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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DRAFT

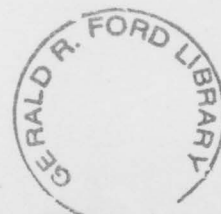
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT J. BROWN

SUBJECT: Objectives and activities of the office of Robert J. Brown
and future recommendations

A. From the outset of the first Administration, the objective of my office has been to serve as a central coordinating point for Administration activities and programs of special interest to black Americans and to act as the principal liaison between the Administration and the black community.

B. The problems we continue to face in response to the drive of black Americans to achieve self-determination concern not only difficulties in translating equal opportunity into a reality on all levels of our society, but also the growth of animosity and direct conflict between the races. It is an absolute necessity for the preservation of domestic tranquility that the second Administration continues the work of the past four years in leveling



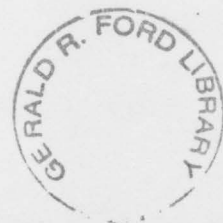
those barriers which have excluded minorities from full participation in our national life, ^{*We also must be*} ~~and be~~ willing to take decisive action to prevent the ~~growth~~ growth of a spirit of estrangement between Americans.

Listed below are the principal activities of my office over the past four years, with a review of their current status, and recommendations toward accomplishing these objectives.

1. OBJECTIVE: To serve as the central contact point for black citizens seeking assistance of any nature (i.e. an ombudsman rôle).

STATUS: This function has resulted in our receiving untold thousands of telephone calls and letters, all of which have been handled. This role has continued unabated throughout my tenure.

RECOMMENDATION: It is essential that there exist an office within the White House which blacks can regard as their own specific contact point for either obtaining information or assistance.

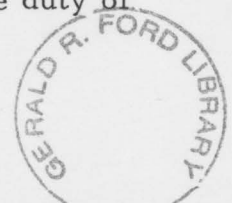


2. OBJECTIVE: To promote the development of the minority business enterprise program.

STATUS: This office ^{monitors} ~~exercises close control~~ ^{ing} over the award of OMBE grants and maintains continuous liaison with SBA regarding minority loans, MESBIC and 8(a) programs. This office also encourages all Federal departments and agencies to support this effort via their procurement activities. We continue to work closely with the Department of the Treasury in support of minority owned banks. Individual proposals of special merit are "shepherded" through the bureaucratic system.

RECOMMENDATION: To correct the present diffusion of responsibility on this program, one White House office should be assigned the duty of overseeing all aspects of this program.

3. OBJECTIVE: To promote efforts designed to increase Federal aid to predominantly black colleges. We have also formulated programs to deal



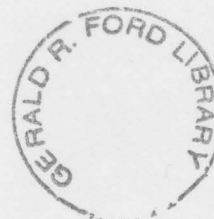
with specific education problems affecting blacks (e.g. wholesale dismissal of black teachers and administrators following desegregation).

STATUS: In FY1973 aid to black colleges will have doubled over the FY1969 figure. (OE and OMB committee?)

RECOMMENDATION: All responsibility for the development of black colleges should be centralized in that White House office dealing with minority affairs. Administration policy of support to these institutions must be strongly articulated to all Department and Agency heads.

4. OBJECTIVE: To work in close coordination with DOD in development of equal opportunity programs within the military and to solve the problem of racial conflict in the Armed Services.

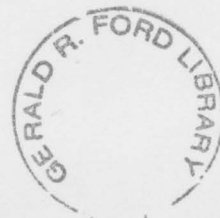
STATUS: Frequent meetings have been held by this office with top representatives of DOD and the Services to review these programs. I have



personally visited military installations in the U.S. and in the European and Pacific areas. This office created and implemented "Operation Awareness," through which minority leaders have visited U.S. Army bases in Europe to counsel servicemen on race relations.

Relations between this office and DOD have become moribund over the past few months. However, recent events clearly indicate the necessity of direct White House involvement. The DOD's reluctance to allow "outside" influence to enter into their affairs and the tendency of the Services to attempt to settle all racial problems strictly "in house" has led to an unsatisfactory relationship between this office and DOD. DOD has shown itself to be in dire need of advice and direction from those more familiar with race relations.

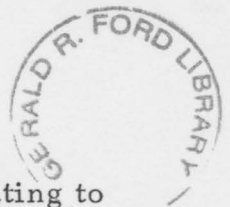
RECOMMENDATION: A White House office responsible for racial matters in general should be mandated to oversee, in cooperation with the Secretary



of Defense and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, all military racial matters. "Operation Awareness" should be expanded to all of the Services; this is an inexpensive means of heading off racial problems by direct contact with servicemen. This latter approach is far more valuable than the "paper programs" esteemed by some of the military.

5. OBJECTIVE: To collect and disseminate information regarding Government programs and activities relating to blacks. For the first time an effort was made by a White House office to determine what Federal agencies were doing for blacks and, thereby, what might be done to improve delivery of services to the black community.

STATUS: This office maintains close watch on programs relating to minority business enterprise, black colleges, and black governed municipalities. However, diffusion of responsibility within the White House staff has led to a less than effective monitoring effort by this office in the areas of equal



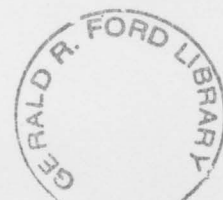
opportunity and job programs.

RECOMMENDATION: Responsibility for information gathering and overall coordination of minority related Federal programs and must be centralized in one White House office.

6. OBJECTIVE: In an effort to assist small, black communities, this office developed the inter-departmental Rural Task Force, Small Town Task Force and has worked closely with the Concerted Services Program.

STATUS: The Small Town Task Force continues to visit communities throughout the nation (usually those with black mayors) in order to deliver Federal aid as expeditiously as possible. This office monitors all activities of this task force.

RECOMMENDATION: The Small Town Task Force should continue its present operations. The Concerted Services Program should be closely



examined by the Domestic Council staff for expansion and wider application.

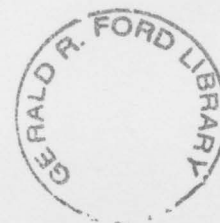
This latter program has proven itself to be a low cost, yet highly effective means of combatting poverty through the coordination of the programs of many agencies.

7. OBJECTIVE: To make recommendations regarding the appointment of blacks to key Federal positions.

STATUS: This office is presently developing recommendations for black appointments for the second Administration.

RECOMMENDATION: All recommendations regarding black appointments should emanate from or, at least, be reviewed by either an individual or that single office within the White House that deals with minority affairs.

8. OBJECTIVE: To encourage the development of drug abuse programs within the black community by acting as liaison between the Special Action Office on Drug Abuse Prevention and black community-based groups.



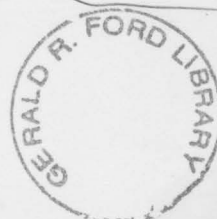
STATUS: Strong ties have been established and are maintained with numerous black community leaders toward the development of effective drug programs.

RECOMMENDATION: An office with close ties to the black community should continue this liaison role vis-a-vis specific proposals, as well as serving as a direct information pipeline to black leaders.

9. OBJECTIVE: To serve as the principal spokesman on Administration programs and attitudes regarding blacks.

STATUS: In the course of the past four years, ^{this officer has established a} ~~I have met with the~~ ^{working relationship with most} ~~heads of nearly all~~ ^{and} major black organizations, with black elected officials

^(Rewrite) and community leaders, and spoken before numerous black groups to present an accurate picture of the Administration efforts to assist minorities. I have also developed contacts within the private sector (through meetings



with top business executives, industry associations, Chambers of Commerce, etc.) to encourage their participation in minority business and equal opportunity programs. I encouraged and coordinated similar efforts by other black appointees.

a spokesman from the W House office of
RECOMMENDATION: ~~A specific black staff member should be assigned~~
minority affairs should be responsible for articulating
~~the duty of acting as the primary spokesman for the Administration in areas~~
Adm. initiatives
~~relating to minorities.~~ Specific efforts should be designed by the primary

spokesman to counteract the prevailing, if mistaken, notion that this Administration is anti-minority.

10. OBJECTIVE: To advise both the President and members of the White House or Domestic Council staff on matters relating to blacks. This includes proposals regarding meetings between the President and other officials and individual black leaders.



STATUS: Letters, inquiries, and proposals received at the White House on black affairs are usually forwarded to this office. However, this does not apparently follow a consistent pattern, as black related matters are sometimes handled by other members of the staff without our knowledge or participation.

RECOMMENDATION: This advisory function must be formally centralized in a single office.

C. During the first Administration, major strides were made in developing or expanding Federal programs which were most effective in opening the doors of equal opportunity to minority group Americans. Despite our solid achievements, large numbers of these citizens (particularly blacks) regard this Administration as being hostile to their desire to achieve full status in our national mainstream. Therefore, it is necessary that action be taken within the White House itself which would firmly demonstrate



your resolution that this primary social problem receive top priority in our domestic program.

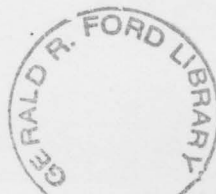
The Administration's efforts in these areas must be firmly institutionalized at the White House level in order to avoid: one, that diffusion of responsibility among several staff members which has vitiated our efforts in the past and, second, conversely to avoid gambling the success of our efforts on the personality or abilities of any one White House staff member. Irrespective of how these activities might be integrated into the overall White House staff structure, one point is essential: the direction of all Federal policy regarding minorities must emanate directly from the White House.

D. There are a number of ways in which this effort can be structured within the White House. Below, I offer three approaches.

a. Establish a Council on Human Rights which would be a part of or adjunct to the Domestic Council. This Council would handle virtually all

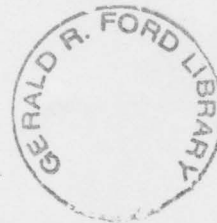


matters regarding minority groups within the White House and would direct the activities of all departments and agencies in the areas of civil rights and equal opportunity. It would be responsible for all of the objectives and activities for which my office has been responsible, as well as those functions currently performed by Leonard Garment's office and by some members of the Domestic Council Staff. This Council would have three members, one of whom should be an Assistant or a Counselor to the President and would serve as Chairman of the Council. The other two members would hold the title of Special Assistant to the President. These individuals would be supported by three commissioned Staff Assistants. The Council members would operate under the general direction of the Chairman, but would each hold responsibility in specific areas -- e.g. one would specialize in civil rights enforcement, another in minority business and job programs, and the third in general social welfare programs. The



appointment of this Council would clearly demonstrate to the public your concern for the problems faced by minorities and your desire for the development and implementation of new, innovative approaches by the Federal Government to meet these issues. The bureaucracy would also "get the message."

b. Another option would be to expand on the present structure of my office. That is to say, an individual would be appointed with total responsibility for the minority effort. In order to properly fulfill this task, he should be an Assistant or Counselor to the President and supported by an appropriate staff (five people would be a minimum). I should note that this recommended staff figure is actually less than the number of White House staff members presently working on minority affairs. This individual should be charged with responsibility for all minority affairs, not just those of a single ethnic or racial group.



c. A different approach would be to place staff members representing various minority groups throughout the White House and Domestic Council without any one person or office holding sole responsibility for overall minority programs. It would be presumed that each individual would cover a specialized area (e.g. minority business, liaison with the Spanish speaking, Indian affairs, etc.) and would operate within the overall domestic program.

Of the above alternatives, I most strongly favor the first approach -- the establishment of a Council on Human Rights. It would be important for us to emphasize that no matter which approach is selected, those appointed must have direct authority in developing and implementing the total domestic policy relating to minorities. A Council on Human Rights, for example, must never be mistaken for a mere advisory body.

e. As I indicated in an earlier memorandum, I am most willing to continue to serve you in any possible way, other than remaining in my present



post on a full time basis. At this time, I would like to offer my services to remain on staff into the opening weeks of the second Administration to assist in the launching of that part of the White House Office which will be dealing with minorities. I believe that I could be of particular assistance in regards to the selection of staff.

3-5 presidentially appointed

Also, I would suggest that you name ~~a number of White House~~

"Ombudsmen" or "Domestic Ambassadors" who would serve the Administration

on a consultant basis as emissaries to the minority community. Initially,

~~they~~ you could be called upon to represent you on the scene of any particularly

sensitive crisis (e.g. the recent shootings at Southern University in Baton

Rouge). I would expect that such appointments would be well received in the

minority community and do much toward gaining support for the Administration

in those locales. One area in which this approach might prove especially

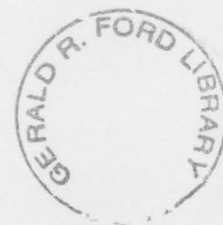
productive would be in regard to solving the race problem in the Armed

Services. We have already initiated a similar program via "Operation



Awareness" and found it most effective.

I would be deeply honored to serve as a "Domestic Ambassador" in
either an official or unofficial capacity.



DRAFT

TALKING POINTS

FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT

PART I

- a. Office has been general coordinating point
- b. Domestic Problem to be faced
 - 1. Continuation of equal opportunity effort
 - 2. Forestall open hostility between the races

PART II OBJECTIVES

- 1. Serve as central contact points ~~for~~ blacks (ombudsman)
- 2. Promote minority enterprise program
- 3. Federal aid to black colleges
- 4. Equal Opportunity in the Military
- 5. Collection and dissemination of information on Federal efforts

re blacks

rural areas



6. Racial problems associated with school desegregation
(emphasis on present violence in secondary schools)
7. Recommendations regarding the appointment of blacks
8. Drug abuse programs
9. To serve as principal Administration spokesman re blacks
10. To advise the President and other staff members on matters
relating to blacks
11. To coordinate intergovernmental equal opportunity effort
12. Liaison with NSC on African affairs

PART III RECOMMENDATIONS ON STAFF

Options in future structure of this office in second Administration

- (a) Council on Human Rights: 3 members; within Domestic

Council; chairman would be Assistant to President; each member
would cover specific areas.



centralized w/ less people

(b) Expand structure of present office: one man (Assistant to the President) responsible for entire operation; supported by staff of five.

(c) Place staff members dealing with minority affairs throughout WH and Domestic Council staff without one central coordinating office or council.

PART IV MISCELLANEOUS RECOMMENDATIONS

(a) Appoint "Ombudsman" or "Domestic Ambassadors": one each representing major minority groups, as well as white ethnic(s); work on consulting basis; report to WH.

(b) Honor M. L. King, Jr. by

(a) Requesting Congress to name his birthday a national holiday

(b) Name birthplace as a national shrine



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT J. BROWN

From the outset of the first Administration, the objective of my office has been to serve as a central coordinating point for Administration activities and programs of special interest to black Americans and to act as the principal liaison between the Administration and the black community.

The domestic problems which this office has worked on from the beginning of the first Administration are still with us. Now, as we turn toward the beginning of the second Administration, the concern ought to be that of preserving the inroads already made and insuring continued progress in this regard. The momentum gained thus far must not be lost.

We must be prepared to respond to the thrust of minorities toward self-determination by translating equal opportunity into a reality on all levels



of our society. Also, we must take decisive action to forestall the growth of animosity and direct conflict between the races. It is absolute necessity for the preservation of domestic tranquility that the second Administration continues the work of the past four years in leveling those barriers which have excluded minorities from full participation in our national life.

It is with this in mind that the general recommendation of this paper is for the continuation and expansion of the basic functions and activities of this office during the second Administration. It may be desirable, perhaps even necessary, to change the structure of the office.

In the attached book we have listed descriptions of the principal functions of this office over the past four years, a review of their current status, and recommendations for enhancing their effectiveness.



PART A

Description of the objectives of this office, their status, and recommendations for future action.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Ombudsman role
2. In-house advisory role
3. Collection of information
4. Role as an Administration spokesman
5. Appointment of Blacks
6. Race relations in the military
7. Minority business programs
8. Desegregation of schools
9. Black colleges
10. Federal equal opportunity effort.
11. Small Town Task Force
12. Drug abuse programs
13. African affairs

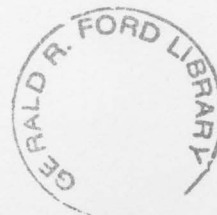


1. OBJECTIVE: To serve as the central contact point for black citizens seeking assistance of any nature (i.e. an ombudsman role).

STATUS: This function has resulted in our receiving untold thousands of telephone calls and letters all of which have been handled. This role has continued unabated throughout my tenure. Also, we have established contact with numerous black college officials, minority businessmen, heads of non-profit organizations and community groups and assisted them to function within the Federal bureaucratic system.

RECOMMENDATION: It is essential that there exist an office within the White House which blacks can regard as their own specific contact point for either obtaining information or assistance.

2. OBJECTIVE: To advise both the President and members of the White House or Domestic Council staff on matters relating to blacks. This includes the development of proposals for meetings between the President and



other officials and individual black leaders.

STATUS: Letters, inquiries, and proposals received by other White House or Domestic Council offices on black affairs are usually forwarded to this office. However, this does not apparently follow a consistent pattern, as black related matters are sometimes handled by other members of the staff without our knowledge or participation.

RECOMMENDATION: This advisory function must be formally centralized in a single office.

3. OBJECTIVE: To collect and disseminate information regarding Government programs and activities relating to blacks.

STATUS: For the first time an effort was made by a White House office to determine what Federal agencies were doing in relation to blacks and, thereby, what might be done to improve the delivery of services to the black community. This office maintains close watch on programs relating



to minority business enterprise, black colleges, black governed municipalities, and race relations in the Armed Services. This office assembled for the first time a book on overall Federal assistance to minority businesses.

Diffusion of responsibility in this area within the White House staff has led to a less than effective monitoring effort by this office in the areas of equal opportunity and related civil rights programs.

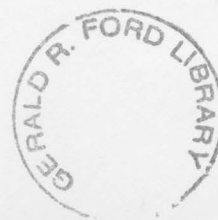
RECOMMENDATION: Responsibility for information gathering and overall coordination of minority related Federal programs and must be centralized in one White House office. All Federal agencies and departments would submit on a quarterly report to this latter office on its minority related activities.

4. OBJECTIVE: To serve as a principal spokesman for the Administration's programs and attitudes regarding blacks.



STATUS: In the courst of the past four years, this office has established a working relationship with the heads of nearly all major black organizations, with black elected officials and community leaders, and appeared before numerous black groups to present an accurate picture of the Administration efforts to assist minorities. This office has also developed contacts within the private sector (through meetings with top business executives, industry association, Chambers of Commerce, etc.) to encourage their participation in minority business and equal opportunity programs. We conducted a series of briefings on Administration policy for black leaders at the White House and the Blair House, as well as in every section of the country. We have encouraged and coordinated similar efforts by other black Administration appointees.

RECOMMENDATION: A spokesman should be designated from the White House office dealing with minority affairs to represent the Administration



in areas relating to minorities. Specific efforts should be designed by this spokesman to counteract the prevailing, notion that this Administration is anti-minority.

5. OBJECTIVE: To make recommendations regarding the appointment of blacks to key Federal positions.

STATUS: This office is presently developing recommendations for black appointments for the second Nixon Administration. In addition, this office maintains a data bank of biographical information and resumes on individuals, from throughout the United States being considered for appointment to key Federal positions. Periodically, requests are made of this office to provide recommendations for appointment to key Federal jobs and positions on Boards and Commissions. In this latter regard, we have always coordinated closely with the appropriate White House personnel offices.



Our wide contacts with minority business, professional, and civic organizations have given this office a specialized expertise in this area.

RECOMMENDATION: All recommendations regarding black appointments should emanate from or, at least, be reviewed by either an individual or that single office within the White House that deals with minority affairs.

6. OBJECTIVE: To work in close coordination with the Department of Defense in development of equal opportunity programs within the military and to solve the problem of racial conflict in the Armed Services.

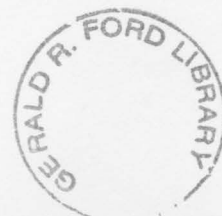
STATUS: Frequent meetings have been held by this office with top representatives of DOD and the Services to review these programs. I have personally visited military installations in the U.S. and in the European and Pacific areas. This office created and implemented "Operation Awareness," through which minority leaders have visited U.S. Army bases in Europe to counsel servicemen on race relations, advise the military commanders, and improve relations with local civilian population. We have



worked closely with the National Guard Bureau on their successful program to increase minority participation.

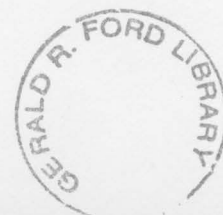
Recent events clearly indicate DOD's need for advice and direction from those more familiar with the general field of race relations. Despite this obvious need, the DOD has shown a reluctance to allow "outside" influence to enter into their affairs. Coupled with the tendency of the Services to attempt to settle all racial problems strictly "in house," this has badly vitiated the impact of their equal opportunity programs and led to an unsatisfactory relationship between this office and DOD. In fact, relations between this office and DOD have become virtually moribund over the past few months.

RECOMMENDATION: As the racial problems in the military are so complexly interwoven with the general domestic problems in this area,



the realistic possibility of solving these problems on a massive scale is not especially good. However, we cannot adopt a passive or reactive posture, but must take a positive stance. We can expect an increase in overt racial conflict with the military and that the news media will be giving it their very close attention. Already, a Congressional Committee has begun an investigation on this situation, and whatever blame or praise that is meted out from that or any other source will eventually be laid at the door of the Commander in Chief. Therefore, I would recommend that you effect the following:

(a) Establish by executive order a Department of Defense Race Relations Advisory Council. A initial group of seven members would be handpicked by the President with the cooperation of the Secretary of Defense. This council would supersede all existing Pentagon based, civilian race relations advisory councils which have been established by the individual services



(local councils, established at individual bases would not be effected).

The President could send individual members of this Council to military bases to investigate racial problems. They would report their findings and recommendations directly to the White House and the Secretary of Defense.

(b) A White House office responsible for racial matters in general should be mandated to oversee, in cooperation with the Secretary of Defense and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, all military racial matters.

7. OBJECTIVE: To promote the development of the minority business enterprise program.

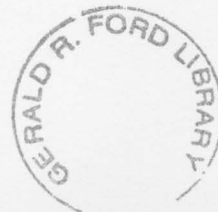
STATUS: This office monitors the award of OMBE grants and maintains continuous liaison with SBA regarding minority loans, MESBIC and 8(a) programs. We have also encouraged all Federal departments and agencies to support this effort via their procurement activities. In this latter regard,



Federal contracts to minority firms increased from \$13 million FY69 to \$394 million in FY72. We continue to work closely with the Department of the Treasury in support of their Minority Bank Deposit Program under which nearly one billion has been placed by the Federal Government and private sources in minority owned lending institutions. Also, this office prepared the Presidential memorandum issued in December, 1969 to all agency and department heads specifying this office and Leonard Garment's office as the coordinating points for the minority business effort.

In a great number of instances, it has been necessary to sensitize a frequently recalcitrant bureaucracy to the high priority of this program and the necessity of their active participation.

RECOMMENDATION: (a) Responsibility for this program has become diffused both within the White House and the Federal structure. This has led to a lack of coordination which has on many occasions resulted in undesired



consequences. For example, a black Republican businessman, who has often worked closely with this office, was astounded to learn that a \$2.5 million EDA loan was awarded to this black Democrat opponent in a State Senate race shortly before the election. Unfortunately, such incidents have not been uncommon. Therefore, it is necessary that one White House office be assigned the duty of overseeing all aspects of the minority enterprise program. This would include direct control of the awarding of all OMBE grants.

(b) An effort should be made to establish the post of Assistant Secretary for Minority Enterprise within the Department of Commerce.

(c) A concerted effort must be made to encourage major corporations to award contracts to minority companies. An effort along these lines was begun by this office, but was never expanded to the desired degree. To



avoid the problems engendered by Federal representative approaching firms which have government contracts, I recommend that a major OMBE or SBA grant be made (with proper high level announcement) to suitable organization which would work with government, major companies and minority firms toward the goal securing more commercial business or the letter. Those firms presently receiving 8(a) companies would receive priority in this effort, as these firms have been unable to secure a piece of the commercial market equivalent to the government business they have received under this program.

(d) I would recommend that a three man panel be appointed by the President (one government, two private on consulting basis) to work in conjunction with the Interdepartmental Task Force on Minority Business Procurement toward monitoring the overall Federal procurement effort vis-a-vis black firms. This panel would report directly to the heads of



SBA, of OMBE and the appropriate White House office on the effectiveness of the program in general as well as review individual contracts. There is presently no consistency in the overall pattern of Federal procurement practises in relation to minority firms. This panel would act as a "watch-dog" by monitoring the activities of individual agencies and departments.

8. OBJECTIVE: To assist in improving race relations in those areas affected by the desegregation of schools.

STATUS: As more school desegregation is being achieved, as a result of those rulings, three major problems have arisen: (1) busing, (2) racial violence in secondary schools, and (3) wholesale dismissal of black teachers and administrators. This office convened meetings with black leaders (See Appendix) to discuss the busing situation and to get their opinions for an Administration's position. We participated in the "White House Busing Road Show" (Spring, 1972) to discuss the busing issue and to explain the



Administration's position. This office also conducted a nation-wide telephone survey of black leaders to get the maximum number of views on the issue.

This office has been working with the Office of Education and OMB to assist more than 1500 black teachers and administrators whose jobs changed as a result of school desegregation in the South. The Office of Education has since been responsible for the allocation of \$3.2 million to aid these educators.

RECOMMENDATION: Racial conflicts are increasing in school districts across the country with most problems centering in the secondary schools. The White House office responsible for racial matters in general should be mandated to provide counsel to the Secretary of HEW, to problems resulting from desegregation. A special advisory committee composed primarily of young people could be appointed to investigate the roots of these racial conflicts and other violence in schools and to propose remedies.



9. OBJECTIVE: To promote efforts designed to increase Federal aid to predominantly black colleges.

STATUS: In FY 1973 aid to black colleges should nearly be double the FY1969 figure of \$125 million. This office is in direct communication on a regular basis with the presidents of many of the black colleges.

RECOMMENDATION: All responsibility for the monitoring of black college effort should be centralized in that White House office dealing with minority affairs. Administration policy of support to these institutions must be strongly articulated by the White House to all Department and Agency heads. Anyone who views these institutions as historic anachronisms should be promptly disabused of that notion.

10. OBJECTIVE: To assist in improving equal opportunity activities in the Federal Departments and Agencies.



STATUS: Frequent meetings have been held by this office with Equal Opportunity Officers from government agencies to determine the effectiveness of the government's equal opportunity programs. Many departments and agencies report to this office on a regular basis regarding their programs in this area.

RECOMMENDATION: (a) The overall coordination and monitoring of Federal equal opportunity and related civil rights activities should be centralized in one White House Office.

(b) Most agency or departmental personnel who administer equal opportunity programs lack either the grade or status to be truly effective. It is vital that a direct line of communication exist between the Director of Equal Opportunity and the head of his department or agency.

Presently, equal opportunity efforts in HUD are placed under an Assistant Secretary. It would be only logical that this program be placed on the

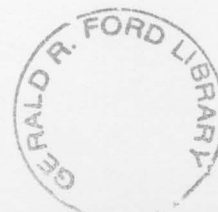


same administrative level in departments of the size and orientation of HEW, Labor, and DOD. It would be advisable for all equal opportunity directors in the remaining agencies or departments to be given a similar up-grading appropriate to the size and nature of the mission of that agency or department.

11. OBJECTIVE: In an effort to assist small, black communities,
this office developed the inter-departmental Rural Task Force, Small
Town Task Force and has worked closely with the Concerted Services
Program.

STATUS: In 1969 this office met with representatives, from various Federal agencies to identify and select target areas in which the majority of the population were disadvantaged, and in need of Federal assistance.

The Small Town Task Force continues to visit communities throughout the nation (usually those with black mayors) in order to uncover specific needs

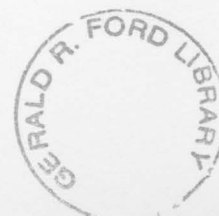


for Federal aid. This office monitors all activities of this task force.

OMB became a valuable part of this program by assisting this office in making the funding process work for those small communities. OMB also served as our advisor for evaluation and the link to the Regional Councils.

This office also began working with the Concerted Service in Training and Education (CSTE). CSTE is a cooperative Federal, State and local venture. It was conceived as a pilot effort to assist smaller communities and rural areas by demonstrating that education and occupational training, along with economic development activities can increase employment opportunities, help develop local leadership, individual initiative, and community awareness.

Cooperating Federal Agencies in the CSTE approach include the Department of HEW, Agriculture, Labor, Interior, Commerce, HUD, the Office



of Economic Opportunity; and the Regional Councils.

RECOMMENDATION: The Small Rural Towns Task Force should continue its present operation, but on a full time basis, with the appropriate Federal Departments and agencies participating. Each agency should provide at least one senior staff member to work full time on this effort. This program should be coordinated by an office within the White House.

The Concerted Service in Training and Education program should be closely examined by the Domestic Council staff for expansion and wider application. This program has proven itself to be a low cost, yet highly effective means of combatting poverty through the coordinated efforts of several agencies.

These programs are specifically aimed at those parts of the nation which have been hitherto left out of the mainstream of Federal funding.



12. OBJECTIVE: To encourage the development of drug abuse programs within the black community in cooperation with the Special Action Office on Drug Abuse Prevention.

STATUS: We have assisted in the development of a close working relationship between the Special Action Office on Drug Abuse Prevention and the black community. These ties are maintained with our continual interaction with black community leaders.

RECOMMENDATIONS: The White House office concerned with minority affairs should continue to serve as one of the principal source for information between black leaders and the Administration so as to clearly impart the commitment of the President to eradicate this problem.

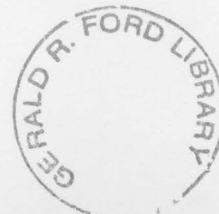
A feeling of involvement should be fostered by that office among black community leaders, athletes, celebrities, educators, and civic groups so as to elicit their goodwill and support in this fight against drugs.



13. OBJECTIVE: To serve as a liaison between the NSC and black American groups or individuals regarding African affairs.

STATUS: A regular working relationship has been established between this office and the NSC by which information is shared and coordinated on African affairs which might effect our own domestic policies. Also, we have assisted black businessmen establish needed contacts within AID or the Department of Commerce regarding their efforts to develop overseas trade, particularly in Africa. This office, in cooperation with the Office of the Vice President, sent a White House Fellow and staff member to the Council of Economic Advisors on a fact finding tour of Africa to explore opportunities for black American businesses.

RECOMMENDATION: Although such activities would be peripheral to the main duties of any White House Office dealing with minority affairs, a firm line of communication between that office and the NSC should be maintained.



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It is essential that all information received by the NSC via the Situation Room concerning domestic minority related affairs be relayed to the above White House office.

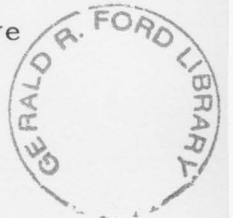


PART B

Recommendations regarding future structure of White House efforts
in minority related fields.



During the first Administration, major strides were made in developing or expanding Federal programs which were most effective in opening the doors of equal opportunity to minority group Americans. Despite our solid achievements, large numbers of these citizens (particularly blacks) regard this Administration as being hostile to their desire to achieve full status in our national mainstream. Therefore, it is necessary that action be taken within the White House itself which would firmly demonstrate your resolution that this primary social problem receive top priority in our domestic program.



The Administration's efforts in these areas must be firmly institutionalized at the White House level in order to avoid: one, that diffusion of responsibility among several staff members which has sometimes hindered our efforts in the past and, second, to avoid gambling the success of our efforts on the personality or abilities of any one White House staff member. Irrespective of how these activities might be integrated into the overall White House staff structure, one thing is essential: the direction of all

Federal policy regarding minorities should be coordinated directly by one White House office.

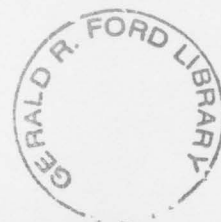
There are a number of ways in which this effort can be structured within the White House. Three alternatives are offered below.

a. Establish a Council on Human Rights which would be a part of the Domestic Council. This Council would handle virtually all matters regarding minority groups within the White House and would direct the activities of all departments and agencies in the areas of civil rights and equal opportunity. It would be responsible for all of the objectives for which my office has been responsible, as well as those civil rights functions currently performed by other White House and Domestic Council offices. The Council would have three members, one of whom might be an Assistant or Special Consultant to the President and would serve as Chairman of the Council. The other two members would hold the title of Deputy Assistant or Special Assistant



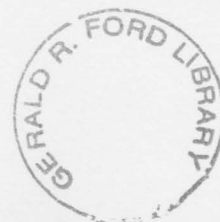
to the President. These individuals would be supported by three commissioned Staff Assistants. The Council members would operate under the general direction of the Chairman, but would each hold responsibility in specific areas -- e.g. one would specialize in civil rights enforcement, another in minority business and job programs, and the third in general social welfare programs. The appointment of this Council or some similar action would clearly and decisively demonstrate to the public your concern for the problems faced by minorities and your desire for the development and implementation of new, innovative approaches by the Federal Government to meet these issues. The bureaucracy would also "get the message."

b. Another option would be to expand on the present structure of this office. An individual would be appointed with total responsibility for the minority effort. It would be most helpful to this person in executing his



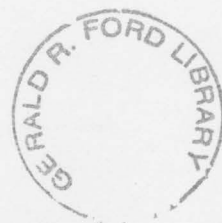
duties if he should be an Assistant or Special Consultant to the President and supported by a staff adequate to carry out that office's duties. It should be noted that approximately ten White House and Domestic Council staff members are presently working in the area of minority affairs either full or part time. This individual should be charged with responsibility for all minority affairs.

Of the above alternatives, I most strongly favor the first approach -- the establishment of a Council on Human Rights. It would be important for us to emphasize that no matter which approach is selected, those appointed must have direct authority in developing and implementing the total domestic policy relating to minorities. Members of this office should be involved in all high level domestic policy meetings, including Cabinet meetings. A Council on Human Rights, for example, must never be mistaken for a mere advisory body.



The office responsible for minority affairs should prepare a periodic report on its major activities, which would be distributed to senior staff members by the White House Staff Secretary. This would do much to correct the present lack of communication and coordination existing between various White House and Domestic Council offices in this particular area. In fact, an interchange of reports might be advisable between all White House offices on a regular basis to facilitate the free flow of information necessary for the coordination needed for true effectiveness.

We would strongly recommend that minority group staff members be placed in every part of the White House Office -- including the NSC and the Council of Economic Advisors.



PART C

Additional Recommendations



A. Also, we would suggest that you appoint a number of "Ombudsmen" or "Domestic Ambassadors" who would serve the Administration on a consultant basis as emissaries to the minority community. Initially, they could be called upon to represent you on the scene of any particularly sensitive crisis (e.g. the recent shootings at Southern University in Baton Rouge). I would expect that such appointments would be well received in the minority community and do much toward gaining support for the Administration in those locales. Initially, you could appoint one black, one Spanish speaking person and one Indian to these posts. Also, the inclusion of whites from various ethnic groups along with representatives of the major minority groups would be very much in tune with the concept of the New Majority, as well as a reaffirmation of the "bring us together" theme.

These Ombudsmen would be dispatched on their assignments by the White House and would report directly to the chief White House domestic advisor or



the White House office dealing with minority affairs. However, in those instances in which a Federal agency or department is involved, the Ombudsman would work in close coordination with the appropriate persons in that department.

One area in which this approach might prove especially productive would be in regard to solving the race problem in the Armed Services. We have already initiated a similar program via "Operation Awareness" and found it most effective.

B. We would do well at this time to give serious consideration toward making some gesture paying honor to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The passage of years has removed the likelihood of a major controversy being aroused by any such act. The impact of this gesture within the black community would be extremely positive. This office has frequently been approached by black leaders sympathetic to the Administration on this



matter and has been strongly encouraged to recommend some suitable action on the part of the Administration.

Among the options the President might consider are:

a. Requesting Congress to declare Dr. King's birthday a national holiday.

b. Declaring Dr. King's birthplace in Atlanta as a national shrine or monument.

c. Designating his gravesite in Atlanta as a national memorial.

C. We would strongly recommend that during some point early in the second Administration, a black person be appointed as a Federal Judge in the South. This gesture of good faith and trust toward the black community would undoubtedly be received most warmly.



SUBJECT: Description and Status of Office Activities/Recommendations
For Future Involvement

The domestic problems which prompted establishment of this office at the beginning of the first Administration are still with us. It is true that much progress has been made - a great deal of it encouraged or initiated through this office.

Now, as we turn toward the beginning of the second Administration, the concern must be that of preserving the inroads already made and ensuring continued progress in this regard. The momentum gained thus far must not be lost, if equal opportunity is to become a reality for all people within our society.

The attached document provides a description of the functions carried out in this office during the past four years and recommendations for future involvement.



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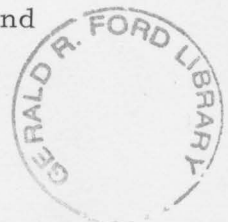
I. Office Functions, Status, and Recommendations

The overall objective of this office has been to serve as a central coordinating point for Administration activities and programs of special interest to black Americans and as the principal liaison between the Administration and the black community.

Descriptions of the principal functions performed by this office over the past four years, a review of their current status, and recommendations for enhancing their effectiveness are outlined below.

- A. Function: Serves as the central contact for blacks seeking information and assistance on a wide variety of subjects and issues.

Status: This function continues to require a significant portion of staff attention and time. It is an important function, however, in that it has served effectively as an informal source of communication between the black community and the Executive Office.



Numerous miscellaneous letters and telephone calls of this nature are received daily. It can be expected that this kind of activity will not decrease in volume during the second Administration.

RECOMMENDATION:

That there continue to exist an office within the White House which is accessible and responsive to blacks seeking information or assistance on general matters.

- B. Function: Assists the development of the minority business enterprise program by monitoring the award of OMBE grants, SBA minority loans, MESBIC, 8(a) programs and by encouraging other Federal departments and agencies to support minority enterprise via their procurement activities.

Status: Federal contracts to minority firms increased from

\$13 million FY 69 to \$394 million FY 72. Under the Department



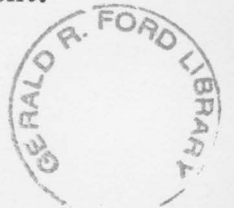
of the Treasury Minority Bank Deposit Program, nearly one billion has been placed by the Federal government and private sources in minority owned lending institutions.

In general, direct involvement by this office has facilitated positive departmental response to the high priority of this program and the necessity of each agency's active participation. This function remains current.

RECOMMENDATION:

Offices within the White House and among various agencies are unclear about the responsibility for coordination of the Minority Enterprise Program. This has often precipitated much confusion and misunderstandings.

Accordingly, it is recommended that this office be specifically designated as The coordinator for aspects of the minority enterprise program, including direct control of the awarding of all OMBE grants. This recommendation is in keeping with the Presidential Memorandum of 1970 to all





heads of agencies which specified the coordinating role of this office at that time.

C. Function: Promotes efforts designed to increase Federal aid to predominantly black colleges.

Status: In FY 1973 aid to black colleges will have nearly doubled over the FY 1969 figure of \$125 million. Ongoing communication with the presidents of principal black colleges is continuous.

RECOMMENDATION:

Responsibility for monitoring the black college effort should be centralized in this office. Further, to promote greater responsiveness, Administration policy of encouraging support to these institutions must be strongly articulated to all Department and Agency heads.

D. Function: Work in close coordination with DOD to develop equal opportunity programs within the military and to address meaningfully

the problem of racial conflict in the Armed Services.

Status: Frequent meetings between this office and top representatives of DOD and the Services for purposes of reviewing these programs are currently in a "holding" stage. This can be attributed largely to the DOD's stated preference to handle affairs of this nature in-house. Future visitations to military installations in the U. S. and in the European and Pacific areas by minority leaders under "Operation Awareness, are expected to continue in the coming months.

RECOMMENDATION:

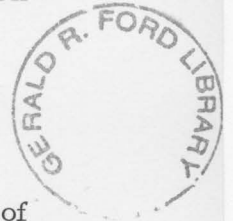
Given the current events regarding racial conflict in the armed services and the close attention being given in by Congress and the news media, it appears that some intervention by the WH may be necessary. In that event, I recommend the following:

1. Establishment by executive order of a Department of Defense



Race Relations Advisory Council. This council would supersede and cancel out all existing race relations advisory groups presently established by the respective services. Members of this council would implement on site investigations of racial problems on individual military bases and report directly back to the White House and the Secretary of Defense.

2. This office, in cooperation with the Secretary of Defense and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, should assist with overseeing all efforts at developing and implementing programs aimed at ameliorating racial conflict in the military.
3. "Operation Awareness" should be expanded to all branches of the Service.
4. Elevate the office of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Equal Opportunity to the level of Assistant Secretary of Defense.



E. Function: Makes recommendations regarding the appointment of blacks to key Federal positions.

Status: This office is presently developing recommendations for black appointments for the second Nixon Administration. A data bank of biographical information and resumes on individuals, from throughout the United States is maintained on persons who we consider as excellent candidates for appointment to key Federal positions. Because of the wide contacts maintained with minority business, professional, and civil organizations, this function resides appropriately in this office.

RECOMMENDATION:

All recommendations regarding black appointments should originate with or receive clearance from this office.

F. Function: Assists the Special Action Office on Drug Abuse Prevention with the development of drug abuse programs within the



black community.

Status: Strong linkages with numerous black community

leaders are being maintained in the development of effective

drug reform programs.



RECOMMENDATION:

This office should continue its role as a bridge between the Administration and black leaders regarding the commitment of the President to eradicate this problem.

G. Function: Serves as a principal spokesman on Administration programs relating specifically to blacks.

Status: The innumerable public presentations and appearances performed by this office over the past four years in nearly every state of the Union has resulted in opening lines of communication and dialogue with diverse elements of the black community such as black elected officials, private businessmen, Chambers of

Commerce, social groups, universities and secondary schools, civil rights organizations, and local community groups. A series of briefings on Administration policy & programs for black leaders at the White House, the Blair House, and in other sections of the country was begun and will continue in the next Administration.

RECOMMENDATION:

This office should continue to speak for and represent the high level of concern by this Administration on these issues.

H. Functions: Advises the President and members of the White House staff on matters relating to blacks. This includes proposals regarding meetings between the President or other key officials and black leaders.

Status: Letters, inquiries, and proposals received at the White House on black affairs and usually forwarded to this office are



currently not being handled in a consistent manner. This has resulted in faulty communication and misunderstandings between this office and others within the White House.

RECOMMENDATION:

This advisory function should be formally centralized in this office.

- I. Functions: Assists with increasing equal opportunities in the Federal Government.

Status: Meetings with Equal Opportunity Officers from most government agencies regarding the effectiveness of their agency's equal opportunity programs are continuous. In 1969, the total outlays for civil rights activities was \$911 million. The total outlay for 1973 has risen to \$2.6 billion.

RECOMMENDATION:

Coordination by this office of all Federal equal opportunity activities.

Efforts should be made to upgrade all equal opportunity officers to the



level of Assistant Secretary or Assistant Administrator.

J. Function: Assists small communities (both rural and urban)

with obtaining more government services.

Status: Coordination and assistance with the efforts of this



office has been achieved with the Concerted Service in Training and Education (CSTE), a federal state and local venture. Conceived as a pilot effort to assist smaller communities and rural areas, this service is now demonstrating that education and occupational training, along with economic development activities, increase employment opportunities, help develop local leadership, individual initiative, and community awareness. Cooperating Federal Agencies in the CSTE approach include HEW, Agriculture, Labor, Interior, Commerce, HUD, OEO, and the Regional Councils. Federal Agencies participating in the Small Rural Towns Task Force are the Departments of Agriculture,

Commerce, Defense, HEW, HUD, DOL, ACTION, EPA
and LEAA.



RECOMMENDATION:

The Small Rural Towns Task Force should continue its present operation on a full time basis with participation by all federal agencies. This program should be operated from this office.

The Concerted Service in Training and Education program should also be reviewed by the Domestic Council staff for expansion and wider application. It has proven itself to be a low cost, yet highly effective means of combatting poverty through the coordination of programs from many agencies.

II. Options for Possible Restructuring of this OFFICE

To achieve better responses from government agencies on minority programs, Administration policy and views which indicate support of these programs should be transmitted to agency heads via a clear mandate directly from the White House. In that this office will continue to be



primarily concerned with overseeing these kinds of programs, it would be equally desirable and appropriate to have the functions of this office institutionalized by a similar mandate from the Office of the President.

This action would clearly establish the validity and importance with which the President views this office. It would also place responsibility for these programs within one central office, which is not the case. This lack of central coordination has sometimes vitiated our efforts in the past. Second, it would avoid association of future efforts of this office with anyone key personality. This kind of institutionalization should improve the ability of this office to be more effective in its relationships within the White House as well as with various agencies. The options described below are presented with this in mind.

- A. Establish a Council on Human Rights which would be a part of
or an adjunct to the Domestic Council. This Council would handle matters regarding minority groups within the White House

and would monitor the activities of all departments and agencies in the area of equal opportunity. It would also assume responsibility for activities of this office, as well as those currently under the WH Office for Civil Rights and some of those now performed by some members of the Domestic Council Staff.

The appointment of such a Council would demonstrate a continuous concern by the Administration and for addressing the need of more minority participation within the Federal Government by encouraging development and implementation of innovative approaches to the problem. It is anticipated that such an action would go far in accelerating more responsive actions from agency heads in this regard.

- B. Another option would be a continuation of the present structure of this office with one exception. The functions of this office can



be implemented with greater effectiveness if the key position of the office carries the weight and status of a level consistent with its range of responsibilities. An appropriate level might be Assistant to the President or Special Counselor. Further, adequate staff should be provided of five people would be desirable. It should be noted that the number of White House staff members presently working on minority affairs is approximately

In addition to its regular functions, it is expected that all activities and inter-relations currently existing between this office and other offices within the WH, such as that existing with the NSC, should continue. The importance of maintaining close communication in all areas of activity within the White House which impinge on minority activities in any way cannot be emphasized more strongly.



III. General Recommendations

- A. Consideration should be given to the placement of minorities as staff members throughout most, if not all, the major White House Offices and within the NSC.
- B. Consideration should be given to the appointment of a number of "Ombudsmen" or "Domestic Ambassadors" to carry out short-term assignments as needed. Such appointments should be well received in the minority community and gain support for the Administration in those locales. Consideration should be given to naming white "ethnics" as well as members of other minorities to serve in this capacity. The inclusion of white ethnics would be in keeping with the concept of the New Majority, as well as a reaffirmation of the "bring us together" theme.
- C. I have frequently been approached by black leaders (sympathetic



to the Administration) who have strongly and consistently encouraged consideration of some gesture to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Such gestures might be:

1. Requesting Congress to declare Dr. King's birthday a national holiday.
2. Making Dr. King's burial site a national shrine or monument.

D. Consideration should be given to establishing the office of Assistant Secretary for Minority Enterprise within the Department of Commerce.

E. Greater efforts must be made to encourage the award of more contracts to minority companies by major corporations. To help achieve this objective, consideration should be given to the idea



of making a major OMBE grant to a private firm which would work with the government, major companies, and minority firms in an effort to secure more commercial business for minorities. Firms presently receiving 8(a) companies should receive priority in this effort.

- F. Virtually no participation exists on the part of minority firms in the procurement activities of Federal agencies. Agencies have been almost completely unresponsive in this area. To achieve greater participation and more positive responses from agency heads on this issue, consideration should be given to the appointment of a panel to work in conjunction with the Interdepartmental Task Force on Minority Business Procurement to monitor the overall Federal procurement effort in regard to greater participation of minorities. This panel should



report directly to the White House.

G. Racial conflicts appear to be on the increase in those instances where secondary schools have undergone desegregation changes. In view of the attention being focused on these conflicts, it appears advisable that this office serve in an advisory capacity to the Secretary of HEW on matters of racial unrest in the schools. Additionally, it may be appropriate to appoint a special advisory to investigate these kinds of conflicts in schools across the country.

