assistant for Minority Affairs.



Melvin Bradley, senior policy adviser to President Ronald Reagan (above, with the President in the Oval Office), is described by Washington political experts as "an effective voice behind the scenes." His responsibilities include developing and reviewing policy in housing and urban development, minority business development, small business and urban enterprise. However, Bradley, 44, also has led the fight for administration support of the Voting Rights Act by meeting with civil rights leaders and presenting arguments to the Cabinet. When President Reagan was governor of California, Bradley was his assistant for community relations from 1970 to 1975. He's a graduate of Pepperdine University, and is now on leave from his position as assistant to the regional vice president of United Airlines in Los Angeles.

Blacks in the White House

Five seek to play important policy-making roles in the Reagan administration

By Chris Benson

THEY are bright, talented, young professionals—moderate conservatives, although they prefer to call themselves pragmatic political thinkers. Individually, they play important policy-influencing roles in the Reagan administration, handling a broad range of domestic and—in one case—international issues. And, as a five-person team, sort of an informal, in-house

caucus, they often can serve as the primary White House source for Black sentiment on key issues.

- Melvin Bradley, 44, senior policy adviser to the president, develops policy on housing and urban affairs, minority business development and Small Business Administration issues.
- Dan J. Smith, 31, another senior



Posing with Vice President George Bush are White House staffers (l. to r.) Steven Rhodes, Dan J. Smith, Thaddeus Garrett Jr., Thelma Duggin and Melvin Bradley. Collectively, they seek to influence Reagan administration policies that impact on the lives of all Blacks in the U.S.

policy adviser to the president, develops and reviews policy in the area of commerce and trade.

- Thaddeus Garrett Jr., 33, domestic policy adviser to the vice president, carries a broad portfolio, serving on all Cabinet councils—the White House working groups on varied issues—serves on the White House budget review group, as well as a number of special task forces.
- Thelma Duggin, 32, deputy special assistant to the president for public liaison, is responsible for volunteer organizations, youth and the Black community.
- Steven Rhodes, 30, special assistant to the president for intergovernmental affairs, serves as liaison between the president and city and county officials across the country.

They have been described as reachable, receptive and responsive. And,

while their individual responsibilities go far beyond social issues, they see a collective interest in addressing Black concerns. "If we don't express the minority viewpoint in this house, it won't be expressed," observes Garrett. "We realize that, and, in realizing that, we do meet, we do consult, we plan, we educate, we preach. Our presence is known."

Their presence has made a difference in a number of areas, which have included keeping in place funding for Black business development and procurement; providing several million dollars in direct aid and interagency support to the city of Atlanta during the crisis involving missing and murdered children; increasing direct aid to Black colleges; maintaining aid to disadvantaged college students and securing an executive order calling for each federal department and agency

to set measurable goals for aid to Black colleges. Overall, some say, these victories pale when set against the billions cut from other important social programs. But, in an administration whose script was in place long before many of the principal actors were on the scene, effectiveness often can be measured in moving mere inches.

One example was in White House discussions of the Voting Rights Act. Black in-house lobbying helped to move the president away from support of some weakening provisions, although his final position still was not the strong support many felt it should have been. Another way to measure the importance of Black input in White House social policy is to see what happens when such input is left out. Last January, without consulting Black staffers, the administration rushed a reversal of a 12-year-old pol-



Dan J. Smith, 31, is senior policy adviser to President Reagan. "It's the economy more than anything else that determines the fate of Black Americans, so we must stage a competition for enterprise and excellence," he believes, and says in support of the President's economic plan, "The objective is to create wealth." A native of Los Angeles with a B.S. degree from the University of Southern California and an M.A. degree in urban studies from Occidental College in Los Angeles, Smith fought to restore \$75 million in proposed 1982 cuts in minority economic development programs and kept in place \$101 million in administration support for the Small Business Administration. (In his State of the Union speech in January, the President promised some \$500 million for minority economic development.) Smith took part in debates on extension of the Voting Rights Act and worked on the executive order directing federal departments and agencies to set measurable goals for aiding Black colleges. "I feel no hesitation in making my views known," says Smith who formerly headed a management consulting firm in Southern California.

Blacks in White House

Continued

icy of denying federal tax exempt status to private schools that discriminate against Blacks—a move widely viewed as an insensitive policy decision and a serious political blunder. It was after hastily called damage control meetings with Bradley, Garrett and Housing and Urban Development Sec. Samuel R. Pierce Jr. that the president issued a statement condemning racial discrimination. The White House later sent legislation to Congress to prohibit the tax exemptions. Since then, there reportedly have been some changes in the policy-making apparatus at the White House to allow for more input by Bradley at top-level meetings on sensitive social issues.

Whatever effectiveness Blacks have had on social policy questions in the Reagan White House has come from their ability to adopt the administration's style of "quiet diplomacy." They are not headline seekers; they prefer to work inside. And their continued presence at most important policy meetings ensures some measure of discourse, of give-and-take dialogue behind the scenes of an administration which is publicly singleminded. "I grew up in New



Thaddeus Garrett Jr., 33, has one of the most extensive portfolios at the White House. As domestic policy adviser to Vice President George Bush (above), he serves on all the Cabinet councils—the White House working groups on varied issues from regulatory reform to refugees. Supporting the administration's budget and tax-cutting efforts, he says, "What President Reagan is saying is that the economy has got to get well in order for any one segment or any one group to be well in the economy." An ordained minister, he is an associate pastor of the Wesley Temple A. M. E. Zion Church in Akron, Ohio, where he was born. Garrett has a degree from the University of Akron, attended Howard University's Graduate School of Religion, and has three honorary doctorates of divinity. He was chief assistant to Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm from 1971 to 1975 and special assistant to Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller in 1975. He came to the administration from his international consulting firm, Thadd Garrett & Associates, Inc. He arranged White House support, including millions of dollars in federal aid, for Atlanta during its crisis involving murdered and missing Black children.

Blacks in White House *Continued*

Orleans when it was segregated," notes Steven Rhodes, "so I have an entirely different view of some of the components of affirmative action policies and laws than someone who is a preppy from New England—someone who doesn't have those same kinds of experiences. And there's no getting around that. Just like they

have *their* opinions, I have *mine*. Somewhere along the line we find agreement on some other things."

One of those areas of agreement is the administration's economic plan which all the Black appointees have supported, firmly believing everyone will benefit. "The most serious economic and social problem the Black



Thelma Duggin, 32 (above with Elizabeth H. Dole, asst. to the president for public liaison), is deputy special assistant to the president for public liaison. Her responsibilities include development of White House relationships with volunteer organizations, youth and the Black community, and she was instrumental in gaining nearly \$10 million in additional 1982 funding for Title III direct aid to Black colleges (total 1982 funding is \$129.6 million). She also helped keep in place funding for Pell Grants which provide aid to disadvantaged college students. The program was slated for drastic reductions. Ms. Duggin has worked behind the scenes to help put in place Pres. Reagan's executive order directing federal departments and agencies to deliver measurable goals and objectives for ways of helping Black colleges. She influenced the president's decision to permit the burial of former heavyweight champion Joe Louis in Arlington National Cemetery. Miss Duggin is from Mobile, Ala., and is an educator who was graduated from Edgewood College in Madison, Wisconsin. She came to the White House after working with the Republican National Committee. She says her office "has been very open and willing to meet with anyone, and we have met with most Black national organizations."

Blacks in White House *Continued*

community has faced in the last ten years is an economy in decline," observes Dan Smith. "What provides the most economic opportunity is in fact a healthy economy."

As the nation awaits the promised results, there will be continued reliance on these five advisers to assure

that a Black viewpoint is at least considered at the White House. "We should be viewed as assets," notes Thelma Duggin. "We are people who have come from the rank and file, who will do everything we can to make sure that Black views and concerns are heard."



Steven Rhodes, 30, one of three special assistants to the president for intergovernmental affairs, is a liaison between Pres. Reagan and city and county officials across the U.S. He has affected policy decisions in a number of areas, including revenue sharing and community block grants, and has worked with other White House staffers on issues related to the new urban enterprise zones — depressed inner-city areas where businesses will be given tax incentives to build factories and other businesses and create jobs. Some say Reagan intends the enterprise zones as a cornerstone of his social policy. Rhodes, a native of New Orleans, has joined other Black White House staffers in support of the Voting Rights Act and works with them in making their views known on numerous social issues. "It's hard for us not to become involved in those issues even though they may not impact on us in the areas in which we work," says Rhodes, who is on leave from Los Angeles-based Dart Industries, Inc. where he was director of government and public affairs. A pragmatist, he urges Blacks to develop new strategies to deal with new programs developed by the Reagan administration. "We have to rethink a lot of the ideas, the wishes, the dreams we have and put them in a different package," he says. "We have to put them in a package consistent with what *this* president wants to do. As long as we do that, the doors will be open." Rhodes is a business administration graduate of Los Angeles' Loyola Marymount University and has a master's degree in marketing from Pepperdine University.

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JAB not seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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March 9, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III
JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE *EHD*

SUBJECT: Affirmative Action and Other Social Issues

The death of the ERA in June (at the latest), will propel countless social advocates out in search of newcomers, and affirmative action is likely to be among the most prominent. The Administration is not perceived as having a comprehensive position on affirmative action and, therefore, it will be a prime target.

JAB
- my point
of the other
day

On the good side, this lack of clear understanding of our overall position has kept the matter from the President's doorstep and does provide some latitude for countering claims of racism and bigotry. As outlined in my Black Strategy proposal, we cannot expect any gains in the community without tackling some of the tough policy areas like affirmative action.

probably not
possible in
any event

Until we have an overall affirmative action policy, I suspect we will continue to have problems since decisions in this area will not have the benefit of an overall design and constancy.

JAB:
If this starts moving anywhere, I'd like a chance to argue for keeping our position blurred.
JC

Michael Barone

Busing and Quotas Are The Wrong Fight

Is the civil rights movement fighting the wrong battles? That seems a cruel question at a time when civil rights leaders feel they must devote most of their energy to holding on to gains they thought they had already secured and refighting battles they thought they had won. But it is a question that should be asked.

Those who devote themselves to achieving equal rights and fair treatment for blacks should not allow their agenda to be set by those who are hostile or indifferent to their goals. Civil rights forces are necessarily busy defending established policies like the Voting Rights Act and denial of tax exemption to racially discriminatory private schools. But however busy they are, they should take time out to ask these questions: how are the rights of blacks abridged and fair treatment of blacks prevented in the America of 1982? How can progress best and most rapidly be made toward making our society more decent and fair toward blacks?

If the civil rights community really ponders these questions, I think it would choose to allocate its inevitably scarce resources of personnel, money and psychic energy quite differently from the way it is today. Specifically, I think the civil rights movement would achieve more gains for blacks if it devoted much less attention to the issues generally referred to as busing and quotas and devoted more attention to open housing and basic education for blacks.

Let us look at each of these issues in turn.

Busing. *Brown v. Board of Education* and other lawsuits ended legally required school segregation in the South. The current busing lawsuits extend the reasoning of *Brown* and other cases to school systems many of which never had legal segregation and most of whose separation of students of different races results from neighborhood residential patterns. Whatever the legal merits of busing cases, they have not done much to improve education for blacks. Scholars are divided on the question of whether black students have benefited, but no one argues that they have benefited very much.

Moreover, the integration produced by busing cases seldom proves to be permanent. When children are suddenly forced to attend school with children of a substantially lower socioeconomic class, parents typically move to the suburbs or seek out private schools. When busing mixes together children from such different backgrounds, they may very well end up learning a lesson we do not want to teach and that is not in fact true: that blacks inevitably are academically inferior to and economically poorer than whites.

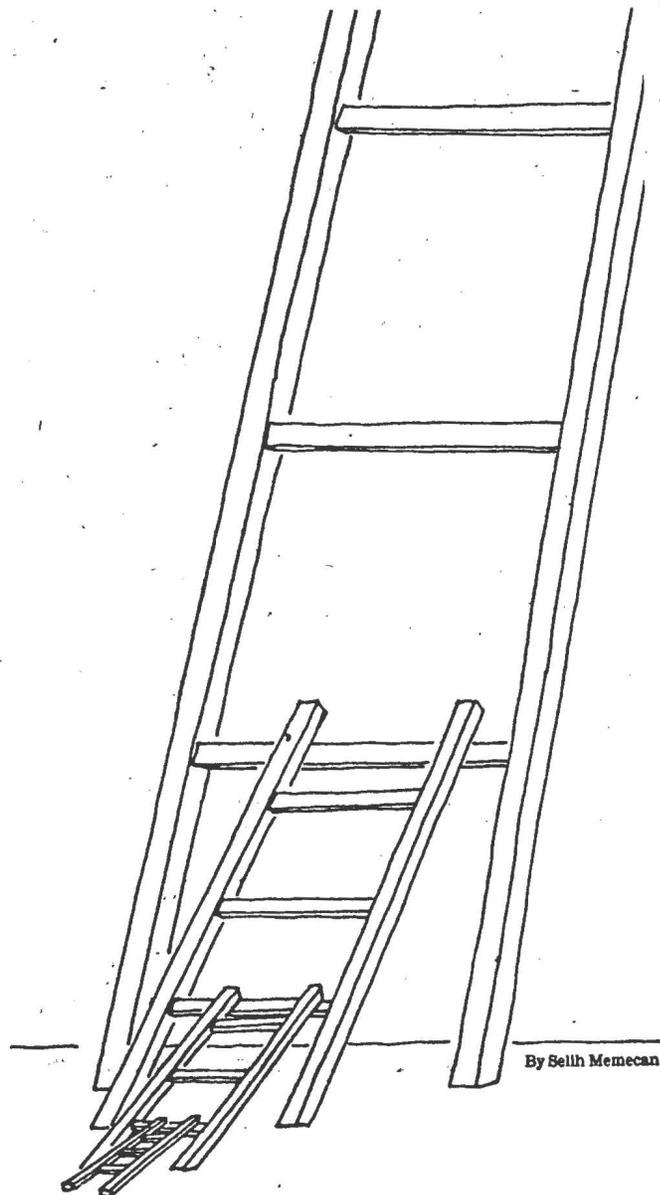
Quotas. Quota hiring programs have produced some gains for blacks, but in the 1980s the gains are likely to diminish and the costs are likely to grow. One cost is that quota programs inevitably cast into doubt the achievements of blacks who qualify for their positions on the basis of non-quota criteria; they strengthen the erroneous prejudice that blacks cannot succeed unless given special help. A quota system requires assignment of jobs and places in schools by racial classification, which makes race a more important rather than less important characteristic in society.

Quota systems may have been useful in the short run to rectify some egregious forms of racial discrimination. But in the long run quota systems are intellectually indefensible, for they rest on the premise that in a fair society every racial and ethnic group will be represented proportionally to its population in every occupational, educational and professional category. We know from the experience of groups like Jews, Chinese and

blacks, who have achieved greater than proportionate representation in certain professions despite discrimination, that this premise is false.

Both busing and quotas are under attack from the Reagan administration, and the reflex of the civil rights movement is to defend them. Moreover, institutional inertia works in favor of continuing emphasis on busing and quotas: the lawyers' organizations that bring busing cases and the equal employment bureaucracies are in place and are convinced their work should go on. But these are likely to be losing battles, since most Americans think busing and quotas are unfair. And even if the civil rights forces can win these battles, their victories will produce only marginal gains for American blacks.

Open Housing. Here is an area where major gains in racial equality are relatively easy to attain. Barriers to open housing are



By Selih Memecan

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Quotas Are The Wrong Fights

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Both busing and quotas are under attack from the Reagan administration, and the reflex of the civil rights movement is to defend them. Moreover, institutional inertia works in favor of continuing emphasis on busing and quotas: the lawyers' organizations that bring busing cases and the equal employment bureaucracies are in place and are convinced their work should go on. But these are likely to be losing battles, since most Americans think busing and quotas are unfair. And even if the civil rights forces can win these battles, their victories will produce only marginal gains for American blacks.

Open Housing. Here is an area where major gains in racial equality are relatively easy to attain. Barriers to open housing are

becoming easier to overcome, and can be lowered much further by legislation that already has wide support. The 1980 Census showed that blacks in substantial numbers are able to buy or rent in suburbs and city neighborhoods from which they were effectively barred 20 or even 10 years ago by racial discrimination.

A strong open housing bill of the type passed by the House and favored by a majority of the Senate in 1980 would tend to discourage the real estate industry from outright discrimination and to make it more sensitive than it is now to the possibility that black clients may want to buy or rent in areas that are now mostly white. A substantial increase in the dispersion of blacks from all-black to mostly white neighborhoods would do what busing has failed to do: give black and white children a chance to attend schools they want to attend as equals and friends.

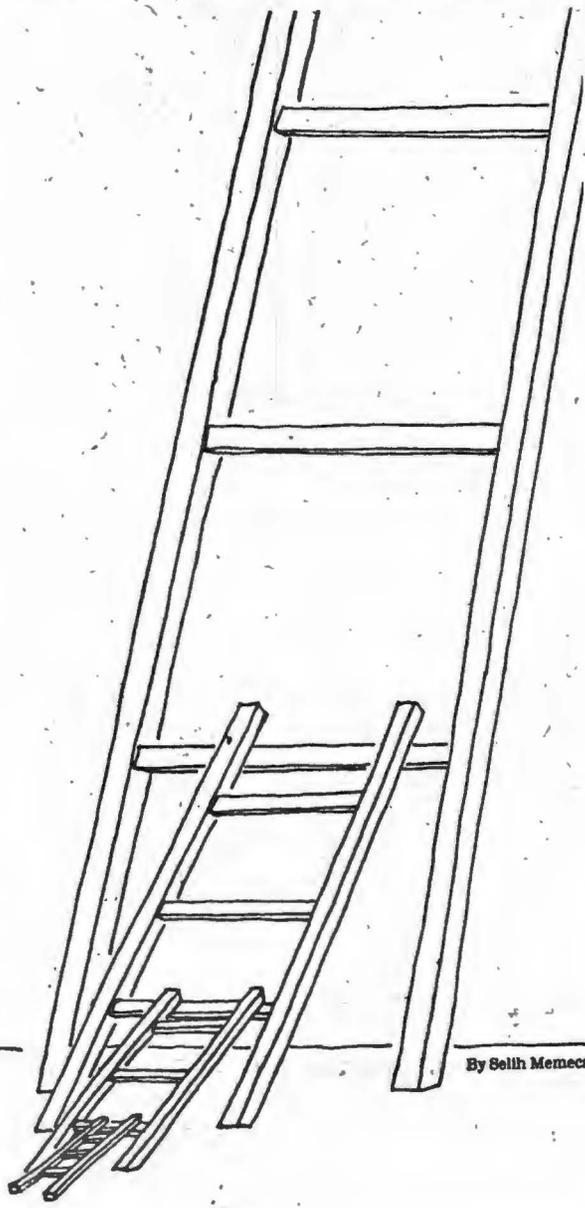
Instead of fighting efforts to end quotas and busing, the civil rights movement should concentrate on urging the Reagan administration to prove its claim that it is not racist by pushing a strong open housing law. Open housing, after all, does not entail the kind of government decision-making the Reaganites abhor in busing and quotas; it would simply allow blacks, like whites, to freely choose where they want to live.

Basic Education. Almost everyone agrees that a substantial minority of young blacks emerge from public schools without basic skills or good work habits. Such young people are, for practical purposes, unemployable, except perhaps for a large employer who needs to fill a quota. But employment quota programs have a significant effect only on big businesses, which produced no net gain in jobs in the 1970s, and on government, which does not appear likely to be a growth industry in the 1980s.

Small employers—the growth sector of the economy—want workers with basic skills and good work habits, and undoubtedly many small employers tend to assume that all black applicants have the low skill levels and bad work habits that an unfortunately large minority do. The best way to increase job opportunities for blacks is to convince everyone that blacks are in fact receiving the basic education they need.

Probably more progress is being made here than national observers know. Competency tests for students have been sweeping the nation, starting in the South; standardized test scores in big cities have been rising; some visible black leaders have been emphasizing the need for basic skills. More needs to be done—by civil rights groups, by government, by teachers' organizations and the education schools, and by anyone else who has a good idea.

To concentrate on open housing and basic education is to concentrate on the root causes, not just some of the effects, of racial discrimination. Such a concentration requires a different deployment of the civil rights movement's resources of personnel, money, and, most important, psychic energy. The civil rights movement has been most successful when it has captured the attention of the whole society and focused its indignation on repugnant forms of racial discrimination. Its moral energy should not be squandered on arguments that 11 percent rather than 7 percent of the students in a medical school class should be black. Most Americans want to live in a racially fair society. The civil rights movement needs to focus all Americans' attention on practices that prevent blacks from enjoying equal rights—practices that can be changed.



By Selih Memecan

The writer is the author of "The Almanac of American Politics."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~January 16, 1982~~

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT: Black Strategy

My initial analysis indicates that several working days are needed to complete the full range of public and private sector consultation necessary to prepare a meaningful strategic plan for working with the Black community in 1982.

Several tracts of data need to be gathered and subjected to analysis:

- A. Key issue "givens" that must be addressed in 1982.
- B. Issues which must be addressed by mid-year, e.g., affirmative action.
- C. Special observations/days that warrant Presidential participation throughout the year.
- D. Selected Black forums for Presidential and Vice Presidential appearances.
- E. Constituency development work (Black colleges, Black clergy, etc.) within the community.

It appears that a strategy for issue development will be key to the success of our Black strategy, and here I'll need some help from you. I'll forward my recommendations by the end of next week.

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
WASHINGTON
20506

December 28, 1981

*Very good.
See next page.
MD*

1/5 (R.F.) or respond?

The Honorable James Baker
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Jim:

The White House initiated 'Report Card' on our performance in 1981 was accurate in its rendition of positive accomplishments. Unfortunately perception and reality do not always track parallel lines, and in politics perception is of greater consequence. In this connection, the NBC-AP poll was a less than exciting Christmas present, though not unexpected.

If the evolving polling path of the past 7 months is maintained through 1982, next November's result will hazard our continued ability to fulfill the mandate of 1980. In sum, we have a problem, one that will not be solved by money, sophisticated electoral technology, or well tuned organization.

While I have had no access to Dick Wirthlin's data this year, I will wager a substantial sum that one conclusion can be drawn from it: 'Republicans control the government and Republicans do not care about people like me'.

It is a waste of time to debate the individual issues or actions which have cumulated to create the impression. Suffice it to say, we have told Blacks, Blue Collar Workers, and Women 20 different times in 20 different ways 'No help wanted'. Only the warmth and strength of the President has held the damage to acceptable (for the moment) proportion.

Yet even this source of strength carries its own hazard. For if people love Ronald Reagan enough to hold him blameless, they may still 'save' him from 'uncaring' Republicans by electing those who do care i.e. Democrats. In the past 30 years they have elected Republicans 5 times to the Presidency (against three for the Democrats) while giving Democrats control of the Congress for 26 consecutive years. Obviously they don't find that a strange or frightening inconsistency.

To return to the point, if people believe we are willing to write off any segment of the population with whom they can identify, then they will believe we are willing to write them off. We have done so by our words ("RNC to write off Black vote"), our deeds ("tax bill for the rich") our inaction ("Women given no role in new Administration").

You are right - in none of the above did we intend such a consequence. Yet this was the way we were reported. Can we honestly blame the press? Or did we fail to present our efforts in such a fashion as to preclude misinterpretation? Or did we fail to realize how our opponents in and out of Congress would seize the opportunity - as they always will - to ascribe to us the worst possible motivations?

If we can shape events, we can shape the way in which they are presented - and we can shape the way in which we are perceived. It takes a conscious act of will, and rigorous coordination and communication.

Forgive my presumption in diverting from full attention to international trade to make a few suggestions in the political arena.

What we have is not enough.
First, if there is no political plan for 1982, there should be one - detailing the style, substance, timing, and consequence of Administration presentations. Only with such a blueprint can all statements and actions be juxtaposed against the goals to establish proper format, content, and most of all context.

Yes
Second, use your Cabinet. Many are excellent communicators, all can command substantial regional, if not national, attention. Not once have they been told, not what to say, but more importantly, how to say it. Not once have they, to my knowledge, been made privy to evolving political perceptions in the polls. I don't suggest giving each member all the numbers - not more than 3 or 4 have the experience to read such data without coming to an erroneous conclusion - but all can be told how to correct developing popular misperceptions, how to style their programs in such a fashion as to evoke a positive public response.

Yes
Third, and more importantly, test your ideas. Early in 1981 I sent Ed Meese the attached memorandum, and got no response. Perhaps the suggested approach was impractical, perhaps it was just too busy a time. But some regime for checking our political premise, cross-fertilizing ideas, and restoring your creative instincts is imperative. The very act of writing a political plan and obtaining consensus for it is one such exercise, periodic reevaluation of it another.

I promise you we can bring the American people to us, we can convince them that we care about them, and we can create a durable majority - if we will.

Very truly yours,


WILLIAM E. BROCK

WEB:cb

July 20, 1981

MEMO TO: Ed Meese

FROM: William E. Brock

We are today at the first six month benchmark of the President's team. It is timely, and I believe important, to examine carefully where we have been and where we are going - to re-evaluate the Administration's people, policies, and political position at this stage.

To my knowledge, no former administration sought to regularly and rigorously critique itself on a quiet and thoughtful basis. Perhaps that is the most eloquent argument for doing so. Of equal importance, in 20 years I have come irrevocably to the conclusion that the Executive Office is most jeopardized by an absence of time in which senior officials can maintain a sense of perspective.

Thus, a conscious effort to try to see ourselves as others see us and to evaluate our progress toward the larger goal would be worthwhile.

I suggest a one or two day weekend gathering of 12 to 15 people (at an absolute maximum) to undertake such a process, and ask that you shepherd the analysis. I further suggest a group⁽¹⁾ candidly selected for the diversity of its political experience and the uniformity of its commitment to our success.

It might be helpful to have our sessions in a retreat setting in the area, or in a private home. (I would be delighted to volunteer my own) Certainly the atmosphere must be relaxed and uninterrupted.

Absolutely no person other than the President, Vice President, Jim Baker, yourself and the participants should be aware of the process. (Even then we should be prepared for disclosure. If that happens, it can be treated as a routine re-evaluation which will occur semi-annually throughout the President's tenure, as I hope it will.)

One further thought on the analysis: Dick Wirthlin and Bob Teeter are the best in the business and it might be productive were they to offer political evaluations independently of each other in order to provide one basis for the conversation.

I will be delighted to elaborate, if you want further discussion of the concept.

Note (1) Participants could include yourself, Jim Baker, Dave Gergen, Lyn Nofziger, Dick Wirthlin, Bob Teeter, two cabinet members, one governor, two professionals (Eddie Mahe, Doug Bailey, Charlie Black or Bill Timmons), and the chairmen of the national committees, Dick Richards, Bob Packwood and Guy Vander Jagt.

(AD HOC) GROUP ON
MINORITIES AND WOMEN

Mum *Ex-officio*
Baker
Deaver

Darman *No*
Dole

Fuller
Gergen
Jenkins *Rollins*

Turner (Pam)
Williamson

Bradley
Garrett

Sue Smith
Judy Peaches
Ann Fairbanks
(Hispanic?)

other possibles:

~~Ann Fairbanks (OPD)~~
~~Sue Hause (OMB)~~
~~Judy Peaches (ICA)~~

①

② Mel Bradley

③ Henry Zuniga?

Black Outreach - E. Dole

Jill's Today - *M.K.D. (for King V.P.)*
Notes

Develop a strategy.


asap -
watchdog / charter as to function

Bradley, Dole co. chair
Hispanic in WH?

IC be JAB
contact (staff dir)
→
alert to oppor

JAB talk w/ ED. = before Mel.



OPERATION PUSH INC.

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Office of the President
Reverend Jesse L. Jackson

January 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

As a result of the economic depression in the black community and a number of widely publicized Administration decisions on a host of civil rights issues, the distance between Blacks and the White House is greater than it has been in 50 years. The President says he sincerely means to be the President of all of the people and that he is opposed to racial discrimination despite the policy pronouncements emerging from this Administration. Therefore, I urge you to help in giving urgent attention to a fair resolution of issues that are of great concern not just to Blacks but to all Americans who believed we had begun successfully to put the burden of race behind us as a people.

The Effect of Economic Depression

The economic depression in the country is widespread with a particularly harsh effect on the Black community. Escalating unemployment cannot wait for the supply-side remedies to run their course. A government jobs program to train unemployed workers for jobs that are available or will become available and a job creation program to alleviate the depression in our community is a first priority.

Tax Exemption for Schools that Discriminate on the Basis of Race

One of the results of the struggle led by Martin Luther King, Jr. and joined by Americans of all races, religions, and creeds was the end of national support for race segregated schools. Those who fought and suffered physical injury and sometimes death in that struggle could never imagine that the unthinkable is happening. The federal government is again supporting race segregated educational institutions. Of course, religious schools may discriminate on the basis of race, but not with the tax money of all of the people.

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The Congress provided the legislative basis for denying government complicity or aid to institutions and individuals that discriminate based on race in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of that Act prohibits racial discrimination in federally assisted programs. Because tax benefits to schools that discriminate are a form of federal assistance, tax exemptions are covered.

In 1971, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia stated in Green v. Connally, 330 F. Supp. 1150 (1971), aff'd. sub nom. Coit v. Green, 404 U.S. 997 (1971) that "[t]he national policy against support for segregated education emerged in provisions adopted by the Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 [Title VI]" and that the applying of Title VI to tax exemptions and deductions "is an expression of Federal policy against Federal support for private schools that practice racial discrimination." At a later point, the court asserted:

The Internal Revenue Code provisions on charitable exemptions and deductions must be construed to avoid frustrations of Federal policy. Under the conditions of today they can no longer be construed so as to provide to private schools operated on a racially discriminatory premise the support of the exemptions and deductions which Federal tax law affords to charitable organizations and their sponsors.

The decision in Green has been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In conformity with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Internal Revenue Code, and the Constitution, the President should direct the Internal Revenue Service to continue denying tax exemptions to private schools that discriminate on the basis of race. No further legislation is required. To adopt a policy of non-enforcement is in violation of existing law and a slap in the face to those who put their lives on the line to gain passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Voting Rights Act Extension

Evidence contained in Congressional hearings and a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights prove uncontrovertibly that black persons are still being denied the right to vote or run for office by a number of subtle and not so subtle means in many places in this country. New forms of denial have replaced old forms of denial. Poll taxes and literacy tests have been replaced with gerrymandering, annexation, and at-large elections in an effort to dilute the effect of our vote. Intimidation, changes in districting and the mode and manner of registration and election still exist. The President

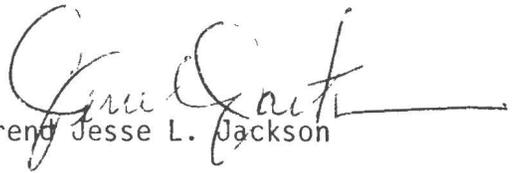
has affirmed his belief in the absolute primacy of the right to vote in a democratic society. If people cannot vote, they have no leverage on political officials and no way of ensuring attention to their needs and concerns. This is especially true in state and local elections as a policy of shifting more and more budget and policy authority from the federal to the state level is being pursued. To tell Black people to rely on state officials to look after their interests when they cannot even be assured that their right to vote for those same officials is protected is unconscionable.

To always require proof of intent to discriminate is placing an unnecessarily difficult burden on those whose rights are jeopardized and who are in the least resourceful position to bear the burden. Who can prove with certainty what anyone's motives are at any particular time? Even with the present requirement for preclearance of changes by the Justice Department, some state officials have ignored the law. Imagine how much worse the situation would be if there were no legal preclearance requirement. The Administration should support the extension of the Voting Rights Act without requiring the proof of intent to discriminate and with the preclearance provisions which now exist. We recognize that the problem is extending and enforcing the existing law and not changing the law.

Haitian Refugees

Successive administrations have permitted the unequal and unfair treatment of Haitian refugees to remain a blot on the nation's conscience. Detained under inhumane conditions, interdicted on the high seas, denied the right of first asylum guaranteed under the United Nations protocol, Haitians remain the discriminated against refugees to these shores. The United States insists that Thailand, Singapore, and other countries pick up and admit Southeast Asian refugees under the right of first asylum. The United States aids these countries in dealing with the political problems generated by refugees in their midst by granting resettlement rights in the U.S. The U.S. admits Polish and Russian refugees from their first asylum refuge in Austria, but not the Haitians. Under the guise of characterizing the Haitians as economic refugees while ignoring the repression of the Duvalier regime in Haiti, the Haitians subsist in overcrowded, unsanitary camps for months on end. We insist that Southeast Asian boat people be picked up and granted succor, but we drive away, even to their death, Haitian boat people. This obvious example of ill treatment of a group of people who can really be distinguished from other refugees only by their color ought to be stopped. Human rights must be measured by one yardstick. Therefore, the Haitian refugee camp should be closed and the Haitians should be given asylum in conformity with the United Nations protocol to which the U.S. government is a signatory.

Sending signals to the American people that race segregation in education is consistent with national policy, or that voting rights are all right but states' rights of some of the people are more important, or that it is all right to discriminate against Black immigrants to these shores is likely to increase divisiveness in the society. Not only will the distance between Black Americans and the White House increase, but the division between people of all races, colors, and creeds who believe that racial justice is not only constitutionally required but essential to maintaining the moral fabric of American society.


Reverend Jesse L. Jackson

2/10 JC:

EM + MD

both agree.

EM will see what busing bills are pending.

Pick me to get behind

We should discuss in Leg. Strategy

JAB
BFF Mor
EM + MD
return

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 6, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi
SUBJECT: Social Issues

As you know, the Senate has passed a provision that would bar federal courts from seeking to use busing as a remedy in school desegregation cases. Though the constitutionality of the provision has been questioned, it represents a desire (at least in the Senate) to confront the issue. It is also probable that an anti-busing amendment to the Constitution will be proposed.

My suggestion is that you discuss at breakfast the possibility of making support for some strong anti-busing measure a higher and more prominent priority than it has been. This would involve altering our strategy on social issues (though it has been moving toward a new approach for several weeks).

By placing greater public emphasis on anti-busing measures, we would achieve the following strategic goals:

1. Strengthen the President's standing with middle class Americans, including blue collar workers.
2. Change the subject of the inevitable debate on civil rights that such groups will force on us; instead of making their point on such issues of their choosing as Voting Rights Act and tax exemptions, they will be forced to fight on our "home turf"; anti-busing measures would have broad public support, the stand of civil rights groups in favor of busing is much less popular, and we would be much less vulnerable to the charges of racism such groups like to throw at their opponents.
3. Give us some breathing room on the more divisive social issues such as abortion. The Right would have to throw in with us on this, and might be persuaded that one battle at a time on such issues would be more productive (the New Right would be hard put to criticize us for choosing to fight our first battle on busing).

The above strategy assumes, of course, that the goals set out are desirable. It also assumes that we can no longer succeed with a policy of Benign Neglect on civil rights, nor can we win such groups to our side by some measures. They are intent on making civil rights a major point of conflict and will succeed in hurting us further unless we counter with some strategy similar to that set out above.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 29, 1982

FOR: MARTIN ANDERSON
ED GRAY

FROM: GARY BAUER *GB*

RE: Social Issues: Congressional Status

The attached memo outlines the current situation on abortion, busing, school prayer and the Family Protection Act. Please keep these caveats in mind:

- (1) Although I make an effort to guess timing on these issues, their emotional nature plus the fluidity of the legislative process adds a strong element of unpredictability to time frames. This factor makes it more important for the Administration to develop responses before events force quick reaction.
- (2) Two items not covered are the reorganization/abolishment of the Department of Education and the Congressional debate on tax exempt status of religious schools. These issues are of prime concern to the religious right but the timing on them in Congress is to a great extent in our hands.

Attachment

cc: Robert Carleson
Ann Fairbanks

2/10 *JC*: Herewith status of
social issues & Fam. Protect.
OFFICE OF
POLICY DEVELOPMENT Act.
1982 JAN 29 P 6:25

*Please review & let's
discuss. Thanks.
JAB*

ABORTION

President's Position

"Now I happen to have believed, and stated many times, that I believe in an abortion we are taking human life. But if this is once determined, then there isn't really any need for an amendment. Because once you have determined this, the Constitution already protects the right of human life."

Press Conference
March 6, 1981

The Administration has not endorsed either of the major pieces of abortion legislation now pending in the Senate. The President has indicated several times however the feeling expressed above that unborn life should already be protected by the Constitution as it is now written. This has been interpreted by some to mean he favors a simple legislative approach rather than a Constitutional amendment, but the Administration has not selected one option over the other.

In addition, the President has indicated that he would like to see the pro-life movement settle on one remedy and end the current split over tactics that exists in the movement.

Legislative Status

House:

- (1) Henry Hyde will continue to add his now famous amendment to any and all appropriations etc. bills for HHS that will restrict the use of tax monies to pay for abortions. The Hyde Amendment has been passing by overwhelming margins and is not nearly as controversial as it was several years ago.
- (2) Another more controversial amendment has been the effort by Rep. John Ashbrook in 1980 and 1981 to add a provision to the Treasury Appropriations bill that would remove abortion from coverage under the Federal health insurance program.

In July of 1981 this amendment was adopted by the House and was later removed in Committee on the Senate side. Action this year is likely to be in the Senate.

Action Forcing Event: Abortion activity on the House side will for now be limited to efforts to amend appropriation bills. This is a result of the refusal of the House Judiciary Committee to allow hearings on the abortion issue in its entirety.

Senate:

- (1) The Ashbrook Amendment to the Treasury Appropriation Bill will be a factor in the Senate. Several Senators have indicated they will attempt to have Ashbrook's Amendment put back on the Treasury Appropriations Bill on the Senate floor. (Note: In July White House Senior Staff took the position that the Ashbrook Amendment was consistent with the Administration's position on abortion.)

Action Forcing Event: This appropriations bill is also likely to come up early in the year, but there is no fix on exact timing at this point.

- (2) The Senate also has two major anti-abortion bills moving toward action this year. S. 158, known as the Human Life Bill, was voted out of the Senate Separation of Powers Subcommittee on July 9. This bill, needing only majority support for passage, declares the unborn child to be a "person" for purposes of the protections of the 14th Amendment. The bill will be considered by the full Judiciary Committee only after consideration of a Constitutional Amendment (see below); however, Senator Helms has already added it to the Senate Calendar where it can be called up to the floor.

S.J. Res 110 is the main competitor of S. 158. It is a Constitutional amendment which declares there is no right to abortion in the Constitution and grants Congress and the States joint authority to regulate it. It passed out of the Senate Constitution Subcommittee on December 16.

Action Forcing Event: It is possible that the full Judiciary Committee will consider S.J. Res 110 in late February or early March.

Note: Senator Baker has indicated that he would like to bring up the abortion issue only once in the Senate -- either the Ashbrook Amendment or one of the two major bills would be debated. It seems clear that social conservatives would not be satisfied with an opportunity to vote only on Ashbrook.

BUSING

President's Position

"It is time we remove control of our schools from the courts and the federal government and return it to local school boards where it belongs. I therefore join the great majority of Americans in opposing court-ordered compulsory busing. While no public school can be permitted to discriminate on the basis of race, ethnic origin, sex or creed, I believe every student should have the right to attend school in his or her own neighborhood."

Campaign Policy/Statement
January 31, 1980

Legislative Status

House:

- (1) The House has passed the 1982 Justice Department Authorization that contains anti-busing language (H.R. 3462).
- (2) Rep. Ronald M. Mottl (D-Ohio) has introduced an anti-busing Constitutional Amendment (H.J. Res. 56) that prohibits any United States Court from assigning students to a school based on race, religion or national origin.

Mottl is circulating a discharge petition to get his Amendment out of the House Judiciary Committee and directly on to the House floor for debate. He needs 218 signatures to accomplish this and as of January 28, 1982, he has 204. He believes that if he hits the 210 mark, he has commitments from enough additional Congressmen to put him over the top. Mottl's office feels they may be able to get enough signatures by late February.

Action Forcing Event:

- (1) Mottl would like more Administration assistance in getting Republican signatures on the discharge petition.
- (2) If he is able to obtain the signatures, there will be a need for the Administration to take a position as early as late February.

Senate:

- (1) Senator Jesse Helms is sponsoring an amendment to the Justice Department's 1982 authorization bill (S. 951) which would prevent Justice from bringing any legal action that could lead to court-ordered busing. (Note Justice is currently operating under a temporary authorization, PL 97-76, that runs out in February.)

Helm's amendment was altered by another amendment added by Senator J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA) that bars courts from ordering busing except in narrowly defined circumstances. (Students couldn't be bused to any school other than the one nearest the student's home.) Johnston's amendment was adopted by a voice vote on October 16, 1981.

During most of the second half of 1981, Senator Weicker (R-CT) filibustered Helm's anti-busing amendment to the Treasury anytime it came up for debate. On December 10 the Senate voted 64 to 35 to end that filibuster. They also defeated by a vote of 36-61 an effort by Weicker to kill the Helms-Johnston amendment.

Action Forcing Event: Since the temporary authorization runs out on March 31, the Justice Department authorization bill will come up early in this year for passage. In fact indications are that Senator Baker will allow 3 hours debate and then a vote on the Helms' amendment on February 4. At this point after the amendment is voted on, another filibuster on the entire authorization could begin.

There are two other anti-busing provisions awaiting action in the Senate.

- (2) S. 1647 sponsored by Senator John P. East (R-NC) prevents federal courts from ordering busing for racial balance. The Separation of Powers Subcommittee on November 16 approved the bill 3-1. It also has a "dissolution" provision that has the effect of almost automatically dissolving busing orders currently in effect. (Helms has placed S. 1743, identical to S. 1647, on the Senate Calendar where it could be brought up at any time.)
- (3) S. 1760 sponsored by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) was approved November 3 by a 4-1 vote in the Senate Judiciary Committee's Constitutional Subcommittee. It prohibits busing on the basis of race as a remedy in school discrimination cases. It also provides for vacating existing court busing orders under certain circumstances.

SCHOOL PRAYER

President's Position

"Long before I ever sought this job, I believed that the outlawing of prayer, nonsectarian prayer, in public schools was not a defense of the First Amendment but was actually against the Constitution, which says that the Congress shall make no law concerning the establishment of religion or the restriction of it or its practice and so forth. I just think (the restrictions) went too far. This is a nation under God. It is still on our coins; in God We Trust. The Divine Providence is mentioned in our most important documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."

Man of the Year Interview
Time, January 5, 1980

"Just as surely as we seek to put our financial house in order and rebuild our Nation's defenses, so too we seek to...permit the acknowledgement of a Supreme Being in our classrooms just as we allow such acknowledgements in other public institutions."

Speech, March 20, 1981

Legislative Status

House: There are numerous pieces of legislation pending in the House Judiciary Committee that deal with the question of school prayer. They fall into two main categories: (1) Constitutional amendments that declare nothing in the Constitution shall abridge the right of persons to participate in voluntary prayer in public buildings and (2) Bills that limit in some way the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts to hear cases on voluntary prayer.

Acting Forcing Event: None likely at this time. The bills are not high on the agenda of the House Judiciary Committee. The school prayer issue is more likely to come up during consideration of appropriation bills.

Senate:

(1) The 1982 Appropriations Bill for State, Justice and Commerce has House language attached to it that prevents the Justice Department from spending money to block implementation of voluntary school prayer programs. Senator Weicker has made several efforts to remove this provision on the Senate side or to water it down and has failed to do so.

In fact Justice has not really spent money in this area. Private litigants have been responsible for all major prayer cases reaching the Supreme Court. The supporters of the provision really see it as a signal to localities to come up with voluntary prayer ideas and want it passed for that purpose.

Action Forcing Event: Justice's authorization expires March 31 and the 1982 bill will have to be passed at that time. Senator Baker is known to want to bring the bill up before the recess which begins February 11.

(2) S. 481 sponsored by Senator Helms prevents the lower federal courts and the Supreme Court from hearing cases on voluntary school prayer. It is in a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee chaired by Senator East and there is a likelihood of hearings in the Spring.

FAMILY PROTECTION ACT

President's Position

The Administration has not taken a formal position on the legislation. Since the bill was originally introduced by Senator Laxalt, many social conservatives assumed the President would support the legislation.

Some of the provisions in the bill are clearly consistent with positions taken by the Administration. For example, one provision of the legislation would require parental consent before the federal government supplied contraceptives to children.

The President wrote Senator Orrin Hatch on July 28, 1981, and said at that time,

"I regret that we do not have the votes to defeat the family planning program and, assuming this is the best you can do under the circumstances, I reluctantly conclude that the best course is to enter into the proposed conference agreement. Perhaps we can remedy some of the problems in the family planning program administratively during the three years that it will remain a categorical grant."

Legislative Status

House:

The Family Protection Act has been divided into several different bills in the House. At this time none of them are likely to advance to the stage where we would be asked or required to take a position although there is some pressure from social conservatives to endorse the legislation.

Senate:

The Family Protection Act is further along in the Senate but still not at the stage where it is about to become an action forcing event.

SUMMARY

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Acting Forcing Events</u>	<u>Timing</u>
Abortion	<u>Senate</u> : Effort to add Ashbrook Amendment to Treasury Appropriations Bill.	February
	<u>Senate</u> : Floor debate on Human Life Bill or Hatch Constitutional Amendment.	Spring or whenever Helms attempts to add Human Life Statute to other legislation
School Prayer	<u>Senate</u> : Debate on 1982 Appropriations bill for State, Justice and Commerce. Amendment currently on bill restricts Justice Department from spending money to block voluntary prayer programs.	Possibly before February 11 recess
Busing	<u>House</u> : Rep. Mottl's desire for more help from Administration to obtain signatures for his discharge petition for Constitutional Amendment.	Now
	Mottl's Constitutional Amendment reaching House floor.	Possibly late Feb.
	<u>Senate</u> : Debate on Treasury Authorization bill, Helm's amendment restricting Justice Department and courts.	February 4, 1982
	<u>Senate</u> : Other anti-busing provision on calendar.	Anytime Helms raises it as an amendment to other legislation
Family Protection Act	None on horizon.	

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1982

FOR: MARTIN ANDERSON
ED GRAY

FROM: GARY BAUER *GB*

RE: Family Protection Act Update

History:

- (1) Bill originally introduced in 1980 by Senator Laxalt -- used as a campaign symbol to rally social conservatives.
- (2) Received criticism not only from liberal establishment but from mainstream conservatives such as James J. Kilpatrick who objected to use of federal power to accomplish its goals.
- (3) Bill reintroduced by Senator Jepson in 1981 with significant changes to make it more acceptable to mainstream conservatives.

Reaction to Legislation:

- (1) Bill has become vocal point of struggle between left and right wing activists. Social conservatives have embraced it and urged the Administration to endorse it. Outrage reaction to bill from feminists, homosexual rights groups, ACLU, etc.
- (2) Many newspapers have condemned the legislation as an effort by "extremists" to force their views on rest of population.

Jepson Strategy:

- (1) The Senator does not expect the whole bill to receive an up or down vote. Instead he has divided key parts of the bill into individual pieces of legislation which were then referred to separate committees. (Attachment A outlines those bills.)
- (2) Senator Hatch has now asked Senator Jepson to break out into separate bills those provisions dealing with parental rights so that Hatch can hold hearings on them in his Labor and Human Resources Committee. A similar break out of the parental rights provision will take place in the House in the next few weeks.

Status

- (1) Hearings were held on Sec. 207 providing for a tax break for parents who adopt a "special needs" child, i.e. bi-racial or handicapped and a version of this provision was enacted in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981.
- (2) No other action on the Senate or House side is scheduled at this time. On the House side the Family Protection Bill has been sent to the following committees: Armed Services, Education and Labor, Judiciary and Ways and Means. On the Senate side the main bill was sent to Finance.

Attachment

Attachment A

Private Bills:

The following bills which are contained in the Family Protection Act have been introduced in the Senate as private bills.

- S. 1577 A bill to secure the right of individuals to the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution. Referred to Judiciary. (FPA Sec. 501)
- S. 1578 A bill to restrict the federal government from preempting or interfering with State statutes pertaining to spousal abuse. Referred to Finance. (FPA Sec. 105)
- S. 1579 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to allow corporations to deduct all contributions made to a joint employee-employer day care facility. Referred to Finance. (FPA Sec. 206)
- S. 1580 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to provide a personal exemption for childbirth or adoption and to permit the taxpayer to choose a deduction or a tax credit for adoption expenses. Referred to Finance. (FPA Sec. 207)
- S. 1581 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to allow the taxpayer the choice of a tax credit or a deduction for each household which includes a dependent person who is at least 65 years old. Referred to Finance. (FPA Sec. 203)
- S. 1582 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to exempt from taxation certain trusts established for the benefit of parents or handicapped relatives, and to provide a deduction for contributions to such trusts. Referred to Finance. (FPA Sec. 204)
- S. 1583 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to provide a deduction for contributions made by a taxpayer to an individual retirement plan for the benefit of a nonsalaried spouse. Referred to Finance. (FPA Sec. 205)

PRIVATE BILLS -- HOUSE

In the House, the Family Protection Act is H.R. 3955 and is sponsored by:

Albert Lee Smith (R-Alabama)
Mark Siljander (R-Michigan)
Bill Dannemeyer (R-California)
Jim Jeffries (R-Kansas)
Dan Crane (R-Illinois)
George Hansen (R-Idaho)
Larry McDonald (D-Georgia)
Phil Crane (R-Illinois)

The following bills which incorporate sections of the Family Protection Act have been introduced in the House as private bills:

- H.R. 4059 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to exempt from taxation certain trusts established for the benefit of parents or handicapped relatives, and to provide a deduction for contributions to such trusts.
- H.R. 4061 A bill to amend the IRC of 1954 to provide a personal exemption for childbirth or adoption and to permit the taxpayer to choose a deduction or a tax credit for adoption expenses.
- H.R. 4060 A bill to allow for the establishment of such accounts to which a parent may contribute up to \$2500 per year and receive a corresponding tax deduction.

TITLE I FAMILY PRESERVATION

- Sec. 101 Amends General Judiciary Procedures Provisions by adding a provision providing for "a legal presumption in favor of an expansive interpretation" of the parental role in supervising and determining the religious or moral formation of a child.
- Sec. 102 No program may receive federal funds unless it provides for parental notification before a contraceptive device or abortion service is provided to an unmarried minor.
- Sec. 103 No federal program shall be construed to override existing state law relating to juvenile delinquency.
- Sec. 104b No federal program shall be construed to override any existing state law relating to child abuse.
- Sec. 104c The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act is amended to create an exception for discipline or corporal punishment "applied by a parent or individual explicitly authorized by a parent to perform such function."
- Sec. 105 No federal program should be construed to preempt state statutory law relating to spousal abuse or domestic relations.
- Sec. 106 No funding under the Legal Services Corp. Act would go to entities which engage in litigation to procure an abortion or litigation to obtain or rising out of a divorce or any proceeding or litigation which seeks to adjudicate the issue of homosexual rights.
- Sec. 107 Amends law to authorize the Secretary of Defense to pay to the dependents of any member of the armed forces a monthly dependents' assistance allotment which is deducted from the pay of the member when such dependents are living separate from the member.
- Sec. 108 No federal funds could go to any public or private individual or entity which presents that male or female homosexuality is an acceptable lifestyle.

TITLE II TAXATION

- Sec. 201 Allows for the establishment of Education Savings Accounts to which a parent may contribute up to \$2,500 per year and receive a corresponding tax deduction.
- Sec. 202 Outlines several conditions for organizations which wish to qualify for tax-exempt status as educational organizations. Provides for end of tax exemption if Attorney General can establish that school has engaged in deliberate or intentional discrimination for at least four consecutive years prior to the filing of the suit by the Attorney General. The Court could not consider a school policy requiring the faculty to adhere to or subscribe to certain doctrines or beliefs to be a policy of deliberate and intentional discrimination.
- Sec. 203 Permits either a tax credit or a deduction for a taxpayer maintaining an elderly dependent in the household. (Non-refundable)
- Sec. 204 Allows a deduction of up to \$3,000 per year for contributions to a trust established to care for an individual's parents or a handicapped relative.
- Sec. 205 IRS Code amended to allow an individual retirement plan on behalf of the individual's spouse.
- Sec. 206 IRS Code amended to allow an employer to take an ordinary and necessary business expense deduction for amounts paid to a day care center which provides care for children of employees of the taxpayer.
- Sec. 207 Allows an additional personal exemption of \$1000 in the year that a child is born to, or adopted by a taxpayer. A \$3,000 exemption would be allowed if child born was handicapped or if child adopted was of mixed racial background.

TITLE III EDUCATION

- Sec. 301 It shall be unlawful for any federal, state, or local educational agency or institution receiving federal funds to (1) fail to provide procedures through which parents and communities can participate in decisions relating to the establishment or continuation of courses relating to the study of religion; (2) to limit the right of parents to visit the public schools or classes or to inspect their children's school records.
- Federal funds would be denied to states and local educational agencies which do not "provide for parental review of textbooks prior to their use in public school classrooms," and to purchase or prepare any educational materials which tend to denigrate, diminish, or deny the role differences between the sexes as it has been historically understood in the United States.
- Sec. 302 The Federal government could not withhold funds or attempt to restrict the right of any state or local educational agency to determine (a) the qualification of teachers within their jurisdictions; (b) to set or not to set attendance requirements; and (c) to limit, in consultation with parents, the "intermingling of the sexes in any sport or other school-related activity."
- Sec. 302b Would amend the National Labor Relations Act to exclude from the definition of the employer, "any corporation or association operating a non-profit private school."
- Sec. 303 Makes Titles I, II, III, IV, VII, and IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 a block grant.
- Sec. 304 No provision of Federal law shall be construed to prohibit release time for parenthood education to be conducted by churches in fulfillment of school requirements for required parenthood education courses.
- Sec. 305 Legal Services Corporation grantees would be prohibited from using funds for legal assistance or litigation relating solely to achieving racial quotas or the desegregation of any elementary or secondary school or school system.

TITLE IV PRAYER

Sec. 401 Gives a parent or guardian representing a student who is being denied the opportunity to participate in religious exercises standing to bring a civil action.

TITLE V RIGHTS OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Sec. 501 Prohibits the federal government from imposing "any legal obligation or condition" with respect to curriculum, religious activities, licensure, conditions of employment and operating procedures on a variety of social service organizations, if the organizations are "directly or indirectly operated by a church or religious organization. (Including church-operated child care centers, orphanages, foster homes, social action training programs, emergency shelters for abused children or spouses, schools, juvenile delinquency or drug abuse treatment centers or homes.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A BAKER III

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT: Black Strategy

The development of this strategy was based on three factors which distinguish Blacks from other groups, such as small business and labor, for whom similar strategies have recently been developed:

- * Blacks are a group which provided little support for the President in 1980.
- * The Black community is at odds with this Administration on a wide range of key policy issues.
- * Significant numbers of moderates and independents gauge treatment of Blacks and minorities as an important barometer of the fairness and commitment to equality of this Administration.

The thrust of this strategy is to provide increased sensitivity for Black concerns while reviewing the fundamental policy questions before us. Symbolic gestures such as improved communication and additional recognition are undoubtedly important, and suggestions along these lines are presented herein; but the major task before us will be to delve heavily into various policy issues and determine the parameters within which we are willing to make accommodations in response to Black concerns. This will be no small undertaking. I am therefore suggesting that we immediately begin a review of the major policy decisions impacting on Blacks which we will be asked to make over the course of the next year, and beyond. As you are aware, a target approach off midcenter of the political spectrum can be very risky.

I welcome the opportunity to talk privately with you on my thoughts regarding this approach.

BLACK STRATEGY

1. BACKGROUND: Black Unrest and Concerns

Ronald Reagan won the 1980 election with strong support from virtually every segment of America. One of the few exceptions was the Black community which supported Jimmy Carter with 90% of their vote. Given these political circumstances, it was anticipated that Blacks would greet the Reagan Administration with at least some measure of uneasiness and that a transition period would be necessary to build bridges and determine where our potential strength with this group might be.

Today, after one year, the original uneasiness among Blacks has hardened into outright opposition, even among some former supporters. This opposition threatens to grow stronger and more activist. The policies and programs of the Reagan Administration are consistently criticized and attacked by prominent Black leaders, Black organizations and Black press. Many of the more recent attacks have been aimed personally at the President. A November 1981 WASHINGTON POST/ABC poll revealed that Black approval of the President's job performance was only 19% - 34% lower than the rating from the general population. A NEW YORK TIMES/CBS poll released January 19, 1982, put Black approval of the President at a "rock-bottom" 8%.

The increase in Black opposition is obviously not the result of a single statement, policy or action on the part of the President or his Administration. Rather, as we all know, it is the result of a series of events over a period of time. Some of the major examples follow:

- a. A series of "stops and starts" in the policy area have communicated the impression that the President lacks a sincere commitment to the advancement of civil rights. Notable examples are:
 - The delay in advocating an extension of the Voting Rights Act.
 - Confusion and inconsistency over the Administration's affirmative action policies.
 - The racial overtones of the issue of tax exemptions for segregated schools, which was highlighted by the press.
- b. The combined impact of the budget cuts, growing unemployment and government RIFs has had a demoralizing effect on Blacks. Continual accusations are made that these actions impact disproportionately on minorities, and especially Blacks. The Administration's efforts to reverse this negative perception have been both insufficient and inefficient to date.

- c. The relatively low number of Black appointments compared with the previous administration is perceived as a lack of interest in Black involvement in this Administration.

As a result of these factors, we are now grappling with the larger issue of the President's image, reputation and public esteem. We are confronted by the erroneous and dangerous stereotype of a President who is unsympathetic to the plight of the poor and needy, and a threat to the gains in civil rights over the past twenty years.

These perceptual issues impact most negatively on Black Americans, but have serious ramifications for other groups as well. In particular, the "lack of compassion" label is one which has harmful long-term implications for women, the elderly, and moderates of all parties.

The following recommendations attack both the substantive and perceptual problems through four major initiatives:

- a. Policy Actions: Identifying those issues which require immediate clarification, and those which require future policy development.
- b. Liaison Activities: Communicating with Black organizations and leadership to develop trust and a continuing dialogue.
- c. Media Activity: Assuring that the Black press is aware of this Administration's accomplishments on behalf of Blacks.
- d. Ceremonial Activities: Development of events and activities which signal the President's interest and involvement with Black people and issues.

POLICY ACTIONS

This Administration has not communicated the President's policies regarding Black concerns in a clear, concise and definitive manner. On several issues of specific concern to Blacks, there is no identifiable policy in place. In other areas, the Administration's positions are confusing, conflicting or viewed as "waffling."

In many cases, the time and clarity of a policy needs to be given the same level of professional attention as the substance. It is harmful for the President to be viewed as vacillating or backpeddling, particularly on civil rights matters.

Five key Black issues with immediate priorities require policy decisions within the next 90 days.

- a. Affirmative Action: Affirmative action is an issue with the potential of being as explosive as the Voting Rights Act unless we move expeditiously to seize the initiative. By acting, the Administration can develop a thoughtful and comprehensive policy and avoid being caught behind the eight-ball in a crisis environment. We have issued no clear statement on affirmative action. A series of conflicting public statements have been made by officials from the Department of Justice, Department of Labor and EEOC. The President's opposition to the use of preferential quotas as a means of achieving equal opportunity is not in dispute. However, the use of goals and timetables as part of an affirmative action plan continues to be a subject of concern and confusion. The salient issues which must be resolved follow:*
- o Whether, and under what circumstances, the federal government will pursue employment goals and time tables as a classwide remedy for unlawful discrimination practiced against minorities and women by state and local agencies.
 - o Whether, and under what circumstances, goals and timetables will be available as a class-wide remedy for discrimination practiced against minorities and women by private employers covered by Title III.
 - o Whether, and under what circumstances, employment goals and timetables will continue to be available as essential ingredients of affirmative action programs required by federal contractors under Executive Order 11246.
 - o Whether, and under what circumstances, employment goals and timetables will continue to be the central element of affirmative action programs covering employees of federal agencies as administered by EEOC under Title VII.
- b. Voting Rights Act: It is now an old story that the President had an opportunity to score big with Blacks by making an early announcement of support for a 10year extension of the Voting Rights Act. We are faced with a House bill which goes far beyond the provisions of the original Act and which is fundamentally unacceptable to this Administration.

We are now at the point that any alternative to the House bill will be unacceptable to Blacks and Hispanics. This issue is certain to be a source of major polarization and criticism by minorities and warrants another close look.

* From a memorandum from Mel Bradley to Martin Anderson, dated December 7, 1981.

- c. New Federalism: This Administration's New Federalism initiative has been met with great skepticism by Blacks and Other minorities. Blacks feel that they have historically been treated worse by local and state governments than by the federal government. They also fear that programs will be transferred to the states without adequate resources, creating further hardships and poverty.

Much of this concern is based on fear rather than fact, and can only be corrected by a clear understanding of the facts. Speeches, mailers, fact sheets and briefings can assist greatly in this effort.

Additionally, long-time Republican Art Fletcher, has developed a very successful seminar at which he walks an audience through the need for economic change. In short, he focuses first on why change is needed. He then walks the audience through the alternatives to the President's changes, moving them to an understanding of the President's chosen path. The differences are then discussed on a "micro" rather than a "macro" level, developing an environment of understanding. This personalized approach can be particularly helpful in a workshop environment with key spokesmen and supporters.

- d. Minority Business: The minority business community is a major bastion of Republican support among Blacks, although support among the Black Colleges is improving. The minority business enterprise program was originated during a Republican Administration and is regarded as a successful Republican program. A good number of the most visible Black business-people are participants and beneficiaries of this popular federal initiative, and are seeking ways to expand into non-minority opportunities as well.

It is an appropriate time to issue a Minority Business policy statement reaffirming the Administration's commitment to expanding Black participation in the free enterprise system. The President has already demonstrated his interest by maintaining level funding for programs at SBA and the Minority Business Development Agency. A policy statement on this subject would have a few risks and would be greeted with enthusiasm by Blacks. At a minimum, it would give our supporters further hope and arm them with something to counter the efforts of their peers to paint the President as uncaring.

- e. Tax Exemptions for Schools Which Practice Discrimination: The controversy over this issue provides a glaring example of how a policy initiative can backfire. It is important that the issue be resolved as quickly as possible. The longer this stays active, the more heat we are going to take.

- f. Haitian Refugees: There are 2,177 Haitians currently in detention in the U.S. Many Blacks perceive that the Haitians are being improperly incarcerated because they are Black. It is felt this Administration has a dual refugee policy based strictly on color. This perception was reinforced recently when the WASHINGTON POST reported that the Administration is preparing to send thousands, and possibly tens of thousands, of Ethiopians back home. Jesse Jackson has been extremely active in Miami with the Haitians and is now appealing to the Pope for some sign of sensitivity.

It is important for the President to take some sort of positive action on this issue before it erupts into a racial crisis. He must demonstrate to Blacks, and to the American people in general, that he is sincerely concerned about the plight of these refugees, and that he is attempting to do something on their behalf.

PUBLIC LIAISON ACTIVITIES

The President's greatest potential for support in the Black community lies with the following types of organizations:

1. Republican groups
2. Black business and professional organizations
3. Black church leadership
4. Black college officials
5. Black fraternities and sororities

It is therefore suggested that we target our time and resources to these groups:

1. Black Republicans: Black Republican organizations are a natural source of support and their assistance should be encouraged. The major Black GOP organization is the National Black Republican Council (NBRC). Other groups are the Black Republican Congressional Staff Association (BRCSA), and the Professional Assembly of Republicans (PAR). Of these, PAR has had the greatest potential for assisting the President. Its membership includes all Black Republican Gubernatorial appointees, former Republican Presidential appointees and Congressional staffers.

If we want active involvement with the Administration, Black Republicans must not only be provided with forums from which to speak, but also with the motivation to do so. Most Black Republicans are not well known by the press, as are many of the Democrat spokesmen. Black Republicans must be encouraged to assume the role of spokesmen and increase their influence in the community as a whole. We must help by giving them heightened focus and, frankly, help create some media "stars" of our own.

Some suggested action items for this group beyond the recent meeting of the President and Vice President with the NBRC are as follows:

- o A briefing for Black appointees on budget, tax and social issues. Black appointees have not been effective spokesmen for the President and his programs. They must become more visible, more knowledgeable of the issues and more helpful to the President.
 - o Presidential participation in the NBRC's fundraising banquet in September. This banquet will be held the same week of the Congressional Black Caucus and can provide the President with a friendly forum to address a Black audience instead of addressing the all Democrat Black Caucus. This meeting should be considered a "must".
 - o Periodic meetings between top-level White House officials and nationally-known Black Republicans. In addition to giving them visibility, these meetings will help to dispel the perception that this Administration makes decisions without consultation with Blacks.
 - o Briefings for key Black Republicans from targetted states. Those states with Congressional districts in which Blacks make up a significant percentage of the population should be our focus.
 - o Road show briefings on enterprise zones, tied into our four proposed NBRC regional conferences. The enterprise zones concept has great potential for Black communities and should be carefully explained and promoted. The NBRC conferences provide an opportunity to carry the message to the grassroots.
2. Black Business and Professional Organizations: Black business people and professionals should be considered natural constituents of the President. The Black business organizations which have been very supportive are the National Association of Black Manufacturers, the National Association of Minority Contractors, the American Association of MESBICS and the Business Policy Review Council. These should become our target groups. These organizations provided the only Black support on the budget and tax cutting legislation during 1981.

Recent Administration attention focused on small and minority business is viewed very positively by the Black business community. They are pleased about the level funding for minority business development programs at SBA and Commerce. We need to identify and highlight some success stories in the minority area, some "See, I did it and so can you"

testimonials. A First Monday issue on minority business would be great.

3. Black Churches: The President enjoyed some support from Black Clergy during the campaign. Bishop William Smith (AME Zion) and Dr. Joseph Jackson (National Baptist Convention) are both Republicans; and Bishop Vinton Anderson of AME endorsed the President's candidacy. The support of church leaders has been enhanced to some extent because of this Administration's support of Black Colleges, many of which are church affiliated. We have a great potential to garner support from additional church leaders and neutralize others. Black clergy are active in PSI and voluntarism, and this can provide an excellent common ground for agreement and mutual effort. Some suggested action items:
- o A luncheon with the President and Black Clergy supporters in February, Black History Month. Historically, the Church has been the foundation of the Black community.
 - o According to officials at HHS, the Headstart Program run by the churches have been more efficient than other Headstart programs. We should have HHS identify the best run church Headstart programs and call the clergy in along with their Headstart director to discuss ways to improve the overall programs.
 - o Presidential visit to a key supporter's church. This visit should not be a speech, but a Presidential and First Lady worship. Reverend E. V. Hill's church in the Los Angeles area would be ideal in the future. It should take place when the President and First Lady are in California with no advance publicity.
4. Black Colleges: We have realized significant support from Black College Presidents because of the President's commitment to continued federal funding. There are three major organizations which specifically represent the interests of Black Colleges: the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO); United Negro College Fund (UNCF); and the National Association of Land Grant Colleges. Presently, the Administration is in good standing with all three organizations, although we have lost some support due to cuts in student aid. We need to solidify that support and expand our support to include the students and alumni.
- o The alumni can exert a great deal of pressure on the Black College Presidents. The National Association and the UNCF Alumni encompass the alumni from all Black Colleges, and a representative from the Administration should attend the appropriate national convention.

*Partners
of People
Hispanics at
State Dinner*

- o The President has been invited to speak at the convention of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) in March 1982. This organization is the umbrella organization for all Black Colleges and this would be a good event for him to attend.
5. Black Fraternities and Sororities: The National Black Fraternities and Sororities have neither actively opposed nor supported the Reagan Administration programs. Because of their make-up -- college educated, mostly middle income -- we have good potential to gain support from these groups. Many Republicans are members and many of the Black appointees are members of a fraternity or sorority. There should be an effort not only by the Administration, but also by the RNC, to work these conventions.
- o A series of meetings should be arranged with the heads of these organizations and Administration officials. They have many volunteer programs, which could be woven into the private sector initiative effort.
 - o A meeting with Bill Verity of the Task Force and heads of all these organizations should be arranged.

MEDIA ACTIVITY

Many of the accomplishments of this Administration have not reached the Black public. The President's detractors have been very successful communicating their complaints and accusations to both the national press and the black press. Since our Black leaders lack the opposition visibility, we must work much, much harder at getting our story out.

The Office of Media Relations must step up its efforts in this area. Without a concerted effort the daily stories of meetings, receptions and programs which favorably impact Blacks will go unrecorded. Increased communication between the press office, the Media Relations Office and the Black press is greatly needed. We need a focused effort of getting out news releases on all our Black meetings and consultations. The latter are news. We must increase our Black op-ed and other editorial work through the Office of Public Affairs. The presence of a Black person in press, communications, or media liaison would assist greatly in this effort.

SYMBOLIC/CEREMONIAL ACTIONS

All of the recommendations above will improve the relationship between the President and Black Americans. In and of themselves, they will improve the President's image. There are, however, a number of other simple actions which, if implemented, would enhance this effort. Some examples are:

- a. Increase Presidential contact with Black Americans. Particular attention should be paid to having Black Republicans and other key Black groups visibly advising the President on major issues.
- b. The President should mention the plight of Black Americans in major addresses, as he did in SOTU, hence using his leadership position to signal to the rest of the nation the necessity of races working together to build a nation where all can prosper.
- c. Increase the number of Black Americans who are invited to Administration events -- social and ceremonial.
- d. Increase the visibility of Black appointees involved in the policy making process.
- e. Review departments and agencies for possible White House involvement in activities that would be received positively in the Black community.
- f. The President should be accompanied on trips by Black appointees and key Black supporters, as well as Black advance people.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS PROPOSALS

March:

Black Clergy luncheon with the President.

Presidential Speech at National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, Washington, D.C. March 25-28, 1982.

Black appointees briefing with drop-by by the President.

Meeting with heads of fraternities and sororities with William Verity regarding PSI.

Presidential statement on affirmative action policy. Continued briefings for selected Black leaders and supporters on federalism, enterprise zones and budget.

April:

Minority Business Policy statement. Howard University fundraiser: the President and Mrs. Reagan.

May:

Immigration Legislation: Haitian Refugee Policy, mailing by OPL to Black supporters.

National Association of Black Manufacturers Convention, Dallas, Texas, May 19-21, 1982.

June:

National Association of Black Accountants Convention, Chicago, Illinois, June 30-July 3, 1982

July:

Vice President to address National Medical Association, San Francisco, California, July 25-28, 1982.

Elizabeth Dole to address the Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Richmond, Virginia, July 24-27, 1982.

September:

President to address National Black Republican Council,
Washington, D.C., September 21-24, 1982.

October:

American Association of MESBICS Convention, Nassau, Bahamas,
October 11-15, 1982.