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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 23, 1972

Dear Editor:

Yes, indeed, there have been "solid accomplishments" for minorities in the Nixon administration as you pointed out in your editorial of February 18, 1972, entitled "Mr. Nixon's Civil Rights Scorecard."

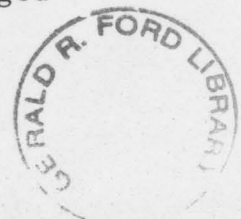
In addition, there have been "signals from the White House" as well as "moral and political leadership" although we readily admit that it has been results-oriented rather than bellicose rhetoric or empty promises that seem to delight those who are not victims of injustice because of their race.

Would you consider it moral and political leadership when President Nixon traveled to the deep South to meet with black and white community leaders to urge peaceful resolution of differences over school desegregation in 1970?

It's true the meetings were low key and not at all in keeping with the wordy, righteous public declarations of the past. Interestingly, however, the number of black children in all-black schools has dropped from 68 percent in the last year of the Johnson administration to an estimated 9 percent under Mr. Nixon.

Would you consider a candid and open meeting between the President and the Congressional Black Caucus an exercise in political and moral leadership?

By no stretch of the imagination could this meeting have been rigged to be more or less than it was--a rugged give and take upon which further advancement for



minorities will be built. It is proper to note here that the Democratic leadership of the United States Senate has yet to meet with the same Black Caucus though the many Democratic senators running for the Presidency sometimes accuse Mr. Nixon of being insensitive to blacks.

We contend also with firmness and pride that President Nixon displayed most admirable moral and political leadership when he personally involved himself in the fight to combat sickle cell anemia--a dread disease that particularly afflicts blacks. This assertion of Mr. Nixon's leadership forms the basis of current research and educational efforts that may ultimately produce a cure for sickle cell.

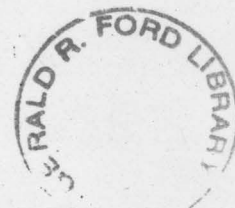
Yes, indeed, there has been leadership as well as the accomplishments that will make equal rights a reality. Action words and clever phrases have their place but words alone do not constitute Presidential leadership.

Words won't pay the tuition at black colleges, but Mr. Nixon's initiatives will. Nor will they substitute for the President's minority entrepreneurship program which has generated \$242 million in minority banks, increasing their capability by some \$80 million.

Theatrical visits to the ghetto or into sharecroppers' homes will not provide decent housing for the poor. President Nixon's tripling of low and moderate income housing starts replaces rhetoric with a roof that doesn't leak and walls that keep out the cold.

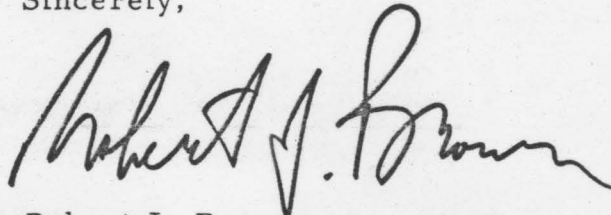
Talking about civil rights doesn't promote blacks in our Armed Forces to admiral or general or to key, high-level jobs within the government itself.

Working on civil rights does result in these accomplishments.



It is true that a combination of leadership and deeds are required to make progress, and President Nixon's actions fully reveal that he understands the proper mixture. That is why blacks in our Nation are finding hope where once there were only promises.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Robert J. Brown". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized initial "R".

Robert J. Brown
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. B. F. Henry
The Washington Post
Letters to the Editor
Editorial Department
1150 15th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.



2/22/72

Please
correct
Spelling
errors, etc.
K.

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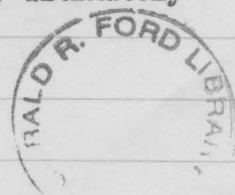
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add one--washpost letter to editor

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SIGNED by black officials in manner you discussed with Herbert G. Klein.

clawson



RESPONSE TO WASHINGTON POST

Your ~~grudging~~ admission that there have been "solid accomplishments" for minorities in the Nixon Administration (editorial, 2/18/72) appeared to be only a token gesture to the objectivity which you ignored in the rest of your editorial on "Mr. Nixon's Civil Rights Scorecard".

Your objections, at heart, are essentially symbolic, viz, the need for "some signals from the White House" and "much stronger moral and political leadership". On these and other points, some observations are needed.

The implication that there has been a lack of moral and political leadership means you have closed your editorial eyes to the leadership which has been given. It is the leadership we witnessed when Mr. Nixon himself went to heart of "Dixie" to meet with community leaders -- black and white -- to urge peaceful resolution of differences over desegregation procedures. There were no troops at the schoolhouse door, nor bellicose rhetoric. As a result, the number of blacks in all black schools has dropped from 68% in the last year of the Johnson Administration to an estimated 9% under Mr. Nixon.



We witnessed this same leadership in a candid and open meeting the President had with the Congressional Black Caucus -- engaging in the give and take upon which advancement for minorities will be built. I note, only because the Post has been reluctant to do so, that the Democratic leadership in the United States Senate has still not met with the Black Caucus -- though Democratic party Senators seeking the presidency repeatedly berate Mr. Nixon for lack of sensitivity to blacks.

And we witnessed moral and political leadership when Mr. Nixon involved himself personally in the fight to combat sickle cell anemia -- a dread disease which particularly afflicts blacks. It is because of Mr. Nixon's leadership -- political and moral -- that we are truly beginning the research and educational effort which may one day lead to the cure for sickle cell.

These examples don't begin to cover all the instances which you have chosen to ignore

Having said all this, I should like to point out the focus of the Post's misunderstanding of Mr. Nixon's civil rights scorecard. Your liberal orthodoxy which urges "moral and political leadership" is commendable. But it doesn't feed empty stomachs. Morality won't pay the tuition at black colleges that Mr. Nixon's

initiatives do. Leadership alone is not a substitute for fostering minority entrepreneurship in the way President Nixon has with his program to generate deposits of \$242 million in minority banks, increasing their lending capability by some \$80 million. Theatrical visits to the ghetto or to the sharecroppers are not going to provide decent housing for the poor. President Nixon's tripling of low and moderate income housing starts will. The rhetoric of civil rights does not promote blacks to admiral and general in the armed forces. The reality of civil rights does.

So keep your eye on the civil rights record, and while searching for moral and political leadership, watch out that you don't miss the tangible advancements of hundreds of thousands of people who, because of Richard Nixon, are finding hope where once there were only promises.

Op-Ed -- Carl T. Rowan's Column -- STAR

BY: Stanley S. Scott
Special Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

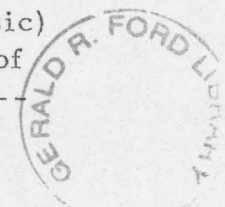
Carl Rowan, who normally works this corner, was generous enough to yield this space to me to explain why I support changes in directions and restructuring for poverty programs. Mr. Rowan recently wrote that I -- Stanley Scott -- am a black ex-newspaperman, no dummy, no fawning Uncle Tom and one who might opt for silence if I would just get the facts. He also excoriated me for apparently getting my information from -- or, at least being influenced by -- unreliably biased zealots.

Actually, the way Mr. Rowan stated it was: "Stanley Scott . . . was in New York the other day defending Nixon's mangling of anti-poverty and other social programs." So you can see right away that Carl thinks a guy like me shouldn't be going around giving his pet peeve a bad name.

Unlike Mr. Rowan, I refuse to substitute the old bathos of "sympathy for the poor" for the hard realities of doing something about actually helping them. While Mr. Rowan can mourn the passing of programs that delivered nothing but broken promises to the inner-city, I cannot. Rather, I mourn the promises that were broken. But they are dead and gone. Now it's time to shuck our shrouds and get on with our people's business -- with programs that are vitally alive; programs that will work; programs that will help poor people help themselves.

Even the Carl Rowans of the black community must be fed up with the poverty "professionals" who help themselves to the anti-poverty platter before it is passed on to the people for whom it was intended. Perhaps, instead of listening to the vocal zealots who are crowded around the public trough, he might go out among the millions of destitute people for whom the OEO has been a cruel mockery.

I wonder if anyone ever explained to Rowan that the butchering (sic) of the Office of Economic Opportunity, really began in the year of its birth, 1965, as reports started trickling -- and then pouring --



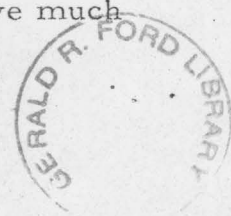
in of the widespread abuses, boondoggling, and miscellaneous rip-offs by the Community Action capo's who are now howling the loudest because the sacred cow is rapidly running out of milk?

The Community Action Agencies have demonstrably failed to do the job after eight years of grace and \$2 billions of tax dollars expended. It was a grand experiment, nobly begun, but it bombed out. Although Rowan does not like the figure, 80% of that was siphoned off in salaries and overhead. Only about 20% went to the poor people. By the time all this "opportunity" got to its final destination it didn't have the strength left to knock on the door.

President Nixon's proposed F.Y. 1974 budget allots \$30.3 billion for poverty programs alone. That's twice the amount budgeted when he took office. Mr. Rowan's poor information to the contrary, the programs which he says the President is "mangling," are, in fact, alive and well financed in departments and agencies that are far better equipped to give them more working clout than the super-numerary OEO could muster if its budget were tripled.

In terms of actual outlay for OEO programs, what Carl Rowan likes to call "butchery" is in reality a masterful job of slicing away the fat and serving up larger portions of protein. Even with the non-funding of Community Action Agencies, the President's budget calls for an increase of \$50 million overall for OEO programs in their new homes. Programs that will have an increased lease on life include Comprehensive Health Services and Family Planning, Research and Demonstration, Community Economic Development, Drug Rehabilitation, and new initiatives for Indians and Migrant workers.

And -- so Mr. Rowan's panic about the CAAs shouldn't sound like the end of the world for poor people -- it is only fair to point out that federal money represents just one-third of the Community Action funding. The rest comes from local governments and private grants. This will help explain his puzzling arithmetic of 184,000 workers earning an average of \$5,200 a year with a budget "totalling some \$300 million a year." It could be that Rowan's informants forgot to mention that other \$600 million or, perhaps he feels that because the federal government is stepping out of the Community's internal affairs that the Communities won't think their own programs are worth the keeping. If that's true, Mr. Rowan doesn't have much faith in his own cause.



Even at that, it's incredible that Carl Rowan, who is "no dummy," could believe that these Community Action Agencies alone, as he seems to claim, were responsible for all that "outreach" in extending surplus food, food stamps, medical aid and sundry surcease to the poor. Does he "expect the public to swallow this malarkey" (if I may borrow his phrase)? In truth, successive Nixon budgets starting with Fiscal Year 1970 (his first) have increasingly nourished these very programs. They were pursued on a priority Presidential order by four major domestic departments of the Federal government -- any one of which could accommodate the entire OEO establishment in one of its pockets.

Still, it's strange that Carl forgot to mention how well those previously transplanted OEO programs --like Head Start which went to HEW two years ago -- are doing in their new homes. Well, not so strange, really. No one expects Rowan to sit in his ideological chair and denounce the cruel slandering of the Nixon Administration; but if he would just get the facts he might at least opt for silence.



March 23, 1973

OP-ED RESPONSE TO VERNON JORDAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

BY:

STANLEY S. SCOTT
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE



As youngsters growing up in Atlanta, Georgia, Vernon Jordan and I had a first-hand look at black poverty in America and we knew and felt the pains of racism. We also knew what it was like to not be able to vote, and we saw gifted and talented Black people held down to menial jobs because of their skin color.

I would have never believed that years later we might disagree on goals for Black Americans. Nor would we have believed it only a few years ago when we both worked for the NAACP. In fact I don't believe it today.

I would like to think that Mr. Jordan, who is now the Executive Director of the National Urban League, and I differ only on the way we can reach those goals. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that I should demur from the views Mr. Jordan recently presented before the National Press Club in Washington.

The basic flaw of those who criticize the President's recent budget decisions is a misperception of what the President has actually done, and, in some cases, a misrepresentation of what he has said. The common thread running through such criticism is exemplified by Mr. Jordan's assertion that the budget "hacks away at social spending with ruthless intensity," and that it is "designed to destroy the social reforms of the 1960s."



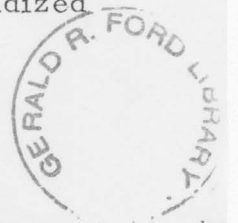
The first point is completely wrong. Social spending has been increased, not cut. What has been restrained is the level of increase of all spending -- an action which will save the taxes of black and white wage earners and slow down inflation which more cruelly affects the poor.

The second point is also wrong, because it is not the social reform of the '60s which is being "destroyed"; it is the misrepresentations of the '60s which is being reformed.

For example, it is said by Mr. Jordan, and others, "How do we explain federal withdrawal to poor black families in Bedford-Stuyvesant?"

For me, however, it is more difficult to explain to that same family why the Urban Renewal program has evicted one million poor families from their homes, about one-half of whom have been blacks and Puerto Ricans. How do I explain that under the old Federal program, for every home built, three were destroyed? How do I explain how wealthy real estate owners and land speculators ripped off money which was meant to assist the poor? How, indeed, can we explain to poor black families that the rat-trap they have moved into under certain subsidized housing programs was sold to them at a price far beyond what the property was purchased for by the seller.

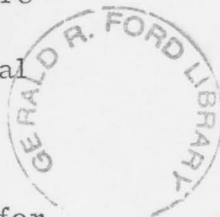
Frankly, I cannot accept the very popular notion among Blacks that President Nixon has retreated from assistance to the poor. The President is spending a billion dollars more in the area of housing and community development this year. The overall civil rights budget has nearly quadrupled since Mr. Nixon entered the Presidency.



Aid to minority business enterprises has jumped from \$200 million to \$1.2 billion. There are virtually dozens of other statistics, equally impressive, which show that the commitment of President Nixon has gone far beyond the commitment of any other President in the history of the United States.

What appears to be really at issue is the direction national policies should take. Unfortunately, we are dealing with a welfare mentality which has survived since born in the 1960s. That old approach -- and now, certainly, a discredited approach -- has forced the poor and the black to be supplicants on the Federal plantation. The old approach was to use lofty rhetoric and high-sounding names to sweep people off their feet rather than doing the hard work which would put them back on their feet.

What is the legacy of the Great Society and other old-line welfarism? It is a legacy that has seen poor people in continual conflict with themselves over one pet project or the other. It is a legacy which has rewarded those who have made the most noise -- usually the project directors who have fattened themselves on Federal funds which were intended to help the poor. And now, of course, it is the professional poverty worker who is screaming the most about these funds being cut. It is a legacy which was intended to promote a greater voice for poor people while in fact it has only created a greater bureaucracy in



Washington. And those who continue to ask for a greater voice for the people are the same who ask for more Federal responsibility, the very problem which has snuffed out the power of the people.

Old-line Federal programs have been nothing more than pacification programs. They have not stood up under the test of time. They were programs born in haste and fear. They were programs which were passed to put green money in wallets, but ended up wrapping red tape around our necks. They were programs which were often wasted, frequently mismanaged, and seldom helpful in reducing the problems of Americans.

I do not question the good intent of the old ways. Surely, they were mistakes of the head and not of the heart. But we cannot continue to live in the '60s in order to solve the problems of the '70s. And we cannot continue to abide under the hot rhetoric which never produced positive results.

The notion of returning power to people and to local governments does not mean we return some power. It means trusting ourselves to use the tools we have rather than the tools that Washington thinks we ought to have. We cannot have it both ways -- ask for a return of power and yet complain that the local government will not do the job.



Which local governments do we distrust? Mr. Jordan, I would think, did not mean Mayor Gibson of Newark, or Mayor Hatcher of Gary, Mayor Blackwell of Highland Park, Mayor Bivens of Inkster, or Mayor Washington in the Nation's capital, or Mayor Evers in Mississippi, or, indeed, the hundreds upon hundreds of newly elected Black officials who have taken office in the past year alone.

Too often when real progress for the poor and the black has raised its head, hopes have been dashed by myths which rise up in America. The poverty program is not being destroyed, it is being moved where it can be most effective. Social reform is not stopping, it is moving more rapidly than ever before; the real opponents of change are those who refuse to budge from the failing programs of the past. Social spending is not getting smaller; it is growing faster than ever. Since 1968 alone, the Defense budget has remained about the same while Federal money to help people has doubled.

The marches, the boycotts, and the sit-ins of the 60s are dead issues in the 70s. What is still too much alive is the thinking that the poor black living in a Harlem tenement or a rural Georgia shack has been helped by programs which fattened up the poverty program staff members and kept lean and poor the people who still need our help.



That is what Vern Jordan and I want so badly to improve.

We both know that the solutions of the 60s have not worked as promised. I would like to think that he also shares with me the view that there must be better ways to solve these problems which grip and destroy so many of our people ---poor blacks, browns and whites.



(Khachigian)

March 22, 1973

OP-ED RESPONSE TO VERNON JORDAN -- by Stanley S. Scott

As youngsters growing up together in Georgia, Vernon Jordan and I never would have believed that years later we might disagree on goals for poor Americans in general and black Americans in particular.

Nor would we have believed it only a few short years ago when we served together at the NAACP. The fact is, I don't believe it today.

Mr. Jordan, who is now the energetic Executive Director of the National Urban League, and I still do not have a dispute over goals.

However, we do differ on the way we can reach those goals.

Consequently, it comes as no surprise that I should demur from the views Mr. Jordan recently presented before the National Press Club in Washington.

The basic flaw of those who criticize the President's recent budget decisions is a misperception of what the President has actually done, and, in some cases, a misrepresentation of what he has done. The common thread running through such criticism is



exemplified by Mr. Jordan's assertion that the budget "hacks away at social spending with ruthless intensity," and that it is "designed to destroy the social reforms of the 1960s."

The first point is flatly wrong. Social spending has been increased, not cut. What has been restrained is the level of increase of all spending -- an action which will save the taxes of black and white wage-earners and slow down the inflation which more cruelly affects poor. The second point is wrong, because it is not the social reform of the '60s which is being destroyed; it is the social folly of the '60s which is being reformed.

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What appears to be really at issue is the direction national policies should take. Unfortunately, we are dealing with a welfare mentality which has survived since the 1960s. That old approach -- and now, certainly, a discredited approach -- has forced the poor and the black to be supplicants on the Federal plantation. The old approach was to use lofty rhetoric and high-sounding names to sweep people off their feet rather than doing the hard work which would put them back on their feet.

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No, this ain't the '60s, brother. "Bull" Connor(Stan: Is it Connor or Connors?) is dead and so is: "If you're black, step back." What is still too much alive is the thinking that the guy whose living in Harlem tenements or rural Georgia shacks has been helped by programs which fattened up the middle man and kept lean the people who still need our help. That is what Vern Jordan and I want so



badly to improve, but we have much talking to do before he

understands that there are better ways to do it.

