

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

| DOCUMENT NUMBER | DOCUMENT TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS                                                                                                                                                                                 | DATE     | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| N-1             | Letter        | <del>Frank E. Aaron to Woods, re:</del><br><del>Certain facts</del><br>[attached to cover memo, Woods to Morgan, 11/24/70]                                                                                      | 11/22/70 | C (orig)    |
| N-2             | Memo          | <del>Woods to Scouter, re: attached</del><br><del>letter from Richard C. Anletta</del><br>[attached to cover memo, Scouter to Woods, 11/30/70]<br><br>All documents re-integrated from Contested files 7-21-06. | 11/23/70 | C (cont)    |

|                         |                  |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| FILE GROUP TITLE<br>PPF | BOX NUMBER<br>20 |
|-------------------------|------------------|

|                            |
|----------------------------|
| FOLDER TITLE<br>A [3 of 3] |
|----------------------------|

| RESTRICTION CODES                                                                                    |                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.                                         | E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information. |
| B. National security classified information.                                                         | F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.   |
| C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.                      | G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.                                       |
| D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person. | H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.                                           |

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: President's Personal Files  
Box Number: 20

Folder: A [3 of 3]

| <u>Document</u> | <u>Disposition</u> |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 75              | Retain Open        |
| 76              | Retain Open        |

## DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD (NIXON PROJECT)

| DOCUMENT NUMBER | DOCUMENT TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS                                                                             | DATE    | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|
|                 |               | cover slip, Jack Canfield<br>to Rose Woods, 8/17/70 <del>ME</del><br>with following attachments<br>nos. 1-4 |         |             |
| 1               | Memo          | [Jack Canfield] to Rose<br>[Woods]                                                                          | 8/17/70 | D           |
| 2               | Summary       | letter from Alice Catt<br>Armstrong to Don Nixon                                                            | n.d.    | D           |
| 3               | Cover<br>Slip | Evlyn [F. Donald Nixon<br>stationary] to Marge [Acker]                                                      | n.d.    | D           |
| 4               | Letter        | Alice Catt Armstrong to<br>F. Donald Nixon                                                                  | 7/4/70  | D           |

FILE GROUP TITLE

[RMW] Alpha Subject File

BOX NUMBER

42 20

FOLDER TITLE

A [3 of 3]

## RESTRICTION CODES

- A. Release would violate a Federal statute.  
B. National security classified information.  
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G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.  
H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

June 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jeb Magruder  
FROM: Rose Mary Woods

When Ray Arbuthnot and Earl Adams (who, as you know, are long-time supporters and friends of the President) were here for Tricia's wedding they mentioned a conversation they had with Captain A. Garth House of American Airlines who flew them to Washington.

They said he was completely dedicated to the President and they got the impression he would do all he could to help him. They feel he could be of great assistance within his profession. Captain House also mentioned to them that he was the pilot who flew us out of a snowstorm in Montana during the 1954 campaign.

R. J. ARBUTHNOT  
4300 EMERALD AVENUE  
LA VERNE, CALIFORNIA

June 25, 1971

Dear Rose:

I think Zelda is writing you separately but I certainly want to add my thanks for all you have done for us, not only on our last visit but through the years. You're a sweetheart.

Thank you for writing about Mr. Edwin P. Hoyt. If you think I should I'll be most happy to meet with him.

Earl (The Boss) Adams asked that I write you about Captain A. Garth House of American Airlines who flew us to Washington. He is completely dedicated to The President and will do all he can. He could be most helpful among those in his profession. He is based with American in Los Angeles. As I remember he reported to us that he flew you out of the snowstorm in Montana. You can pass this information on to the right person to get action.

Thanks again for everything and warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

*Ray*

Miss Rose Mary Woods  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

March 26, 1969

Dear Ray:

It was, as always, a pleasure to hear from you and I have passed along to the President your recommendation that Chief Klinger be appointed a member of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control.

In addition, I have mentioned to the committee of men working on the recommendations for all of the Boards and Commissions your interest in his being considered for such a spot.

My best regards to Zelda and to you,

Sincerely,

Rose Mary Woods  
Personal Secretary  
to the President

Mr. R. J. Arbathnot  
Box 267  
La Verne, California 91750

bcc: Peter Flanigan with incoming

R. J. ARBUTHNOT  
BOX 267  
LA VERNE, CALIFORNIA  
(714) 593-2622

March 6, 1969

Miss Rosemary Woods  
Personal Secretary to The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Rose:

I would very much appreciate your directing the enclosed letter, Re: Fire Chief Klinger, to "The Boss," or whomever should have it, to see that Chief Klinger has full consideration when this commission is appointed.

We were shocked to hear of your loss from burglary while you were in Europe. I certainly hope they catch the culprits before they dispose of all your treasures.

Zelda joins in affectionate regards to you, Marje and all our friends there.

Most sincerely,

*Ray*

R. J. Arbuthnot

RJA;j

P.S. There are a lot of us in California as well as in Washington <sup>very unhappy</sup> over the way we feel Murray has been treated, not to mention the apparent loss of his invaluable services to the National Committee. I really thought this was the time when we would ~~take~~ whatever little heat was generated and "Damn its torpedoes, full speed ahead." If you should want to quote me as being "Extremely dissatisfied and disillusioned" please do. Love Ray

RMW

May 16, 1973

Ray Arbuthnot called again to see how everyone is doing and send his best to the President

He mentioned again Dale Hilton as a possibility for coming on the staff -- we have a note about him someplace -- he is retired Navy and now at USC (as I recall Executive Director of the Alumni Association or something).

He said that Admiral Maurice Wiesner, Vice Chief of Naval Operations; Admiral Ralph Cousins, Commander of the Atlantic Fleet; and Admiral James Holloway, Commander of the 7th Fleet all know him- [REDACTED] and think highly of him.

He said he is a man who is truly dedicated to the cause of the President.

M

Copy of hand-written letter



June 14, 1971

My Dear Mr. President

Zelda and I are leaving Washington after three very exciting days. The beautiful wedding and reception was, of course, the highlight. It was wonderful to see Tricia so radiantly happy.

The trip on the Sequoia was a special treat and thrill. At the end of the ceremony opposite Mt. Vernon there were few, if any, dry eyes on board. Paul Keyes restored levity a short time later by referring to a floating plank as Wally Hickel's yacht.

Thank you so very much for everything you did to make our visit so memorable. The party at Tayloe House was a fitting climax.

Warm personal regards to you and Pat,

Sincerely,

s/Ray Arbuthnot

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

The Watergate

2650 VIRGINIA AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037

6/14/71

my Dear Mr President:

Zelda and I are leaving Washington after three very exciting days. The beautiful wedding and reception was of course the highlight. It was wonderful to see Lucia so radiantly happy.

The trip on the *Isaquicia* was a special treat and thrill. At the end of the ceremony opposite Mt. Vernon there were few if any dry eyes on board. Paul Reges restored levity a short time later by referring to a floating plank as

*On the Potomac*

Wally Hickel's yacht.

Thank you so very much for everything you did to make our visit so memorable. The party at Tahloe house was a fitting climax.

Warm personal regards to you and Pat.

Sincerely,  
Ray C. Bennett

The President  
The White House  
Washington D.C.

Copy of hand-written letter

June 14, 1971

Dear Rose Mary:

Thank you so very much for everything you did to make our visit to Washington a most exciting experience.

Yesterday was such fun and I do think Fred Russell is a terrific person.

If you think the enclosed note is O.K. I would very much appreciate having it typed for the President.

Zelda joins in sending love to you and Marje

.s/Ray (Arbuthnot)

The Watergate

2650 VIRGINIA AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037

6/14/71

Dear Rosemary,

Thank you so very much for everything you did to make our visit to Washington a most exciting experience.

Yesterday was such fun and I do think Fred Russell is a terrific person.

If you think the enclosed note is O.K. I would very much appreciate having it typed for The President.

With love from in sender;  
love to you & Marge  
On the Potomac Ray

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*File*  
*Anne*  
*Armstrong*  
*5/1*

Rose Mary:

Attached is the information I promised you at  
our meeting last week.

Let me know if you have five suggestions for  
the Advisory Committee for Operation Cleanup.

Anne

*Received 2/7/73*

**TEN REASONS WHY THE  
EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT  
SHOULD BE RATIFIED . . .**

1. Women should be first class citizens by 1976, the 200th anniversary of our country.
2. The Equal Rights Amendment will keep faith with the basic precepts set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights by ushering in a new era of rights and responsibilities for all the people of the United States.
3. An enlightened electorate is essential to a democracy. Equal opportunity in education will be assured through implementation of the Equal Rights Amendment.
4. The Equal Rights Amendment can enhance the status of women as housewives and mothers: freedom to choose will reinforce the significant contribution of this way of life.
5. The Equal Rights Amendment will strengthen family life by establishing a true partnership that would be beneficial to husband, wife and children.
6. Legislative history indicates that special labor safety and health provisions that do not restrict opportunities will be extended to men rather than denied to women. Inequalities suffered by men in insurance rates, social security, pension benefits as widowers would be corrected.

7. Congress has the power to draft women now. In service to our nation, whether by draft or volunteer service, women should not be required to have more qualifications than men and they should receive the same benefits: G.I. education, vocational training, pension, health care, job and housing preferences. The Volunteer Army will become a reality on July 1, 1973.
8. The Equal Rights Amendment will help people to reach their potential through equal opportunity, freedom of choice and upward mobility.
9. President Nixon has supported the Equal Rights Amendment since 1951. In fact, every President since President Eisenhower has supported it. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties supported ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in their Platforms. The Equal Rights Amendment passed the 92nd Congress by an overwhelming majority (Senate 84 to 8, House of Representatives 354 to 23). In 1972, voters approved Equal Rights Amendments to state constitutions in all six states where the Equal Rights Amendment appeared on the ballot.
10. The Equal Rights Amendment will not deprive women of any enforceable rights of support and will not weaken the father's obligation to support the family.

Republican National Committee  
310 First St., S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

# news from the republican national committee

310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 484-650

(EXCERPTS REGARDING THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT FROM A STATEMENT BY MRS. TOBIN ARMSTRONG, CO-CHAIRMAN AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING, JANUARY 19, WASHINGTON, D.C.)

There is one facet of the Open Door that is of particularly deep and timely significance to me and to our Party. That is the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The theme of the Inaugural, the Spirit of '76, is in recognition of the approach of the 200th anniversary of our nation. Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by 1976 will keep faith with the basic precepts set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights by ushering in a new era of rights and responsibilities.

The Republican Party has given sustained leadership in supporting equality of women since 1923 when two Republican Congressmen from Kansas first introduced the Equal Rights Amendment. President Dwight D. Eisenhower said of the Equal Rights Amendment, "It is a matter of simple justice." President Nixon has given leadership in this enlightened tradition sponsoring the Amendment when he was in Congress and continuing his support to the present day.

The wisdom of our 1972 National Party Platform in urging ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment was verified in last November's election. Voters approved Equal Rights Amendments to state constitutions in all six states where it appeared on the ballot.

Republican leadership in ratification opens wide the door of our Party not only to women but to young people as well. In my travels, I have found overwhelming support for the Equal Rights Amendment among young women and young men of our country.

MORE

In states where the Amendment has not been ratified to date, I urge the Republican National Committee to assume a leadership role. This is a matter of top priority since most of these 28 state legislatures are now in session. Twenty-two states have ratified to date, and we need 16 more states to ratify before the Equal Rights Amendment can take its rightful place in the Constitution of the United States.

President Nixon has stated, "While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes and an equal chance to pursue it."

The Equal Rights Amendment can enhance the status of women as housewives and mothers. Freedom to choose will reinforce the significant contribution of this way of life.

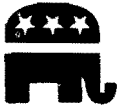
I would like to take a moment to touch briefly on two particular areas of the Equal Rights Amendment which are often discussed. Some have questions concerning women and military service. To set the record straight, Congress now has the Constitutional power to draft women. In service to our nation, whether by draft or volunteer service, women should not be required to have more qualifications than men and should receive the same benefits such as G.I. education, vocational training, pensions, health care, job and housing preferences. Also, let us keep in mind that the Volunteer Army will become a reality on July 1, 1973.

Others have questioned how the relationship of families will be affected. The Equal Rights Amendment will not deprive women of any enforceable rights of support and will not weaken the father's obligation to support the family.

Further, the legislative history related to the Amendment verified that we are seeking to bring women under the protection of the Constitution, to strengthen family life through partnership, to accept the full responsibility of citizenship.

Equality under the law is what we seek for 53% of the population--the minor majority. The bestowal of first class citizenship on all of our people is in the best interests of our nation. Operation Ratification should be among our first priorities on the eve of our 200th Anniversary.

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## Republican National Committee.

Mrs. Tobin Armstrong, Co-Chairman

January 19, 1973

To: Republican Officials in States Where Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is Pending

From: Anne Armstrong

We are on the threshold of an historic event: the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Yours is a key state in the drive to secure ratification in the additional 16 states required, since 22 of the 38 state legislatures have ratified to date.

We urge you to mount a strong campaign by organizing the pro-ratification forces in your state to contact your legislators immediately asking them to vote for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Republican Party has been in the vanguard of national groups supporting equality of women. In 1923, two Republican Congressmen from Kansas first introduced the Equal Rights Amendment. President Nixon sponsored the amendment when he was in Congress and wrote a special letter urging passage by the Senate in 1972. Our Party Platform urges ratification by the states.

Further proof of great support for the Equal Rights Amendment was manifested in the November, 1972 elections when voters approved Equal Rights Amendments to state constitutions in all six states where the Amendment appeared on the ballot.

President Nixon has said: "While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes -- and an equal chance to pursue it."

I hope you will give "Operation Ratification" first priority so that the women of this nation will achieve their goals of equal rights and responsibilities.

Equal Rights Amendment  
Operation Ratification

Some suggestions to help in your work to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified in your state.

Organize an Equal Rights Ratification Committee of key women and men leaders in your state to help win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Delegate assignments to appropriate members by establishing a:

- (1) Committee to organize a letter writing campaign and personal visits or calls to state legislators urging them to:
  - (a) Vote for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.
  - (b) Make a public statement publicizing their support of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- (2) Committee to gain publicity for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to:
  - (a) Call on newspaper editors across the state to write editorials urging the legislature to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.
  - (b) Send undated materials to newspaper editors to keep them informed.
  - (c) If time permits, hold an Equal Rights Amendment Operation Ratification Day in your state.
  - (d) Organize a speakers bureau.
  - (e) Place articulate women and men on radio and television shows.
- (3) Committee to publish information to:
  - (a) Keep women and men supporting the Equal Rights Amendment informed of developments, news stories and publications pertaining to the Equal Rights Amendment.
  - (b) Follow through with appreciation letters to state legislators as they announce their support of the Equal Rights Amendment and also following the final vote on the Equal Rights Amendment in your state.



## Republican National Committee.

January 20, 1973

Mrs. Tobin Armstrong, Co-Chairman

Dear Republican Legislator:

Your vote on ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment will be one of the most important you face in the coming year.

A vote for ratification is in the finest tradition of the Republican Party, which led in the fight for women's suffrage. In 1923, two Republican Congressmen from Kansas first introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in the Congress. President Nixon sponsored the Amendment when he was in Congress and wrote a special letter urging passage by the Senate in 1972. The Republican Party platform urges ratification by the states. Thoughtful, informed women and men of the country have gone on record overwhelmingly for it.

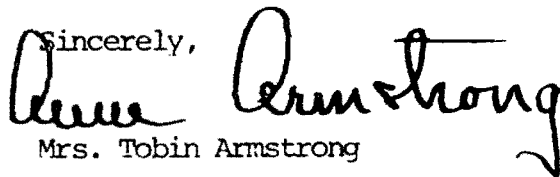
The Administration is proud that the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, both appointed by President Nixon, were the first government organizations to endorse the Amendment. These groups have given constructive leadership to forward-looking citizens who worked to secure the unprecedented advances of the past four years.

In 1972, voters approved Equal Rights Amendments to state constitutions in all six states where it appeared on the ballot.

A vote for the Amendment is a vote of confidence in our institutions and their capacity for improvement. On the contrary, the opponents' predictions of dire results for the family are based on the assumption that State legislatures will act capriciously and without regard to the public welfare. They likewise assume that the Supreme Court, the final arbiter in interpreting the Amendment, will act irresponsibly and without regard to the intent of Congress.

A point of clarification on women and the military may be of assistance to you in your deliberations. Congress has the power to draft women now. In service to our nation, whether by draft or volunteer service, women should not be required to have more qualifications than men and they should receive the same benefits: G.I. education, vocational training, pension, health care, job and housing preferences. The Volunteer Army will become a reality on July 1, 1973.

Finally, a vote for ratification is one you can speak proudly of to your grandchildren.

Sincerely,  
  
Mrs. Tobin Armstrong

## The Economic Role of Women

ONE OF THE MOST important changes in the American economy in this century has been the increase in the proportion of women who work outside the home. This increase is the most striking aspect of the expansion of the role of women in the economy.

The addition of millions of women to the labor force has contributed substantially to the increase of total output. This is most obvious if we focus attention on the output that is measured and included in the gross national product (GNP). But even if we subtract from the contribution of working women to the GNP the value of the work they would have done at home, there has been an addition to total output. Most of the benefits of this additional output accrue to the women who produce it, and to their families. There are, however, also direct benefits to the society at large, including the taxes paid on the women's earnings.

Concern is sometimes expressed that the increase in women in the labor force will reduce the employment opportunities for men and raise their unemployment. There is no reason to think that would happen and there is no sign that it has happened. The work to be done is not a fixed total. As more women enter employment and earn incomes they or their families buy more goods and services which men and women are employed to produce. A sudden surge of entrants into the labor force might cause difficulties of adjustment and, consequently, unemployment, but the entry of women into the labor force has not been of that character.

Women work outside the home for the same reasons as men. The basic reason is to get the income that can be earned by working. Whether—for either men or women—work is done out of necessity or by choice is a question of definition. If working out of necessity means working in order to sustain biologically necessary conditions of life, probably a small proportion of all the hours of work done in the United States, by men or women, is necessary. If working out of necessity means working in order to obtain a standard of living which is felt by the worker to be desirable, probably almost all of the work done by both men and women is necessary.

The Employment Act of 1946 sets forth a goal of "maximum employment." We understand that to mean employment of those who want to work, without regard to whether their employment is, by some definition,

necessary. This goal applies equally to men and to women. The Act also sets forth a goal of "maximum production." We understand the meaning of that goal which is relevant to the present context to be that people should be able to work in the employments in which they will be most productive. That also applies equally to men and women.

Although the goals apply equally to men and women, some of the obstacles to their achievement apply especially to women. Women have gained much more access to market employment than they used to have, but they have not gained full equality within the market in the choice of jobs, opportunities for advancement, and other matters related to employment and compensation. To some extent the cause of this discrepancy is direct discrimination. But it is also the result of more subtle and complex factors originating in cultural patterns that have grown up in most societies through the centuries. In either case, because the possibilities open to women are restricted, they are not always free to contribute a full measure of earnings to their families, to develop their talents fully, or to help achieve the national goal of "maximum production."

#### ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN

Recognizing the urgency of these problems and the importance of leadership to change the attitudes which underlie them, the President announced in September the formation of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women. The committee will meet periodically with the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, providing a forum for the interchange of information, ideas, and points of view. This interchange will increase the Council's own expertise on the economics of women. Because the function of the Council of Economic Advisers is to advise the President on a wide variety of economic issues, its association with the committee will ensure that the interests of women will be represented in economic policy decisions.

With these goals in mind, in January 1973 the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers asked 21 men and women representing diverse areas of expertise to serve on the committee. They include officials from the Federal Government agencies whose activities are important to the progress of women, representatives from business, finance, education, and other private institutions, and specialists on the economic problems of women from sociology, psychology, economics, and the law. Among the topics that the committee will explore are job training and counseling in the schools, special problems of minority women, problems related to child care, women's performance at work, the extent of job discrimination, women's access to credit, and legislative action on taxes and social security that may have a different effect on women than on men.

Another, more fundamental, issue affecting women in the economy underlies many of the others. The roles played by women and men have been

sharply differentiated. It is obvious that only women are capable of child-bearing. But along with this biologically determined role, women have by tradition come to assume primary responsibility for child care and home management, while men have primary responsibility for the family's financial support. Until very recently this division of labor within the family has had such general acceptance as to impose limitations on women's work outside the home. The way in which the economic role of women evolves thus hinges on the most fundamental societal patterns, and the extent to which social action can and should influence further change in these patterns will be one of the most difficult and important questions the committee must consider.

By way of an introduction to the problem, this chapter looks at job-related aspects of the economic role of women. The committee will, of course, deal with a much broader range of topics.

#### PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR FORCE

In 1900 about 20 percent of all women were in the work force (Table 21). In the succeeding decades this percentage hardly increased, reaching about 25 percent by 1940. With World War II, however, the movement rapidly accelerated, and by 1972 the percentage of women 16 years and older in the work force had risen to 43.8. Single women and women widowed, divorced, or separated, have always had higher labor force participation rates than married women living with their husbands. By 1950, the participation of women in the two former groups had already reached levels close to those of today. Thus, the upward trend in labor force participation since World War II has been due almost entirely to the

TABLE 21.—*Women in the labor force, selected years, 1900-72*

| Year      | Women in labor force (thousands) | Women in labor force as percent of |                          |
|-----------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
|           |                                  | Total labor force                  | All women of working age |
| 1900..... | 5,114                            | 18.1                               | 20.4                     |
| 1910..... | 7,889                            | 20.9                               | 25.2                     |
| 1920..... | 8,430                            | 20.4                               | 23.3                     |
| 1930..... | 10,679                           | 22.0                               | 24.3                     |
| 1940..... | 12,845                           | 24.3                               | 25.4                     |
| 1945..... | 19,270                           | 29.6                               | 35.7                     |
| 1950..... | 18,412                           | 28.8                               | 33.9                     |
| 1955..... | 20,584                           | 30.2                               | 35.7                     |
| 1960..... | 23,272                           | 32.3                               | 37.8                     |
| 1965..... | 26,232                           | 34.0                               | 39.3                     |
| 1970..... | 31,560                           | 36.7                               | 43.4                     |
| 1972..... | 33,320                           | 37.4                               | 43.8                     |

Note.—Data for 1900 to 1940 are from decennial censuses and refer to a single date; beginning 1945 data are annual averages.

For 1900 to 1945 data include women 14 years of age and over; beginning 1950 data include women 16 years of age and over.

Labor force data for 1900 to 1930 refer to gainfully employed workers.

Data for 1972 reflect adjustments to 1970 Census benchmarks.

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

changed behavior of married women (Table 22). The first to respond were the more mature married women beyond the usual childbearing years. More recently there has also been a sharp upturn in the labor force participation of younger married women.

The record for men has tended to run in the opposite direction. A secular reduction in time spent in paid work over most men's lifetimes has taken place: A man spends more years at school and enters the labor force later than formerly; he retires earlier, works fewer hours a week, and has longer vacations. Of course these changes have also affected women, but for them the increase in years worked has far outweighed the other work-reducing factors.

In one very important respect, however, the working life patterns of men and women have not merged. The typical man can expect to be in the labor force continuously, for an unbroken block of some 40 years between leaving school and retirement. Of men in the 25-54 year age group, 95.2 percent were in the labor force in 1972. For most women, this continuity in participation is the exception rather than the rule.

TABLE 22.—Labor force participation rates of women by marital status and age, 1950, 1960 and 1972

| Marital status and year          | Total | Age            |             |             |             |             |                   |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
|                                  |       | Under 20 years | 20-24 years | 25-34 years | 35-44 years | 45-64 years | 65 years and over |
|                                  |       |                |             |             |             |             |                   |
| Single:                          |       |                |             |             |             |             |                   |
| 1950.....                        | 50.5  | 26.3           | 74.9        | 84.6        | 83.6        | 70.6        | 23.8              |
| 1960.....                        | 44.1  | 25.3           | 73.4        | 79.9        | 79.7        | 75.1        | 21.6              |
| 1972.....                        | 54.9  | 41.9           | 69.9        | 84.7        | 71.5        | 71.0        | 19.0              |
| Married, husband present:        |       |                |             |             |             |             |                   |
| 1950.....                        | 23.8  | 24.0           | 28.5        | 23.8        | 28.5        | 21.8        | 6.4               |
| 1960.....                        | 30.5  | 25.3           | 30.0        | 27.7        | 36.2        | 34.2        | 5.9               |
| 1972.....                        | 41.5  | 39.0           | 48.5        | 41.3        | 48.6        | 44.2        | 7.3               |
| Widowed, divorced, or separated: |       |                |             |             |             |             |                   |
| 1950.....                        | 37.8  | (?)            | 45.5        | 62.3        | 65.4        | 50.2        | 8.8               |
| 1960.....                        | 40.0  | 37.3           | 54.6        | 55.5        | 67.4        | 58.3        | 11.0              |
| 1972.....                        | 40.1  | 44.6           | 57.6        | 62.1        | 71.7        | 61.1        | 9.8               |

<sup>1</sup> Labor force as percent of noninstitutional population in group specified.

<sup>2</sup> Not available.

Note.—Data relate to March of each year.

Data for 1950 and 1960 are for women 14 years of age and over; data for 1972 are for women 16 years of age and over.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

## THE HISTORICAL PATTERN

What are the causal factors that induced women to enter the labor force? One might have expected that the strong increases in husbands' real incomes which occurred during the period would have provided an incentive to women not to enter the labor force. This seeming puzzle is resolved, however, when one considers that by entering the labor force women did not leave a life of leisure for work, but rather changed from one kind of

work, work at home, to another kind of work, work in the market. The incentive for women to make this dramatic occupational change came from several developments which made paid work outside the home the increasingly more profitable alternative.

Rapidly rising earnings and expanded job opportunities for women gave a strong impetus to the change. The expansion of job opportunities for women was undoubtedly influenced by the expansion of the service sector of the economy, where employment increased by 77 percent from 1950 to 1970, compared to the increase of 26 percent in the goods-producing industrial sector over the same period. Women have always been more heavily represented in services than in industry, since the service sector offers more white-collar employment and provides more opportunities for part-time work, an especially important feature for women with small children. On the other hand, the increasing supply of women workers perhaps itself contributed to the rapid expansion in the service sector.

The increase in women's educational attainments has also helped to raise the amount they can earn by working. Education may make women more productive in the home, that is, more efficient housekeepers, consumers, and mothers, but education appears to increase still more their productivity in work outside the home. Women with more education earn more, and they are more likely than less educated women to seek work in the market.

Because life expectancy has increased considerably over the century (and more for women than for men), and because most women complete their childbearing at a younger age, women can look forward with more certainty to a longer uninterrupted span of years in the labor force. This lengthening of a woman's expected working life is significant because it increases her return on her investment in training and education: the greater the number of years in which to collect the return the greater is the return.

These increases in the income a woman could potentially earn meant essentially that time spent producing goods and services at home was coming at a higher and higher cost in terms of the income foregone by not working in the market. It made sense then to buy available capital equipment (such as washing machines) which would substitute for some of the housewife's time and free her to go to work. And changes in technology which lowered the cost and increased the array of time-saving devices facilitated the substitution.

The most difficult home responsibility to find a good substitute for is child care; and, although the labor force participation of women with children under 6 years has increased from 12 percent in 1950 to 30 percent in 1971, child-rearing is probably the major factor causing some women to interrupt and others to curtail their careers.

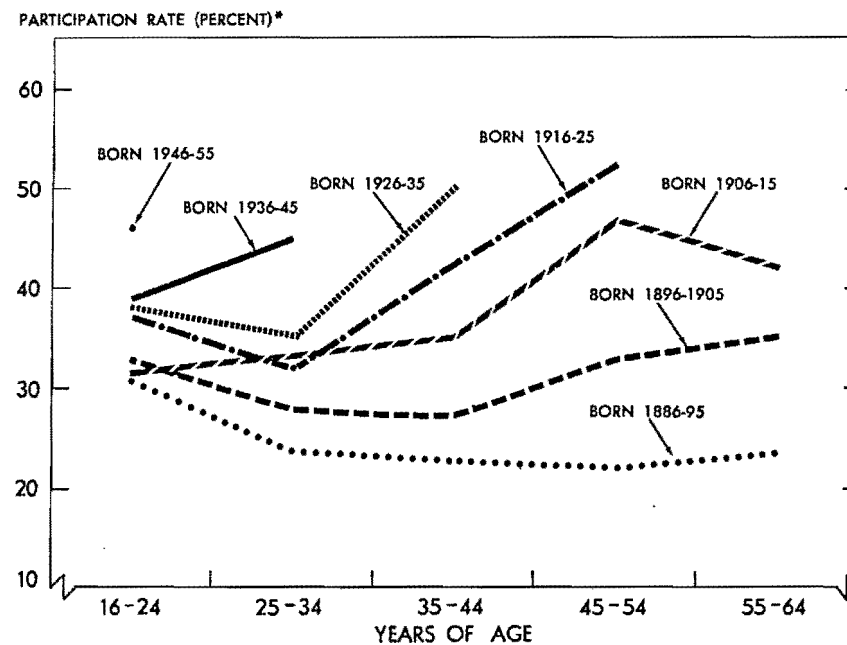
The long-term decline in the average number of children in the family has undoubtedly had a strong influence on the proportion of women entering the labor force. Advances in birth control techniques permit parents not only to reduce the number of births but also to control their timing to

suit a mother's working career. Declines in infant and child mortality may also have encouraged a reduction in births by increasing the parents' expectation that all their children would survive to adulthood. On the other hand, reductions in family size may themselves be influenced by the desire of women to work.

Childbearing has a very noticeable effect on the patterns of women's labor force participation by age. Based on census data, Chart 9 traces the lifetime changes in labor force participation by groups of women born at different times, the earliest group consisting of women born between 1886 and 1895. The chart therefore simulates the actual work history of particular cohorts of women followed longitudinally. According to this chart, the various forces in the economy that have induced women to work have generally had a more powerful effect on women beyond the childbearing ages

Chart 9

### Labor Force Participation Over a Working Life of Cohorts of Women Born in Selected Time Intervals, 1886-1955



\*TOTAL LABOR FORCE AS PERCENT OF TOTAL NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION IN GROUP SPECIFIED.  
NOTE: FOR WOMEN BORN BETWEEN 1886 AND 1915, THE FIRST AGE PLOTTED IS 14-24 YEARS. COHORTS REACH EACH AGE INTERVAL ACCORDING TO THE MIDPOINT OF THEIR BIRTH YEARS. THUS, THE COHORT BORN 1886-95 REACHED AGES 25-34 IN 1920 AND AGES 55-64 IN 1950; THE COHORT BORN 1916-25 REACHED AGES 25-34 IN 1950 AND AGES 45-54 IN 1970.  
SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

than on younger groups. Those increases in labor force participation that have occurred for groups of women reaching the childbearing ages of 20-34 years have been closely associated with declining fertility rates. Thus labor force participation for the group reaching 25-34 years increased substantially from 1930 to 1940, and again between 1960 and 1970, while there was a decline between 1940 and 1950 in the participation of those reaching this age group—the baby boom mothers. Whether the young women now in their twenties have simply postponed having children and will later drop out of the labor force or whether many will continue to work, choosing to have small families or remain childless is, of course, a question of great interest.

#### THE WORKING WOMAN TODAY

Although the decisions of individual women to work outside the home are undoubtedly based on many different factors, there are some economic factors which seem to be of overriding importance. The necessity to support oneself or others is one obvious reason and, not surprisingly, adult single women and women who have been separated from husbands or widowed are highly likely to work.

The increase in earnings opportunities, which proved to be such a powerful factor influencing the secular growth of women's participation in the labor force, is a similarly powerful factor influencing the pattern of women's participation at any given time. Thus, education and other training which affect the amount a woman can earn are strongly related to women's work patterns. The importance of education is such that, whether a woman is single, married or separated, the more education she has, the more likely she is to work. One striking exception to this pattern is that, among mothers of children under 6 years old, there is scarcely any relation between education and labor force participation. Thus, the rearing of children of preschool age causes all women, regardless of education, to curtail their work outside the home. However, the drop in participation during this child-rearing period is most pronounced for highly educated women who in other circumstances have much higher participation rates.

Although for most women the childbearing period has been reduced, childbearing still means an interruption of outside work. A longitudinal survey of the lifelong work experience of women indicates that among all women who were 30-44 years old in 1967, only 7 percent had worked at least 6 months out of every year since leaving school. Among married women with children the proportion was still lower, dropping to 3 percent. By contrast, 30 percent of childless married women in the same group had worked at least 6 months out of every year. Information on job tenure collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics illustrates much the same phenomenon. As of January 1968, continuous employment in their current job came to 2.4 years (the median) for women and 4.8 years for men. Job tenure increases with age for both men and women. At ages 45 and over the median was 12.7 years for

men and 6.6 years for women. Since women tend to change jobs less frequently than men, their shorter time spent on any given job is the result of a higher propensity to leave the labor force at least temporarily. In 1964 a survey of women who had dropped out of the labor force in 1962 or 1963 and had not yet reentered was undertaken by the Labor Department in an effort to find out why they had left. Pregnancy was most frequently cited as the primary reason—by 74 percent of the 18- to 24-year-olds and 56 percent of the 25- to 34-year-olds.

Among married women, husband's income does not have a very pronounced effect on work patterns. The median annual income of husbands with working wives was \$8,070 in 1971 compared to \$8,330 for husbands of wives not in the labor force. Only when husbands' incomes reach the \$10,000 and over category does wives' participation decline to any noticeable extent. However, many other things vary with husbands' incomes, such as wives' education and age as well as family size. These other factors are sufficiently important to obscure the simple relation between husband's income and a wife's tendency to work. It should be noted, however, that during a time of hardship, such as when a husband experiences a prolonged spell of unemployment, wives who usually do not work may be compelled to work. Thus, the labor force participation of women with unemployed husbands is generally above that of women with employed husbands.

Although the probability that a black woman will work seems to vary with education and presence of children in much the same way as it does for all women, there is one very striking difference: the labor force participation of black women is higher. Particularly pronounced differences are observed when the comparison of labor force participation is confined to married women living with their husbands. In March 1971, about 53 percent of black wives were in the labor force compared to 40 percent of white wives. One important reason why this difference prevails may be that the earnings of black wives are closer to their husbands' than is the case among white married couples. In 1971 black married women who worked year-round, full-time earned 73 percent as much as black married men who worked year-round, full-time. Among whites the percentage was only 51 percent. Behind these relationships is the fact that black men earn considerably less than white men, while black women's earnings are much closer to white women's earnings.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Women have generally experienced more unemployment than men and this differential has been more pronounced in recent years (Table 23). However, the source of women's unemployment differs from that of men's, and this makes a comparison of unemployment differences more complex than might appear.

TABLE 23.—Unemployment rates by sex and age, selected years, 1956-72

| [Percent]              |      |      |      |      |      |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Sex and age            | 1956 | 1961 | 1965 | 1969 | 1972 |
| All workers.....       | 4.1  | 6.7  | 4.5  | 3.5  | 5.6  |
| Men.....               | 3.8  | 6.4  | 4.0  | 2.8  | 4.9  |
| 16-19 years.....       | 11.1 | 17.1 | 14.1 | 11.4 | 15.9 |
| 20-24 years.....       | 6.9  | 10.8 | 6.4  | 5.1  | 9.2  |
| 25-54 years.....       | 3.0  | 5.1  | 2.7  | 1.6  | 3.1  |
| 55 years and over..... | 3.5  | 5.7  | 3.3  | 1.9  | 3.3  |
| Women.....             | 4.9  | 7.2  | 5.5  | 4.7  | 6.6  |
| 16-19 years.....       | 11.2 | 16.3 | 15.7 | 13.3 | 16.7 |
| 20-24 years.....       | 6.3  | 9.8  | 7.3  | 6.3  | 9.3  |
| 25-54 years.....       | 4.1  | 6.2  | 4.3  | 3.5  | 4.9  |
| 55 years and over..... | 3.3  | 4.4  | 2.8  | 2.2  | 3.4  |

1 Unemployment as percent of civilian labor force in group specified.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Some of the difference arises from the way people are classified in our unemployment statistics. A person with a job is not classified as unemployed even though he or she may be searching for another job. However, work at home is not counted as a job. Thus, a woman who may in a real sense be clearly employed in the home while she searches for a job, will be counted as unemployed, unlike the man who searches while on his job.

Most adult men are continuously in the labor force and therefore become unemployed because they have either quit or lost their jobs (Table 24). For women, the picture is different: labor force participation is frequently interrupted, sometimes for several years, but sometimes just for several weeks during the year. Thus, although 59.8 percent of the women 24-54 years old were in the labor force at one time or another during 1971, only 38.2 percent were in the labor force for 50-52 weeks during the year. This high rate of labor force turnover generates unemployment, and it is not surprising to find that in both the tight labor market of 1969 and the looser labor market of 1972 a considerable portion of unemployed women were

TABLE 24.—Distribution of unemployment of adult men and women by reason for unemployment, 1969 and 1972

| [Percent]                 |                       |       |                         |       |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| Reason for unemployment   | Men 20 years and over |       | Women 20 years and over |       |
|                           | 1969                  | 1972  | 1969                    | 1972  |
| Total unemployment.....   | 100.0                 | 100.0 | 100.0                   | 100.0 |
| Separated from a job..... | 74.8                  | 75.3  | 49.9                    | 55.7  |
| Job losers.....           | 57.8                  | 62.6  | 33.0                    | 39.4  |
| Job leavers.....          | 17.0                  | 12.7  | 16.8                    | 16.3  |
| Labor force entrants..... | 25.2                  | 24.6  | 50.2                    | 44.3  |
| Reentrants.....           | 22.4                  | 21.6  | 44.8                    | 39.4  |
| New entrants.....         | 2.8                   | 3.1   | 5.5                     | 4.9   |
| Unemployment rate.....    | 2.1                   | 4.0   | 3.7                     | 5.4   |

Note.—Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

labor force entrants (Table 24). People entering or reentering the labor force tend, however, to be unemployed for relatively short periods, and this is one of the reasons why the duration of unemployment is in general shorter for women than for men (Table 25).

Table 25.—Unemployment of adult men and women by duration and reason, 1972

| Sex, age, and reason         | Total unemployment (thousands) | Percent of total unemployment     |                                   |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|                              |                                | Unemployment of less than 5 weeks | Unemployment of 15 weeks and over |
| Men 20 years and over.....   | 1,928                          | 37.0                              | 31.6                              |
| Lost last job.....           | 1,207                          | 33.6                              | 35.3                              |
| Left last job.....           | 245                            | 44.9                              | 24.9                              |
| Reentered labor force.....   | 416                            | 41.7                              | 25.4                              |
| Never worked before.....     | 59                             | 39.0                              | 28.8                              |
| Women 20 years and over..... | 1,610                          | 48.4                              | 22.8                              |
| Lost last job.....           | 635                            | 35.6                              | 33.4                              |
| Left last job.....           | 262                            | 50.0                              | 19.2                              |
| Reentered labor force.....   | 635                            | 59.8                              | 14.4                              |
| Never worked before.....     | 79                             | 55.7                              | 16.5                              |

Note.—Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In order to know what significance to attach to the observation that the greater unemployment of women appears to be related to their greater labor force turnover, it is of course necessary to know more about the causes of the turnover. Some have stressed that excessive labor force turnover indicates a poor job market. According to this view, women drop out of the labor market because lack of opportunities has discouraged them from continuing the search. Evidence for this point of view is cited from Labor Department surveys, which indicate that some of those women out of the labor force are there because they do not believe they could find work. In 1972, 525,000 women or 1.2 percent of those out of the labor force were reported in this category.

Another school of thought, however, stresses that the labor force turnover of women and the unemployment it generates is largely induced by factors external to the current labor market, such as the uneven pressures of home responsibilities. Several kinds of evidence support this point of view. Unemployment among women appears to be related to the nature of home responsibilities. For example, in 1971 the unemployment rate for married women with children under 3 years was 11.7 percent, compared to the rate of 4.5 percent for married women with no children under 18 years. Moreover, on numerous surveys women cite pregnancy, home responsibilities, or husband's relocation as primary reasons for leaving the job or the labor force.

It would of course be interesting to know more about the unemployment experience of women who do remain continuously in the labor force. Some evidence from the Labor Department's longitudinal survey indicates that women who were in the labor force in both 1967 and 1969 had considerably lower unemployment in 1969 than those who were in the labor force in 1969 but not in 1967. The unemployment rate in 1969 for the group who were also in the labor force 2 years previously was 2.9 percent, compared to the rate of 6.9 percent for the women who were in the labor force only in 1969. However, this was still above the rate of 2.1 percent for men 20 years old and over in 1969, as measured by the household survey.

Although movement in and out of the labor force is probably the most important factor leading to higher unemployment for women compared to men, two other factors seem to be important. Women with less time on a job and in whom the employer had made negligible training investments are more vulnerable to layoffs. Finally, one additional factor which doubtless contributes to unemployment of married women is the difficulty in maximizing employment opportunities for both the husband and the wife. A wife seldom is free to migrate to wherever her own prospects are best.

It is important to emphasize, because the point is often misunderstood, that to explain the unemployment of women is not to excuse it or belittle it or to place blame on the women who are unemployed. The unemployment of women who seek work is costly, to themselves, their families, and the Nation. Our goal should be to reduce this unemployment wherever that can be done by means which are not themselves more costly. Some unemployment entails more loss for the workers involved and to the economy as a whole than other; some is more amenable to correction by the persons directly affected than other unemployment. But these distinctions do not run along sex lines.

THE WIDENING IN THE REPORTED MALE-FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT DIFFERENTIAL

During the 1960's the differential in reported unemployment between women and men widened. Two factors may help to explain the change. The first has to do with changes in the unemployment survey questionnaire introduced in 1967.

Persons are classified as unemployed if they have not worked during the survey week, were available to work during the survey week, and had made specific efforts to find a job such as looking in the "want-ads" section of the newspaper or going to an employment agency. Prior to 1967 the period of jobseeking efforts was not specified, and it is believed that many respondents interpreted the question narrowly to mean that one had to have looked for a job in the week just prior to the survey. In 1967 the unemployment question was changed by specifying 4 weeks preceding the survey as the point of reference. Data from samples taken on both the old and new

basis are available for 1966. In that year the unemployment rate for women aged 20 years or older was 0.4 percentage points higher on the new basis than on the old. This increase in the rate for women as a result of the change in the questionnaire has been interpreted as reflecting the likelihood that the jobseeking activities of women are more intermittent. As a result of lengthening the reference period to 4 weeks, persons who had briefly looked for work but who were not actively seeking work by the time of the survey week would be added to the unemployed under the new definition.

Although the reported unemployment of some men may also have been increased as a result of the effective lengthening of the unemployment reference period, other changes in the questionnaire in 1967, which were evidently unimportant for women, seemed to reduce the reported unemployment of men. Indeed these changes were of sufficient importance that the net effect was to lower the unemployment rate for men 20 years old and over by 0.3 percentage points. The unemployment rate for men was evidently lowered for two reasons: By a reclassification from unemployed to employed of persons absent from work because of a vacation or a labor dispute but at the same time looking for work; and by the fact that persons stating that they had given up the search for work were no longer counted as unemployed.

The 1966 samples indicate that as a result of the changes in the unemployment questionnaire, which increased the rate for women and lowered the rate for men, the reported male-female unemployment differential, comparing men and women 20 years old and over, increased from 1.3 percentage points to 2.0 percentage points. We cannot, of course, be sure that effects of the same precise magnitude have persisted ever since the new definitions were substituted in 1967. However, the definitional change has undoubtedly contributed to a wider unemployment differential since the late 1960's.

Another factor contributing to the widening of the unemployment differential may be the rapid increase in the labor force participation of women during the 1960's, since its effect was to increase the proportion of women entering or reentering the labor force, with an accompanying increase in unemployment.

#### EDUCATION AND THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Some of the hesitancy of women to enter or to stay in the labor force is undoubtedly the result of societally determined factors that restrict the possibilities open to them. The low representation of women in positions of responsibility is striking. Despite gradual gains, progress has not been sufficient to alter the picture significantly (Table 26). Exactly how much of this situation has been imposed on women because of prejudice and how much of it derives from a voluntary adjustment to a life divided between home responsibilities and work remains obscure. The existence of discriminatory

TABLE 26.—*Women as a percent of persons in several professional and managerial occupations, 1910-70*

| [Percent]                                                             |                  |                  |                  |      |      |      |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Occupational group                                                    | 1910             | 1920             | 1930             | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 |
| Clergymen.....                                                        | 0.6              | 1.4              | 2.2              | 2.4  | 4.0  | 2.3  | 2.9  |
| College presidents, professors, and<br>instructors <sup>1</sup> ..... | 18.9             | 30.2             | 31.9             | 26.5 | 23.2 | 24.2 | 28.2 |
| Dentists.....                                                         | 3.1              | 3.3              | 1.9              | 1.5  | 2.7  | 2.3  | 3.5  |
| Editors and reporters.....                                            | 12.2             | 16.8             | 24.0             | 25.0 | 32.0 | 36.6 | 40.6 |
| Engineers.....                                                        | ( <sup>2</sup> ) | ( <sup>2</sup> ) | ( <sup>2</sup> ) | .4   | 1.2  | .8   | 1.6  |
| Lawyers and judges.....                                               | .5               | 1.4              | 2.1              | 2.5  | 3.5  | 3.5  | 4.9  |
| Managers, manufacturing indus-<br>tries.....                          | 1.7              | 3.1              | 3.2              | 4.3  | 6.4  | 7.1  | 6.3  |
| Physicians.....                                                       | 6.0              | 5.0              | 4.4              | 4.7  | 6.1  | 6.9  | 9.3  |

<sup>1</sup> Data for 1920 and 1930 probably include some teachers in schools below collegiate rank. The Office of Education estimates the 1930 figure closer to 28 percent.

<sup>2</sup> Less than one tenth of 1 percent.

Note.—Data are from the decennial censuses. Data for 1910 and 1920 include persons 10 years of age and over; data for 1930 to 1970 include persons 14 years of age and over.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

barriers may discourage women from seeking the training or adopting the life style it would take to achieve a responsible and highly demanding job. On the other hand, women who expect to marry and have children and who also put their role at home first are subject to considerable uncertainty about their future attachment to the labor force. In the latter case, incentives to train extensively for a career would be few; and, once such women started working, the restrictions imposed by home responsibilities could limit their ability to take a job requiring long hours or the intensive commitment that most high-status positions demand. At the same time, changes in the accepted social roles of men and women would alter current patterns if they changed women's expectations about their future in the labor force.

For whatever reasons, from school onward the career orientation of women differs strikingly from that of men. Most women do not have as strong a vocational emphasis in their schooling; and for those who do, the preparation is usually for a stereotyped "female" occupation.

Although the probability of graduating from high school has been somewhat greater for women than for men, it is less probable that a woman will complete college, and still less that she will enter graduate school. The representation of women consequently declines as they move upward through the stages of education beyond high school. In 1971, 50 percent of all high school graduates were women and 45 percent of first-year college students were women. During 1971 women earned 44 percent of the bachelor's degrees granted, 40 percent of the master's degrees, and 14 percent of the doctorates.

Even more striking are the differences in the courses taken. At both the undergraduate and advanced levels, women are heavily represented in English, languages, and fine arts—the more general cultural fields. They are poorly represented in disciplines having a strong vocational emphasis and promising a high pecuniary return. In 1970, 9.3 percent of the baccalaureates in business and 3.9 percent of the master's in business went to women.

In the biological sciences, women had a larger share, taking about 30 percent of the bachelor's and master's degrees and 16 percent of the doctorates. But only 8.5 percent of the M.D.'s and 5.6 percent of the law degrees went to women. Most of these percentages, low as they are, represent large gains from the preceding year.

The situation is quite different in the so-called women's occupations. In 1971 women received 74 percent of the B.A.'s and 56 percent of the M.A.'s given in education. In library science, which is even more firmly dominated by women, they received 82 percent of all degrees in 1971. And in nursing, 98 percent of all the degrees went to women.

It is not surprising, then, to find that women do not have anything like the same occupational distribution as men. Even within an educational level, significant differences remain in the distribution across broad occupational categories (Table 27). Although 77 percent of women college graduates in 1970 were in the professions, mostly as teachers, only 4.8 percent, compared to 20 percent for men, were classified as managers. At high school levels, the proportion of women working as skilled craftsmen is minuscule, although a substantial proportion of women are blue-collar workers in the lower paying operative categories.

The supplement to this chapter, appearing in Appendix A, summarizes in detail women's representation in occupations more narrowly defined. Although women are found in all occupations, the extent of occupational segregation by sex is large. In broad outline, this situation does not appear to have undergone any dramatic change between 1950 and 1970, although there are several examples of large increases in the proportion of women in less typically "female" occupations (for example busdrivers, bartenders, and compositors and typesetters).

TABLE 27.—Occupational distribution of employed persons by education and sex, 1970

| Occupational groups                               | [Percent]   |       |         |       |                   |       |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------|---------|-------|-------------------|-------|
|                                                   | High school |       |         |       | College graduates |       |
|                                                   | 1-3 years   |       | 4 years |       | Men               | Women |
|                                                   | Men         | Women | Men     | Women |                   |       |
| Total employed.....                               | 100.0       | 100.0 | 100.0   | 100.0 | 100.0             | 100.0 |
| Professional, technical, and kindred workers..... | 2.8         | 3.6   | 7.6     | 7.1   | 58.9              | 77.4  |
| Managers and proprietors.....                     | 6.9         | 2.9   | 11.4    | 3.8   | 20.1              | 4.8   |
| Salesworkers.....                                 | 5.6         | 10.2  | 7.5     | 8.1   | 8.6               | 2.3   |
| Clerical and kindred workers.....                 | 6.8         | 25.3  | 10.0    | 50.4  | 4.9               | 12.1  |
| Craftsmen.....                                    | 25.6        | 2.4   | 26.4    | 1.8   | 3.3               | .4    |
| Operatives.....                                   | 27.3        | 22.5  | 20.6    | 11.4  | 1.4               | .6    |
| Nonfarm laborers.....                             | 9.9         | 1.6   | 5.3     | .8    | .5                | .1    |
| Farm laborers and foremen.....                    | 1.9         | .6    | .9      | .3    | .2                | .1    |
| Farmers and farm managers.....                    | 2.2         | .2    | 2.9     | .2    | .8                | .1    |
| Service workers excluding private household.....  | 10.8        | 25.4  | 7.5     | 14.5  | 1.4               | 1.9   |
| Private household service workers.....            | .2          | 5.2   | (1)     | 1.7   | (1)               | .3    |

<sup>1</sup> Less than one tenth of 1 percent.

Note.—Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Casual observation of individual occupations cannot, of course, provide a comprehensive indication of whether the occupational distributions of men and women, involving numerous occupations, have moved closer together or further apart. To help answer this question, an index was constructed and calculated for 1960 and 1970 which reflects the difference (for 197 occupations) between the occupational distributions of men and women. The index displays a small move toward occupational similarity between 1960 and 1970. (See the supplement to this chapter, included in Appendix A, for a more detailed description of the index.)

Another question of interest is whether the changes in the occupational distributions of men and women were in the direction of higher economic status and, if so, how far they went. Some insight into this question is obtained by calculating an index which reflects what earnings would have been in 1950, 1960, and 1970, if earnings were the same in all 3 years and only the occupational distributions changed. Median earnings for year-round, full-time workers in each of 11 broad occupational categories were used as the constant weights to calculate such an index. The results indicated that the occupational distributions of both men and women shifted in the direction of higher-earnings occupations from 1950 to 1960 and from 1960 to 1970. However, in the earlier period men moved ahead in this respect faster than women while in the second period the changes were similar for both.

## EARNINGS

In 1971 annual median earnings for women 14 years old and over were \$2,986, or 40 percent of the median earnings of men. But women work fewer hours per week and fewer weeks per year. If the comparison is restricted to year-round, full-time workers, women's earnings are 60 percent of men's, that is, \$5,593 compared to \$9,399. An additional adjustment for differences in the average full-time workweek—full-time hours for men were about 10 percent higher than for women—brings the female-male ratio to 66 percent in 1971.

Differentials of this order of magnitude appear to have persisted since 1956 (Table 28). Indeed, a slight increase in the differential seems to have occurred from 1956 to 1969. Part of the source of the increasing differential was the relatively low rate of growth in the earnings of female clerical workers and female operatives, who in 1970 accounted for 32 percent and 14 percent, respectively, of all women workers. On the other hand, the rate of growth of earnings of women in the professions was high (a 5.1-percent annual compound rate between 1955 and 1968) relative to all workers; more recently it was even high relative to male professionals.

TABLE 28.—Ratio of total money earnings of civilian women workers to earnings of civilian men workers, selected years, 1956-71

| Occupational group                                  | Actual ratios    |                  |      |      |      | Adjusted ratios <sup>1</sup> |                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------|------|------|------------------------------|------------------|
|                                                     | 1956             | 1960             | 1965 | 1969 | 1971 | 1969                         | 1971             |
| Total <sup>2</sup>                                  | 63.3             | 60.7             | 59.9 | 58.9 | 59.5 | 65.9                         | 66.1             |
| Professional and technical workers                  | 62.4             | 61.3             | 65.2 | 62.2 | 66.4 | 67.9                         | 72.4             |
| Teachers, primary and secondary schools             | ( <sup>3</sup> ) | 75.6             | 79.9 | 72.4 | 82.0 | ( <sup>3</sup> )             | ( <sup>3</sup> ) |
| Managers, officials, and proprietors                | 59.1             | 52.9             | 53.2 | 53.1 | 53.0 | 57.2                         | 56.8             |
| Clerical workers                                    | 71.7             | 67.6             | 67.2 | 65.0 | 62.4 | 70.0                         | 66.9             |
| Sales workers                                       | 41.8             | 40.9             | 40.5 | 40.2 | 42.1 | 45.7                         | 47.4             |
| Craftsmen and foreman                               | ( <sup>4</sup> ) | ( <sup>4</sup> ) | 56.7 | 56.4 | 56.4 | 60.8                         | 60.2             |
| Operatives                                          | 62.1             | 59.4             | 56.6 | 58.7 | 60.5 | 65.4                         | 66.6             |
| Service workers excluding private household workers | 55.4             | 57.2             | 55.4 | 57.4 | 58.5 | 62.5                         | 63.2             |

<sup>1</sup> Adjusted for differences in average full-time hours worked since full-time hours for women are typically less than full-time hours for men.

<sup>2</sup> Total includes occupational groups not shown separately.

<sup>3</sup> Not available.

<sup>4</sup> Base too small to be statistically significant.

Note.—Data relate to civilian workers who are employed full-time, year-round. Data for 1956 include salaried workers only, while data for later years include both salaried and self-employed workers.

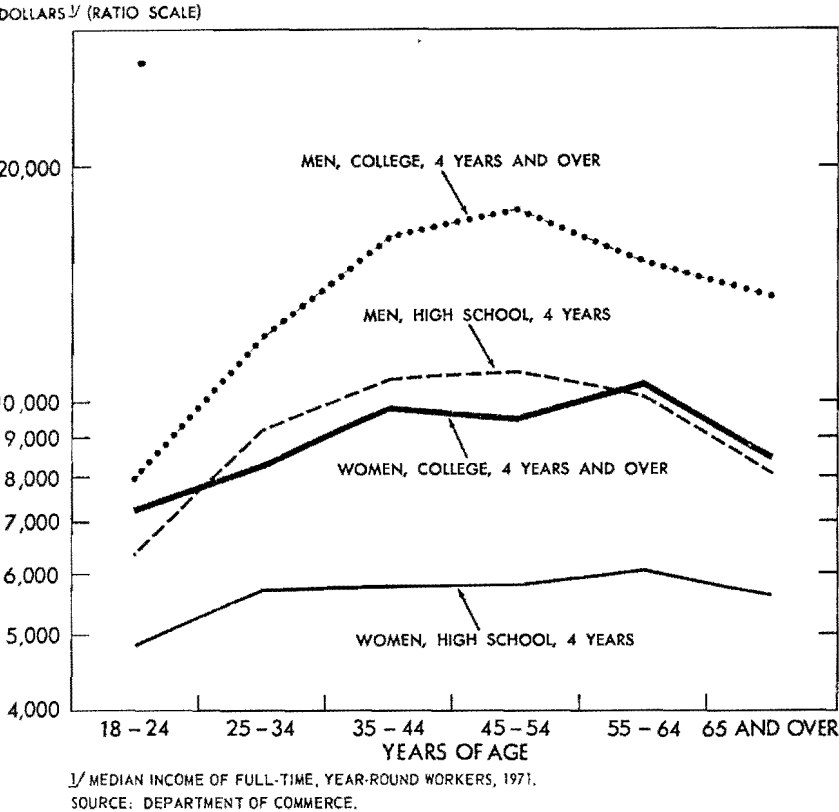
Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Council of Economic Advisers.

A large differential is also evident when the comparison is restricted to men and women of the same age and education. As Chart 10 indicates, the incomes of women do not increase with age in anything like the same way men's do. Thus the differential widens with age through much of the working life.

One important factor influencing the differential is experience. The lack of continuity in women's attachment to the labor force means that they will not have accumulated as much experience as men at a given age. The relatively steeper rise of men's income with age has been attributed to their greater accumulation of experience, of "human capital" acquired on the job. Since very few women have participated in the labor force to the same degree as men, it is difficult to set up direct comparisons between the earnings of men and women with the same lifetime pattern of work. Using data from the Labor Department's longitudinal study of women, referred to above, one study was able to compare the earnings of women working different amounts of time throughout their lives with the earnings of men, most of whom are presumed to work continuously after leaving school. The figures for men were taken from census data. The women's lifetime work experience was measured as the percentage of years each had worked since leaving school. However, a work year was crudely defined as one in which the women had worked at least 6 months. Thus no adjustment could be made for whether the years worked had been truly full-time commitments with respect to both hours worked per week and weeks worked per year.

Chart 10

### Annual Income by Age, for Male and Female High School and College Graduates



Among the women 30-44 years old in the survey, the gain from continuous work was apparently very large. If we look only at those women who had worked year-round, full-time in 1966, the median wage and salary income for the group who had worked each year since leaving school was \$5,618; for those who had worked less than 50 percent of the years since leaving school (almost half the group) the median income was \$3,655. The median wage and salary income of men in the same age group who had worked full-time, year-round in 1966 was \$7,529. The men are presumed to have worked continuously since leaving school. Thus the women who had worked less than half of the years since leaving school earned only 49 percent as much as men, while the small group of women who had worked each year earned 75 percent as much as men. Interestingly, single women who had worked each year since leaving school earned slightly more than single men. More sophisticated comparisons, adjusting for additional differences in

training, continuity at work, and education, can be made. One recent study found that the earnings differential was reduced to below 20 percent after taking account of such differences.

The importance of lifetime accumulated experience in influencing women's earnings suggests one possible explanation for the small decline in the ratio of women's to men's earnings between 1956 and 1969. Since the labor force participation of women has been rising rapidly, an increasing proportion of new entrants and of those with few accumulated years in the labor force could have resulted in a decline in the average experience level of all women. This drop would in turn temporarily push down the average level of earnings for all women. Unfortunately the data are not available to compare the ratio over a period of time between the earnings of women having a given number of years' experience and the earnings of men.

#### DIRECT DISCRIMINATION VERSUS ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

A differential, perhaps on the order of 20 percent, between the earnings of men and women remains after adjusting for factors such as education, work experience during the year, and even lifelong work experience. How much of this differential is due to differences in experience or in performance on the job which could not be measured adequately, and how much to discrimination? The question is difficult to answer, in part because there are differences of opinion about what should be classified as discrimination.

Some studies have succeeded in narrowing the male-female differential well below 20 percent. Indeed, Department of Labor surveys have found that the differential almost disappears when men's and women's earnings are compared within detailed job classifications and within the same establishment. In the very narrow sense of equal pay for the same job in the same plant there may be little difference between women and men. However, in this way the focus of the problem is shifted but not eliminated, for then we must explain why women have such a different job structure from men and why they are employed in different types of establishments.

There is clearly prejudice against women engaging in particular activities. Some patients reject women doctors, some clients reject women lawyers, some customers reject automobile saleswomen, and some workers reject women bosses. Employers also may have formulated discriminatory attitudes about women, exaggerating the risk of job instability or client acceptance and therefore excluding women from on-the-job training which would advance their careers.

In fact, even if employers do estimate correctly the average job turnover of women, women who are strongly committed to their jobs may suffer from "statistical discrimination" by being treated as though their own behavior resembled the average. The extent to which this type of discrimination occurs depends on how costly it is for employers to distinguish women who

will have a strong job commitment from those who will not. Finally, because some occupations restrict the number of newcomers they take in and because women move in and out of the labor force more often, more women than men tend to fall into the newcomer category and to be thus excluded. For example, restrictive entry policies may have kept women out of the skilled crafts.

On the other hand, as discussed above, some component of the earnings differential and of the occupational differential stems from differences in role orientation which start with differences in education and continue through marriage, where women generally are expected to assume primary responsibility for the home and subordinate their own outside work to their household responsibilities.

It is not now possible to distinguish in a quantitative way between the discrimination which bars women from jobs solely because of their sex, and the role differentiation whereby women, either through choice or necessity, restrict their careers because of the demands of their homes. Some may label the latter as a pervasive societal discrimination which starts in the cradle; nonetheless, it is useful to draw the distinction.

One other missing link in our chain of understanding of these problems is the value of the work done at home by women. One study has found that women college graduates tend to reduce their outside work when their children are small more than less educated women, and that they also devote more time to the training of their children. Of course this pattern is undoubtedly facilitated by the higher income of their husbands. However, this pattern also results in a considerable sacrifice of earnings, and one may infer that these women have therefore placed a very high value on the personal attention they can give their children. Without more information, it is difficult to evaluate the full extent to which women's capabilities have actually been underutilized by society.

#### SPECIAL PROBLEMS

##### THE FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLD

In 1971, some 6 million families, about 11.5 percent of all families, were headed by women. These women are widowed, divorced, separated, or single, and many have responsibilities for the support of children in fatherless families or of other relatives. Close to two-thirds of all female-headed families include children; the average number of children under 18 years of age in a female-headed family with children was about 2.3 in 1971, about the same as in male-headed families with children.

As a result of the division of labor within families, the average woman who has been married has not had the same labor market experience or vocationally oriented training as her husband. Unless she has a substantial alimony or pension, she is likely to face financial difficulties. The median income of female-headed families was \$5,116 in 1971, less than half the in-

come of male-headed families (\$10,930). When women who head families were full-time, year-round workers, the family's median income was \$7,916; but only 32 percent of women heading families were able to be full-time, year-round workers. And the woman who heads a family and works has additional expenses of child care and other home care expenses.

The problems faced by the woman who heads a household are particularly acute if the woman is black, and 27 percent of women heading households are black. For this group, median family income was only \$3,645 in 1971. Although, at higher education levels, black women now earn amounts comparable to white women, those black women who head families are at a disadvantage compared to white women. The median personal income of white women heading households and working year-round, full-time was \$6,527 in 1971, compared to \$5,227 for black women in the same position.

As a result of the combination of a large number of dependents and the difficulty of maintaining the dual responsibility of monetary support and home care, many female-headed families fall below the low-income level. In 1971, 34 percent of female-headed families were below the low-income level, compared to 7 percent for male-headed families. Among black households with a female head, 54 percent were below the low-income level. A large proportion receive public assistance. In 1971, 30 percent of the women heading households received public assistance payments.

It has been suggested, though not proved, that widespread availability of public assistance has encouraged husbands to desert their wives or wives to leave their husbands in families where the husband earns little more than the amount of welfare benefits his family would be entitled to in his absence. Remarriage may also be discouraged because the low-income mother would then lose her entire public stipend, including the child support portion, and without some outside child support a man might be reluctant to marry a woman with several children.

Among the women who are now welfare recipients many are handicapped by lack of education and training and are not in a position to earn an income that would lift them and their families above poverty levels. A program established in 1967, the Work Incentive Program, now gives many mothers currently on welfare, training and placement assistance so that they can improve their ability to support themselves and their dependents.

#### THE INCOME TAX

Devising a tax system which is equitable and efficient has always posed formidable problems, and often the best solution is one involving compromise with one or more of the objectives. The tax treatment of working wives is one of the more difficult problems. The income tax law as such treats men and women equally and, indeed, its effects on single men and single women are the same. However, some of the features of the tax structure, which have been considered desirable for other purposes, have, as a

by-product, unequal effects on the second earner of a married couple, who is usually the wife.

Only income arising from market transactions is taxed. Indeed, there is no practical way to assign a market value to the unpaid work performed at home and then subject it to the tax. As a result, the tax system imposes a general bias in the economy favoring unpaid work at home compared to paid work in the market. However, the bias and the resulting disincentive toward market work are particularly relevant for the married woman who traditionally has done more work at home.

An equity problem also arises from this situation. To use a hypothetical example, a husband and wife each earning \$8,000 would pay the same income tax as a couple where the husband alone works and earns \$16,000, although the couple with two earners will have the additional expenses of buying the services which would be produced at home and untaxed if the wife did not work.

There is the further problem that a married couple may pay more or less income tax than two single persons whose combined income equals the couple's, depending upon how the income is divided between the two individuals. This problem reflects a basic ambivalence about whether the appropriate unit of taxation is the individual or the family.

Remedies for the situation are not easy to find. One suggestion has been to allow working wives to deduct a given percentage of their earnings from their income for tax purposes. However, this would be unfair to single persons, who also incur expenses of going to work. A general earned income credit has also been suggested, but this creates a bias against investments in capital and in favor of wage income.

As discussed below, the Revenue Act of 1971 has given expanded tax relief to working wives with children by allowing more liberalized child care deductions to couples within a given income range. This provision, however, does not affect couples without children or couples with combined incomes outside the allowable income range.

#### CHILD CARE

Provision for child care is a cost to working mothers and a major obstacle to the employment of many other mothers who would work outside the home if they could find satisfactory arrangements for taking care of their children. As more mothers have taken jobs outside the home, and more weigh the possibility of doing so, several major questions about child care have become intense national issues.

One question is whether the Government should pay for part or all of the cost of child care. This question is usually raised about the Federal Government, but it could be equally asked about State or local governments. According to one view of the matter parents have chosen to have children, which implies a certain allocation of their resources, therefore they have no reason to burden other taxpayers to look after the children. Another view of

the matter is that Government subsidies can be justified and different groups have cited different reasons. The point has been made that the pressures of custom result in a bias against the wife going to work while the husband stays home with the children. A child-care subsidy for working mothers would help remove any harmful effects of this cultural bias. Another reason given is that there is a national interest in the proper care of children, who are, of course, the future nation, and that this case justifies Government subsidies. The analogy commonly given is to public education.

Government has given subsidies to families with children but there has been no consistent philosophy behind them. At the extreme, with respect to children in very poor families, we have long recognized the need for public assistance in the form of the program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. This program is not specifically addressed to children with working mothers. In fact, until recently it was tilted *against* helping working mothers. The Federal Government also provides a form of assistance for child care through the income tax. With the Revenue Act of 1971, a much more liberal deduction than had ever been provided was instituted specifically for child-care expenses incurred by working wives. Below a combined husband-wife income of \$18,000, a working wife can now deduct up to \$400 a month for child care expenses. The deduction is scaled downwards to zero as combined income goes from \$18,000 to \$27,600. The two groups not covered are women whose family income is too low to benefit from a tax deduction and women at the other end of the income scale.

Public discussion of Government support for child care has not clearly distinguished among several possible objectives:

- (a) To reward and assist the care of all small children;
- (b) To assist the care of small children whose parents might not be otherwise able to care for them;
- (c) To assist the care of the small children of working mothers;
- (d) To assist in the care of small children in a particular way—through day-care institutions, or at home, etc.

Both the amount of Government support that is desirable, and the form it should take if it is to be provided, depend on the choice made among these objectives.

Recently, publicly supported institutional group care, or day care, has received considerable attention as one approach to helping the working mother. Some have also stressed day care as a developmental program. It may be noted that a very small proportion of working women have depended on group day care in an institutional center. A Government-sponsored survey of 1965 found that, among employed mothers of children under 6, only 6.4 percent depended on school or group care centers. About 47 percent of the women arranged to have their children cared for at home, often by a relative. The rest mainly arranged for care in someone else's home (31 percent) or looked after the child while working (15 percent).

Some have attributed the low use of day care to a failure of the market to provide a service that would be utilized if financing were available. Others have interpreted it as an indication that the true demand for institutional day care is low. Even among more affluent and knowledgeable working mothers who presumably could afford it, dependence on institutional group care is low. A survey of college graduates found that in 1964, among those who worked and who had children under 6 years, 9 percent used group care, which included nursery schools, kindergartens, and day-care centers. Most (73 percent) arranged for care in their own home.

Whether institutional day care provides the best use of dollars spent on child care has yet to be established. While this issue has not been resolved, it is clear that the problems of mothers who want and need to work require serious attention and a continuing search for new solutions.

### GOVERNMENT ACTION

Government has been profoundly concerned with promoting full equality of opportunity for women within both the public and the private sectors. Two approaches have been followed. The first involves the use of law and regulations where they are both applicable and compatible with other goals of a democratic society.

A number of laws have been passed and Executive Orders issued which deal with discrimination by employers. Included are the Equal Pay Act of 1963, requiring employers to compensate men and women in the same establishment equally for work of equivalent skill and responsibility, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in hiring, discharging, compensation, and other aspects of employment. Title VII is administered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The Equal Employment Opportunity Act, signed by the President in 1972, gave the EEOC enforcement power through the courts in sex-discrimination cases. In December 1971, Order No. 4, under Executive Order 11246, was extended to women. This Order requires Federal contractors employing more than 50 workers and holding contracts of \$50,000 or more to formulate written affirmative action plans, with goals and timetables, to ensure equal opportunities. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits discrimination in educational programs or activities on the basis of sex.

The Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which was strongly supported by the President, passed the Senate on March 22, 1972, and has now been ratified by 22 States. The proposed amendment would provide that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," and would authorize the Congress and the States to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation. The purpose of the proposed amendment would be to provide constitutional protection against laws and official practices that treat men and women differently.

The other approach of Government to providing equality to women has been through leadership. The Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor has for 50 years been concerned with the problems of women at work. Recently, several new groups, each concerned with different areas affecting women, have been formed. The formation of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women is one such effort. The Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women is another. The latter is a council of private citizens appointed by the President, which surveys the social and political issues of particular interest to women and makes recommendations for legislation or other suitable social action. In an effort to recruit women to top-level jobs in the Government, the President in 1971 appointed to the White House staff a special assistant for this purpose. As a result many women have been placed in key policy making positions, positions never before held by women.

It is only in the past few years that the problems women face as a group have been given the widespread recognition they deserve. There is much to be learned before we can even ask all the appropriate questions. Many of the problems involve profound issues of family and social organization. By listening to diverse groups and to the discussion of the public it is hoped that Government will be able to find its appropriate role. We believe that the newly formed Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women will contribute to that process.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Shuck

3/27/69

Please advise  
what will be  
ready soon to  
fill requests like  
the attached one  
from Allie Atkins.  
Thanks Rosemary

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1969

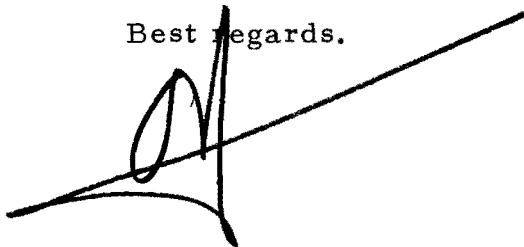
TO: ROSE MARY WOODS

FROM: OLLIE ATKINS

From time to time people along the way do great favors for us such as a photographer on the London Daily Times who sent us a beautiful picture of the President at the Berlin Wall. It would be very nice if we could send some little token to these people to express our appreciation.

I understand during the Eisenhower administration they had some sort of a little medallion which had on the front of it the Presidential seal and on the back it said "With appreciation, DDE". I have also heard there are some fountain pens around that just say "The White House". Anyhow, if you know of anything like this, or if there is anything in the mill, we could use a couple of dozen to take care of people who have gone out of their way to help us.

Best regards.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Ollie Atkins', written over a diagonal line that extends from the bottom left towards the top right.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1969  
Wednesday - 12:15 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

✓ ROSE MARY WOODS  
OLLIE ATKINS

John Ehrlichman suggested the President might send a copy of the photograph taken at yesterday's Cabinet Members to each of the wives with a short note-- "Here's a picture of our Cabinet meeting which I thought you would like to have.." or something along this line.



DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

CC: Mr. John Ehrlichman

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1973

Dear Rose Mary:

I am just getting around to this but I wanted to thank you very kindly for sending the checks signed by President Nixon to Roland Carr of the Riggs National Bank.

I received a very nice note from him and I think it will be a plus.

Best regards,

  
Ollie Atkins

Miss Rose Mary Woods

*file*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1971

TO: ROSE MARY WOODS  
FROM: OLLIE ATKINS

Dear Rose Mary:

We have a request from the Congressional liaison people (Miss Kay Bulow) that she would like to be able to send the attached picture to Congressmen who request it.

This picture has been released to several places already and I see no objection to it but I would like to get a reading from you before I actually do it. How do you feel about it?

Best regards.

*Ollie*  
Attachment

*Picture of Mrs. Nixon  
Pres. & Mrs. Clemente  
at San Clemente*  
*Ollie handled = Mrs. Nixon  
said she only wanted  
it sent to close friends  
10-12-71*

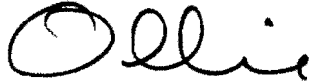
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 8, 1972

Rose Mary,

This looks like a first class  
brochure. I thought maybe you would  
like to see it.

Best regards.



Ollie

Attachments

**republican national committee**

Maria Downs

to Mr. Atkins:

Marj Skinker asked me to send you a copy  
of our flyer and to thank you again for  
sending us the wonderful picture of the  
President. We hope you approve of the  
results.

Marj would be doing this herself but un-  
fortunately she is in the hospital recovering  
from a back operation..... she did how-  
ever ask me to drop you this note.

I have put in a request to your office  
for copy negatives of the President and  
the Vice President to have enlarged for  
our Republican Leadership Conference.  
I know we will get the same wonderful  
cooperation. Thanks again.

Maria Downs

# 18th National Republican Women's Conference

|                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>March 23-25, 1972</b> | <b>Atlanta, Georgia</b>           |
| <b>April 6-8, 1972</b>   | <b>Phoenix, Arizona</b>           |
| <b>April 20-22, 1972</b> | <b>Chicago, Illinois</b>          |
| <b>May 18-20, 1972</b>   | <b>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</b> |

AYRES & ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

800 South 13th / Lincoln, Nebraska 68508 / 402-432-4426 / Offices also 1222 First National Bank Building / Omaha, Nebraska 68102

April 11, 1972

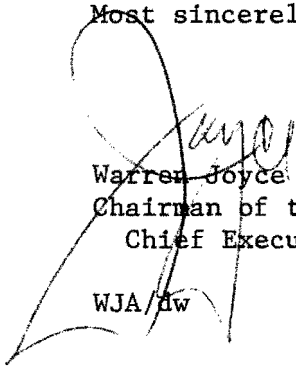
Miss Rose Mary Woods  
Secretary to the President  
• White House  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Rose Mary:

You're a dear to help an old friend's young son start on a career in politics. Joe eats it, breathes it - loves it! He'll be much better at it than his old man.

Anyhow, thanks much and please let me return this favor at the first opportunity.

Most sincerely,



Warren Joyce Ayres  
Chairman of the Board  
Chief Executive Officer

WJA/jw

2647 Winthrop Road  
Lincoln, Nebraska 68502  
April 11, 1972

Miss Rose Mary Woods  
Secretary to the President  
White House  
Washington, D.C. 20501

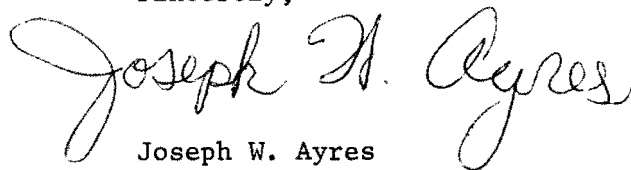
Dear Miss Woods:

Thank you very much for the time and consideration you gave to me regarding my application to the Committee for the Re-election of the President. I realize the amount of favors asked of you is overwhelming. With that in mind, your concern is all the more appreciated.

With interest from people such as yourself, maybe I can work out a job in Washington.

Thanks again for everything!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Joseph W. Ayres". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial 'J' and a long, sweeping tail on the 'y'.

Joseph W. Ayres

✓  
May 30, 1972

Dear Mr. Ayres:

We have been informed by Rose Mary Woods of your desire to be of assistance in the campaign to re-elect the President.

The regional office of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President has not yet begun its operation in your area. However, we will keep your name on file and can assure you that it will be forwarded to your regional office at the appropriate time.

In the meantime, I would suggest that you contact your State Republican Committee at 116 North 12th Street, Room 212, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508. I am sure they will be happy to know of your interest.

Again, may I thank you for your interest. With your continued enthusiastic support and that of other concerned Americans, the campaign to re-elect the President will most certainly be a success.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Robert C. Odle, Jr.

Mr. Joseph W. Ayres  
1035 South 17th Street  
Apartment B-2  
Lincoln, Nebraska

bcc: Rose Mary Woods ✓

**April 6, 1972**

**Dear Joyce:**

**I have forwarded your letter along with your son's resume to the people at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President as I think they are probably in direct communication with Mike Lesser.**

**Let's hope they are able to give Joe's request favorable consideration.**

**With best wishes,**

**Sincerely,**

**Rose Mary Woods  
Secretary to the President**

**Mr. Warren Joyce Ayres  
Chairman of the Board  
Ayres & Associates, Inc.  
800 South 19th  
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508**

**bcc with incoming to John Mitchell**

**RMW:ma**

AYRES & ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

800 South 13th / Lincoln, Nebraska 68508 / 402-432-4426 / Offices also 1222 First National Bank Building / Omaha, Nebraska 68102

March 13, 1972

Miss Rosemary Wood  
Secretary to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Rosemary:

Comes now a friend (me) from out of the past (a decade back) to ask a personal favor.

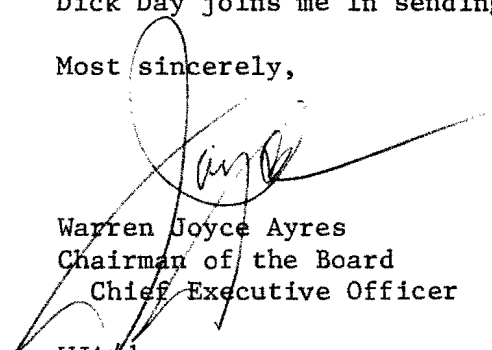
My second son, Joe, being graduated in journalism from the University of Nebraska on May 19, is making a great effort to persuade Pete Dailey and Mike Lesser for an assignment with The November Group. He is totally dedicated to the Nixon cause and has been for more years than most young men his age can boast.

A friendly word from you to the right people would be most appreciated.

For more detail on Joe, I am enclosing a copy of his letter of application and biographical data sheet, which he sent to Mike Lesser last week.

Dick Day joins me in sending warmest greetings.

Most sincerely,



Warren Joyce Ayres  
Chairman of the Board  
Chief Executive Officer

WJA/dw

Enclosures

1035 South 17th Street, Apt. B-2  
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508  
March 9, 1972

Mr. Mike Lesser  
Account Manager  
The November Group  
909 Third Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Lesser:

I am indebted to my father's close association with Senator Carl Curtis of Nebraska for obtaining your name and title in connection with The November Group. I am a senior at the University of Nebraska and will be graduated in May with an A.B. degree in Journalism. During my high school and college life, I have thought with increasing seriousness about working in politics. Starting in high school with a mock political convention at Lincoln Southeast High, a classmate and I managed the Nixon campaign. We were fortunate to win the election in the face of some rather strong opposition on behalf of the late Robert Kennedy. Kennedy's campaign fires were fueled by the school's journalism instructor. We were greatly satisfied with the victory and then continued to campaign for Mr. Nixon in a variety of ways.

My background has been involved in public relations generally and organization work specifically. If I were to assess my own abilities, I would say that I have greater strengths in the organization phase of my work than I have in pure journalistic composition. This may or may not win points for me with you and The November Group except to say that my father's philosophy is "elections are won with competent, efficient campaign organization more so than any other single reason."

In my college fraternity I have handled the public relations program, including all the publics a college fraternity must relate to: faculty and administration, undergraduates, alumni, community, the news media and the general publics. At my fraternity's national convention a year ago at Wentworth-by-the-Sea, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, I was awarded the Harry L. Bird Award and a check for \$100. This award was established to be given annually to the public relations officer in one of the chapters of the fraternity who had done the most outstanding job. I considered it a significant honor to be the first recipient of this award.

My political philosophy, although developed considerably by my academic training in political science and journalism, probably has been influenced by my parents. Nebraska, as you know, is a strong Republican state so it is not unusual that many of us raised in this atmosphere would be looking forward to registering Republican. I am further influenced by my father's political activities since I have worked part time for him off and on during my college career. He operates an advertising and public relations agency and has done work for a number of candidates for national and high state offices. His clients include Governor Dewey of New York in the presidential campaign of 1948, General Eisenhower's first campaign in 1952, Senator Goldwater in 1964, and President Nixon in 1968. His agency is currently handling the re-election of Senator Carl Curtis. Incidentally, the oldest account of my father's agency, which is a relationship extending over a quarter of a century, is Bankers Life Nebraska, whose chairman and chief executive officer is Mr. George B. Cook. Mr. Cook, as you may know, has been the Nebraska chairman for Mr. Nixon in both '68 and '72.

On another sheet I will give you basic biographical data, but for your quick reference let me say that I am single, will reach my 22nd birthday in July, am 5'11" tall, weigh 175 pounds, have a draft number of 287, am in good health and drive my own car. I am free to travel any place any time. I would be happy to fly to Washington or New York for an interview if you would desire it. On the biographical data sheet I am also offering personal, professional and academic references which you may wish to check.

Finally, I would like to say in all sincerity that I am more interested in this opportunity to serve the campaign dedicated to the re-election of President Nixon than I am in seeking employment. If it were only a job I was after, I think I would have opportunities to make more money elsewhere. I really believe in this cause and with the young people's vote such a potential major factor in the election, I think I can be useful to your group in several ways. Just how you could fit me into the organization, I would not know; but I do believe that I can contribute. Please advise me if you would like to have me come to New York or Washington for a personal interview.

Most sincerely,



Joseph W. Ayres

Enclosure

PERSONAL RESUME  
for  
JOSEPH WARREN AYRES

ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE: 1035 South 17th Street, Apt. B-2, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508  
(402) 475-4648

PERSONAL DATA

|                            |                                          |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Birth Date: 7/30/50        | Permanent Residence: 2647 Winthrop Road, |
| Height: 5' 11" Weight: 170 | Lincoln, Nebraska 68502; phone (402)     |
| Physical Limitations: None | 488-2469                                 |
| Marital Status: Single     | Military Status: 1-A (Lottery No. 287)   |

EDUCATION

High School: Lincoln Southeast High School.- June, 1968

College: University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Graduated May, 1972, with B.A. in Journalism. Major field of study was News Editorial, with supporting courses in Public Relations, Photography, Typography and Editing. Minor fields of study were Political Science, English and Sociology.

COLLEGE HONORS AND ACTIVITIES

Member - Sigma Delta Chi Journalism Honorary  
Member - Young Republicans  
Secretary and Public Relations Officer - Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity  
Recipient - Harry L. Bird Award for Excellence in Public Relations

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES, HOBBIES, ETC.

Active in Nixon Campaign in Nebraska in 1968 and 1972  
Hobbies include sailing, swimming, skiing

WORK EXPERIENCE

Ayres & Associates Advertising Agency - Assistant Production Manager for  
summers of 1966, 1968 and 1970  
Der Loaf Und Stein - Waiter, June 1971 to February 1972  
Capitol Beach Manor - Outdoor work, summer of 1967

TYPE OF WORK DESIRED

1st Choice: Public Relations  
2nd Choice: Administrative

REFERENCES

Dr. Robert E. Palmer, Pastor, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Sheridan and  
South Streets, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502; telephone (402) 475-6702  
Dr. Keith Prichard, Teachers College, University of Nebraska, Lincoln,  
Nebraska 68508; telephone (402) 472-2234  
Mr. Don Falk, New York Life Insurance Company, 1506 First National Bank Bldg.,  
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508; (402) 432-8575

January 24, 1970

TO: Ed Morgan

FROM: Rose Mary Woods

Re the attached, Frank Avren has been active in Ohio politics for many years and I cannot just give him a routine answer.

Would you please see what you can find ~~abt~~ about this situation and let me know as soon as possible.

Thanks.

**OHIO BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICES**

145 SOUTH FRONT STREET

P.O. BOX 1618

COLUMBUS, OHIO 43216

IN REPLY REFER TO

January 22, 1970

Dear Rose Mary:

As you know, I am not much of a letter writer, and I know your time is valuable, however there comes a time when certain facts should be called to the attention of proper authorities.

Most of us in Ohio are interested in the success of the Nixon Administration and want to assist in every way we can, even though certain persons, both new and holdovers do everything they can to try to justify past errors without regard of the effect of their action on the Administration.

The forced closing of the Mahoning Valley Vocational School by Arnold Weber is a gross error. Mr. Weber, we feel, is following advice of certain career Department of Labor officials who never wanted the school open in the first place and have always resented the fact that it was the only one of its type in the nation and was successful even beyond our hopes. The letter to Governor Rhodes by our Administrator is also enclosed as well as two reprints.

Over 80 percent of the boys who graduated from this school have been and continue to be gainfully employed. They have been given a "new lease" on life because they were trained for a job and given an opportunity to be productive members of society.

I am taking the liberty of sending you xerox copies of forty-two (42) unsolicited letters that were sent to Doctor Shultz, who in turn sent them to a Mr. Brown to answer. Mr. Brown, although knowing better, attempted to shift the blame for the closing of the school to the State of Ohio. This is untrue, and Shultz, Brown and Weber all three should have at least told the truth when they answered the letters, instead of forcing us to do so.

Rose Mary, I would personally appreciate it if you would take the time to read some of the letters, as well as the enclosed reprint, and pass the facts on to the President. He may want to take steps to correct this great wrong.

There has been a lot of conversation about helping the unemployables and making them job ready. In Ohio we have been able to do this at Mahoning Valley. As a matter of fact some of the people in the Department of Labor wanted the school kept open but were fearful of the wrath of their superiors.

Certain people in H. E. W. have asked that a skelton staff of 15 be retained even without students until June 30th. What is needed is to reopen the school on a full time basis with a staff of 100 again to train unemployable boys for specific jobs. Training people just for the sake of training them is no good and that is what is happening in many of the programs at the present time.

This letter is being written for the purpose of being helpful to the Administration. I have no axe to grind and am personally not affected if the school is reopened or not. However, I do want to point out that conversation is hollow when talking about job training and then closing a facility like M. V. V. S. in one move only to open up a new facility using a system that previously resulted in

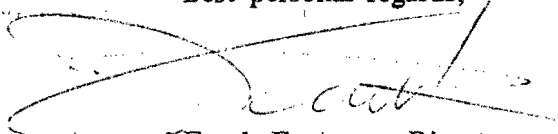
failure as shall happen in the "Feds" efforts in Cincinnati.

So long as the present attitude in the Department of Labor prevails the purposes of the Manpower Training Act, which is supposed to give the Governor more authority and responsibility in these programs will be a fraud, and only result in the Governors becoming scape goats for continued Washington failures.

Lest you get the wrong idea, I think Shultz is a fine honorable man who is interested in doing a good job - unfortunately he has people on his staff, not of his choosing, who deal entirely in theory and are not acquainted with practical facts of life.

I think it would be well, if you agree, to have our Administrator meet privately with the President on these matters - conversation with Shultz, Weber, etc., just falls on deaf ears. Perhaps Bob Finch should be talked with.

Best personal regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Frank E. Avren', is written over a horizontal line.

Frank E. Avren, Director  
Public Information

Enclosures

FEA:bm

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1970

Memorandum for: Rose Mary Woods

From: Rex Scouter 

Mr. Auletta is out of the country but I explained our security regulations to his secretary. I told her to have Mr. Auletta call me if he had any further questions as to why we could not accept his generous offer.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 23, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR REX SCOUTEN

FROM:

Rose Mary Woods



SUBJECT:

Attached letter from Richard C. Auletta

This man at one point asked if he could send some Yogurt, hoping the President would use it, and in order to "turn him off", I asked him to send a small quantity addressed to my attention. As you can see from the attached letters, he is now suggesting that they provide the President with Louis Sherry mango ice cream. I am sure you don't want this, so would you be good enough to give his secretary a call and explain that your office has the responsibility for picking up food products for the White House, etc., or whatever you want to say to him. I would greatly appreciate your handling this matter.

MANY THANKS!

Attachments

R. C. AULETTA AND COMPANY, INC.  
59 EAST 54TH STREET · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 · ELDORADO 5-0400

November 10, 1970

Miss Rose Mary Woods  
Personal Secretary to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Miss Woods:

I was wondering if you had received my letter of October 27th, regarding the possibility of our providing the President with Louis Sherry mango ice cream.

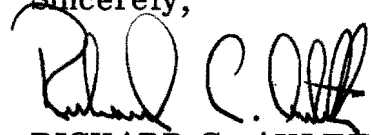
Since I realize you must be quite busy, I was hoping you could check one of the following and return this letter to me.

\_\_\_ Please send the ice cream.

\_\_\_ How about chocolate chip as well.

\_\_\_ Go fly a kite.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,  
  
RICHARD C. AULETTA  
President

Encl:

R. C. AULETTA AND COMPANY, INC.  
59 EAST 54TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • ELDORADO 5-0400

October 27, 1970

Miss Rose Mary Woods  
Personal Secretary to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

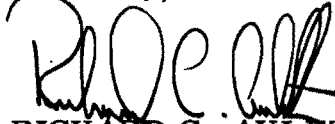
Dear Miss Woods:

I noticed with great interest, a number of recent articles indicating that the President "shared mango ice cream with Queen Elizabeth II" during his tour of Europe.

We work very closely with the Louis Sherry Ice Cream Company, one of the few firms in the United States that actually produces mango ice cream. I was wondering if we could arrange for this delicious ice cream to be forwarded to your attention so that the President's family might enjoy it on a regular basis.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. C. Auletta", written over a horizontal line.

RICHARD C. AULETTA  
President

---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1972

TO: Harry Dent  
Harry Flemming

FROM: Rose Mary Woods

Re the attached letter to Mrs.  
Aubinoe, she has been a longtime  
friend and supporter of the  
President.

I hope she will receive favorable  
consideration.

Thanks.

February 23, 1972

Dear Mrs. Aubinoe:

Rose Mary Woods has asked me to respond to your recent note concerning the delegate situation in Maryland.

We are watching developments on that front as closely as possible. Your interest in this matter is appreciated, and shall be brought to the attention of those concerned.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harry S. Dent  
Special Counsel  
to the President

Mrs. Alvin L. Aubinoe  
1225 South Ocean Boulevard  
Delray Beach, Florida 33444  
HSD:PM:jc  
bcc: R.M. Woods ✓  
H. Flemming

Call  
Harry  
She has been  
a longtime  
friend &  
Supporter

to be a delegate. if  
you can give a push  
here or there.

I'm not looking  
for personal aggrandize-  
ment at all. I  
just want to be  
sure he is assured  
of my vote from  
Maryland & any  
persuasive forces  
I may have.

Mac Mathias  
will try to slap me  
& him too. I fear.

Kind regards  
Luther A. Bruce

Bureau

In case you  
have children  
Registration of

## Dot Aubinoe

February

Dear Miss Woods

I know your  
calendar is filled  
with far more  
important things.

Mine is filled  
with but one thing  
& that is to re-elect  
Richard Nixon.

I trust no one  
in the State of  
Maryland - they  
speak of other  
things.

I would like  
very much therefore

The White House  
Washington

WHA226 (06)SYA084

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PRESIDENT NIXON, ATTN MISS ROSEMARY WOODS

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

YOU PERSONALLY KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION  
CAN HELP RESTORE CONFIDENCE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY . WE DID  
IT FOR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND YOU MAY 1958 SORRY A MEMBER  
OF THE WHITEHOUSE STAFF DOES NOT KNOWS THIS AND THEREFOR REJECTED  
SENATORS PERCY'S RECOMMENDATION. WE STAND READY TO HELP MOBILIZE  
BOTH LABOR LEADERSHIP AND TOP MANAGEMENT TO COMBAT INFLATION  
AND STIMULATE ECONOMIC GROWTH

LAWRENCE A APLEY CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD AMERICAN MANAGEMENT  
ASSOCIATION  
(1220).

Sent to George Shultz to handle

November 19, 1971

Dear Jane:

It was a real treat to hear from you and I particularly appreciated the news of your family. I hope you love San Francisco as much as I do because if you do, that would make visiting your daughter even more pleasant.

As Tiny found out -- I was not along on the trip to Oregon. However, I was not just resting and relaxing - I was recuperating from an illness (poisoning) which had kept me in the hospital for about two weeks and then I went to the Nixon's home so I could get strong enough to fly back home. After I got back here I had to go into the hospital with a reaction to the medicine used to cure me -- so it has been a sort of "lost Fall." I am fine now but wanted you to know why it has taken me so long to answer your most thoughtful letter.

I simply can't imagine why you were not included in the group of people to meet the President and Mrs. Nixon. I know how much they both think of you. I can only assume that the people from this end and in Oregon just didn't use good judgment in making up the list! After all, no one worked any harder than you did to help win that Oregon primary. I am sure it was just an oversight but I have written a memorandum to the scheduling people telling them this is the sort of thing that should never happen. (And, from my standpoint it particularly NEVER should happen to such a wonderful person as you!)

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Rose Mary Woods  
Secretary to the President

Mrs. Howell Appling, Jr.  
1235 S. W. Myrtle Court  
Portland, Oregon 97201

RMW:MPA:mcp

August 13, 1969

TO: Henry Kissinger

FROM: Rose Mary Woods

The attached request was handed to Don Hughes when we were in Pakistan. It seems to me this man plans to put this out in a business thing.

Would you let us know whether you think the President should sign the picture as Mr. Aslam requests.

Letter and pictures from  
Mohammad Aslam  
The Pakistan Security Printing Corp.

TELEGRAMS SECPING  
TELEPHONE 52760  
P.O. BOX 3708

HOTEL METROPOLE  
ROOM NOS. 9 & 10  
VICTORIA RD.

*The Pakistan Security Printing Corporation, Ltd.*  
MANAGING DIRECTOR'S OFFICE  
KARACHI

F-38

JULY 26, 1969.

H.E. Mr. James W. Spain,  
Ambassador for America in Pakistan,  
American Embassy,  
ISLAMABAD.

Excellency,

On 26th March, 1964, we had the pleasure to receive at our Corporation Mr. Nixon, now the President of your great country. While he honours Pakistan by his visit, we would like to offer our felicitations to him.

2. I enclose two photographs (in duplicate) and I wonder if you could do me the favour of getting the President's autograph thereupon, so that we retain it in our organisation. I do hope you will not mind this inconvenience.

Yours sincerely,

*Mohammad Aslam*

MOHAMMAD ASLAM,  
S.K., T.Q.A.

August 6, 1973

**PERSONAL**

Dear Mr. Ashe:

This is just a note to tell you that I totally agree with the comments in your letter of June eighteenth. You may be sure I have passed them along to the President.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Rose Mary Woods  
Executive Assistant  
to the President

Mr. Lloyd E. Ashe  
Lloyds Incorporated  
Post Office Box 872  
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

RMW:MA:mcp

**LLOYDS INC.**

(INCORPORATED 1946)

P. O. Box 872      ✧      East Lansing, Michigan 48823

June 18, 1973.

Rose Mary Woods,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

Subject: News Reporters

I would like to have President Nixon know,  
that in our opinion, 75 percent of News Reporters  
are not qualified to sit in the White House with  
President Nixon. From past observations.

Respectfully,

  
Lloyd E. Ashe, Pres., Lloyds Inc.

# Nickerson Joins Forces With Muskie

By Bruce Lambert Jr.

Retired Nassau County Executive Eugene Nickerson made his presidential choice public yesterday and was named a co-chairman of the state Muskie Citizens Committee, along with a Buffalo legislator and the wife of NAACP director Roy Wilkins.

Nickerson's endorsement of Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine, made at the Plaza Hotel in Manhattan, was hardly surprising. His old political mentor, John English, is national director of the campaign to win the Democratic presidential nomination for Muskie. English headed the Nassau Democratic party during Nickerson's leadership of the county government.

Two weeks ago yesterday, Muskie picked up the joint endorsement of the current Nassau party chairman, Marvin Cristenfeld, and the county's most influential elected Democrat, Glen Cove Mayor-Supervisor Andrew DiPaola.

The series of endorsements is a local application of Muskie's national pre-primary strategy of having key figures publicly announce their support in hopes of creating a stampede. In New York State, Muskie has been backed by Buffalo Mayor Frank Sedita, and now the three committee chairmen. The two besides Nickerson are Mrs. Aminda Wilkins of Queens, wife of the national head of the NAACP, and State Sen. John J. LaFalce of Buffalo.

Nickerson's committee is assigned the task of lining up a Muskie slate to run in the state primary June 20. Nickerson said he does not know whether he himself will run as a delegate.

Nassau's Democratic leaders are not unanimous for Muskie by any means. Oyster Bay Councilman Lewis Yevoli, the only elected Democrat in Nassau's three towns, is supporting Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, and today Assemblyman Arthur J.

Kremer of Long Beach came out for Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota.

## Combined News Services

Mayor Lindsay headed for a weekend of campaigning in Florida yesterday amid charges by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), that the mayor was ignoring party guidelines with "an expensive Madison Avenue media campaign" to woo Florida voters.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, meanwhile, said he would not be a candidate in the March 14 Florida primary and would go to court if necessary to have his name removed from the ballot. Yorty's campaign manager, Sam Bretzfield, said the mayor's name "was put on the ballot over his objections because supporters of Edmund Muskie and Hubert Humphrey are scared to death of George Wallace and want someone to split the conservative vote."

Lindsay was scheduled to go to Tallahassee today for rallies at Florida State and Florida A&M Universities. Aides said he would receive an endorsement at the second rally from Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss. McGovern, in Tallahassee yesterday, charged that Lindsay had failed "to sign the pledge" established by the Democratic National Committee for limits on television and media expenses. He added: "I think it's unacceptable for a candidate to come into the state and campaign as a people's candidate while resorting to an expensive Madison Avenue media campaign."

McGovern said he would reveal his own campaign expenditures at least two weeks before the Florida primary and said that other candidates should do the same. Aides to Lindsay have said the mayor plans to spend \$200,000 to \$300,000 on the Florida primary and that Lindsay had agreed to limitations on spending set by the Democratic National Committee.

While campaigning in Florida, where there is considerable unemployment among aerospace workers, McGovern said he opposed the proposed space project as an "enormous waste of money" and fully supports busing to end school segregation. He made statements in a state that prides itself on its aerospace industry and which has long-standing opposition to busing. He attempted to set himself apart in the Democratic primary.

# LI Backing for Ashbrook

By Betti Logan

Hicksville—The Mid-Island Conservative Club voted last night to suspend support of President Nixon and instead to support Ohio Rep. John Ashbrook in the New Hampshire and Florida Republican primaries.

The decision to uphold the party position came last night after Conservative State Chairman J. Daniel Mahoney told about 50 persons from Bethpage, Hicksville and Plainview that he did not believe Nixon deserved Conservative Party support.

"We helped to nominate him and to elect him. We expect something for our efforts in 1968," Mahoney said. "The conservatives have been getting the rhetoric while the liberals have been getting the action."

The New York State Conservative Party dropped its support for Nixon last month in an attempt to get the President to return to more conservative positions. A few Conservative Long Islanders however, vowed to continue to support the President. Mahoney said that that dissension was not from true Conservatives.

One of the reasons Nixon has "moved so far to the

left," Mahoney said, "is that for the first three years of the Nixon administration the conservatives have been too quiet. Our leaders, like Reagan and Goldwater, have turned into a cheering squad for the White House," he said. "The Conservative Party has been defending and apologizing for the Nixon administration while the liberals keep pushing him to the left."

The Ashbrook movement, Mahoney said, is a signal of "the changing of the guard of leadership in the conservative movement." The party is putting the Republicans on notice that it will criticize Republican policies as well as Democratic policies, he said.

Mahoney conceded that the move to support Ashbrook might divide the Conservative Party in the presidential election. "But that's Nixon's problem. He created the situation. He is a politically motivated president," Mahoney said.

Another problem facing the Conservative Party is the ban on cross-endorsements in Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Mahoney said. Even if Nixon does make concessions and the Conservatives can support him for President, Mahoney said, "we still will have to resolve the problem of cross-endorsements."

PRESERVATION COPY

*Ashbrook* *President R.N.*  
*for President Committee*  
Room 909-A, 1028 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Fellow Conservative:

Have you considered the idea of  
SUSPENDING YOUR SUPPORT OF RICHARD NIXON?

We spent many hours considering this idea. And we made our decision to suspend our support of President Nixon. The purpose of this letter is to suggest that you, also, consider suspending your own support of the President.

We feel this action is necessary because it is apparent to us that Richard Nixon is making an all-out effort to win re-election as a liberal.

Consider the following facts:

1. Nixon has introduced legislation to double the size of the welfare rolls through his revolutionary guaranteed income plan.
2. Nixon has continued the defense policies of Kennedy and Johnson allowing Russia to become the most powerful military country in the world. Nixon has abandoned the concept that America's future safety depends upon military superiority over the Communists. (Our military posture has now deteriorated to the point where seven members of the President's own Blue Ribbon Defense Panel warned that in the 1970's even the very lives of U.S. citizens will not be secure.)
3. Nixon, in a move reminiscent of the pre-World War II days (when we sold steel and other militarily important goods to Germany and Japan) has offered to sell computers, trucks and other vital military goods to Russia--all on credit!
4. In the field of economics, Nixon has said "I am now a Keynesian." The first three budgets planned wholly by the Nixon Administration are expected to show a total deficit of \$70 billion dollars. This is the most outrageous string of deficits in American peacetime history.

We could go on and on, but we think you can begin to see our point.

Nixon has abandoned the vast majority of his 1968 campaign promises. He has turned his back on those conservative principles we all believe in--and upon which he won the 1968 election.

One of those who has suspended his support of Richard Nixon is Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio.

On December 29th, Congressman Ashbrook announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for President.

Congressman Ashbrook has represented the 17th District of Ohio for 11 years and is a past Chairman of the American Conservative Union. In his 11 years in Congress he has received an ACA rating of 98%. He is a highly effective and articulate spokesman for the conservative Republican cause.

Along with many other conservative leaders, we have given him our warmest and most enthusiastic endorsement!

If all of us conservatives band together and stand shoulder to shoulder we can force President Nixon to keep his 1968 promises. IF WE ACT NOW WE CAN STOP THE LEFTWARD PLUNGE OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

But this is one critical time that the job can't be left to others. You must stand up and be counted. The future of the conservative movement, in fact the very survival of our country, may depend on the fight we put up in 1972.

Can we count on you?

If you are concerned and upset about President Nixon's liberal programs and his decision to seek re-election as a liberal, here is what you can do.

(1) Sign the enclosed card stating that you are suspending your support of Richard Nixon. We want you to join with hundreds of thousands of your fellow conservatives who oppose President Nixon's policies.

(2) Give as generous a contribution as possible to the Ashbrook for President Committee today.

The purpose of the Ashbrook candidacy is clear: to win as many votes as possible in the primary states, to gather convention delegates pledged to John Ashbrook and to apply pressure on Nixon to counteract the liberals' influence within the Nixon Administration.

Since his announcement, thousands of messages of support have been received by the Committee from across the U.S. The hope of the conservative movement is riding on John Ashbrook. Alone among conservative leaders, John Ashbrook has had the courage to challenge Richard Nixon in the primaries.

The first Presidential primary is in New Hampshire on March 7, just a few weeks away. The Florida primary follows one week later on March 14.

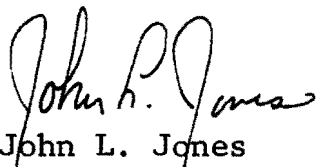
Since Congressman Ashbrook just decided to run, practically no funds have been raised. The Ashbrook for President Committee desperately needs to receive at least \$175,000 in the next ten days.

If you will send the Committee a check today it will be deposited within a few hours after we receive it. We will then rush it into the primary campaigns in New Hampshire and Florida.

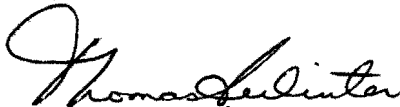
But today as we're writing to you we can not make any plans involving money beyond the next 7 days. Our present small bank account will be totally exhausted within one week.

Our need is so great and our cause is so important that we wish you could send us at least \$100.00. But if you can't send \$100.00, please consider sending us as much as \$50.00. Even \$25.00 would be a gift that would be of immense help to us. But whatever amount you feel you can afford, please mail it today.

If you believe in the traditional Republican principles of a balanced Federal budget, opposition to Great Society type social legislation and a policy of military superiority over the Communists, then, please don't delay sending in your maximum contribution by even a few hours.



John L. Jones  
Executive Director  
American Conservative Union

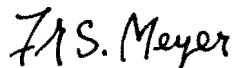


Thomas S. Winter  
Editor  
HUMAN EVENTS



Ronald F. Docksai  
National Chairman  
Young Americans for Freedom

With Deep Concern,



Frank S. Meyer  
Editor  
NATIONAL REVIEW



Allen H. Ryskind  
Capitol Hill Editor  
HUMAN EVENTS



Wayne J. Thorburn  
Executive Director  
Young Americans for Freedom

P.S. The Ashbrook for President Committee plans to announce to the press in a few days how many more conservatives have suspended their support of Richard Nixon. If you will mail your form in today, we'll receive it in time for our next press conference.

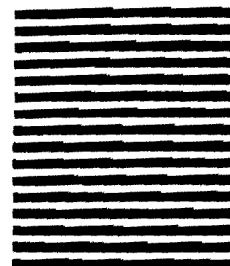
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**Ashbrook For President Committee**  
Room 909-A, 1028 Connecticut Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20036



1-B

## **ASHBROOK FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE**

To: Finance Chairman

I am enclosing my maximum emergency contribution. Please rush it into Congressman Ashbrook's conservative campaign for President in the Republican Primaries against Richard Nixon.

\$1,000 \_\_\_\_\_ \$500 \_\_\_\_\_ \$250 \_\_\_\_\_ \$100 \_\_\_\_\_ \$50 \_\_\_\_\_ \$25 \_\_\_\_\_ \$10 \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

MR CHARLES P VANWAGENEN  
PROF FIN CONSULTANT  
44 VAN DUYNE AVE  
AUBURN NY 12021

Please make your check payable to  
**Ashbrook For President Committee**  
Room 909-A, 1028 Connecticut Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20036

(Please make any necessary changes on the label)

## ***Suspension of Support***

To: President Richard M. Nixon

I am suspending my support of you because you have broken most of the promises you made in 1968.

I cannot support a Republican President who campaigned as a conservative in 1968 and who then, once elected, abandoned his conservative promises and supported and advocated liberal legislation and liberal positions.

\_\_\_\_\_  
signature

*sp2* *This will*  
*hunt*  
*contributions*  
*FES*  
*Ashbrook*  
*for President Committee*

Room 909-A, 1028 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Fellow Conservative:

Have you considered the idea of  
SUSPENDING YOUR SUPPORT OF RICHARD NIXON?

We spent many hours considering this idea. And we made our decision to suspend our support of President Nixon. The purpose of this letter is to suggest that you, also, consider suspending your own support of the President.

We feel this action is necessary because it is apparent to us that Richard Nixon is making an all-out effort to win re-election as a liberal.

Consider the following facts:

1. Nixon has introduced legislation to double the size of the welfare rolls through his revolutionary guaranteed income plan.
2. Nixon has continued the defense policies of Kennedy and Johnson allowing Russia to become the most powerful military country in the world. Nixon has abandoned the concept that America's future safety depends upon military superiority over the Communists. (Our military posture has now deteriorated to the point where seven members of the President's own Blue Ribbon Defense Panel warned that in the 1970's even the very lives of U.S. citizens will not be secure.)
3. Nixon, in a move reminiscent of the pre-World War II days (when we sold steel and other militarily important goods to Germany and Japan) has offered to sell computers, trucks and other vital military goods to Russia--all on credit!
4. In the field of economics, Nixon has said "I am now a Keynesian." The first three budgets planned wholly by the Nixon Administration are expected to show a total deficit of \$70 billion dollars. This is the most outrageous string of deficits in American peacetime history.

We could go on and on, but we think you can begin to see our point.

Nixon has abandoned the vast majority of his 1968 campaign promises. He has turned his back on those conservative principles we all believe in--and upon which he won the 1968 election.

One of those who has suspended his support of Richard Nixon is Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio.

On December 29th, Congressman Ashbrook announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for President.

Congressman Ashbrook has represented the 17th District of Ohio for 11 years and is a past Chairman of the American Conservative Union. In his 11 years in Congress he has received an ACA rating of 98%. He is a highly effective and articulate spokesman for the conservative Republican cause.

Along with many other conservative leaders, we have given him our warmest and most enthusiastic endorsement!

If all of us conservatives band together and stand shoulder to shoulder we can force President Nixon to keep his 1968 promises. IF WE ACT NOW WE CAN STOP THE LEFTWARD PLUNGE OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

But this is one critical time that the job can't be left to others. You must stand up and be counted. The future of the conservative movement, in fact the very survival of our country, may depend on the fight we put up in 1972.

Can we count on you?

If you are concerned and upset about President Nixon's liberal programs and his decision to seek re-election as a liberal, here is what you can do.

(1) Sign the enclosed card stating that you are suspending your support of Richard Nixon. We want you to join with hundreds of thousands of your fellow conservatives who oppose President Nixon's policies.

(2) Give as generous a contribution as possible to the Ashbrook for President Committee today.

The purpose of the Ashbrook candidacy is clear: to win as many votes as possible in the primary states, to gather convention delegates pledged to John Ashbrook and to apply pressure on Nixon to counteract the liberals' influence within the Nixon Administration.

Since his announcement, thousands of messages of support have been received by the Committee from across the U.S. The hope of the conservative movement is riding on John Ashbrook. Alone among conservative leaders, John Ashbrook has had the courage to challenge Richard Nixon in the primaries.

The first Presidential primary is in New Hampshire on March 7, just a few weeks away. The Florida primary follows one week later on March 14.

Since Congressman Ashbrook just decided to run, practically no funds have been raised. The Ashbrook for President Committee desperately needs to receive at least \$175,000 in the next ten days.

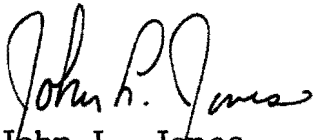
If you will send the Committee a check today it will be deposited within a few hours after we receive it. We will then rush it into the primary campaigns in New Hampshire and Florida.

But today as we're writing to you we can not make any plans involving money beyond the next 7 days. Our present small bank account will be totally exhausted within one week.

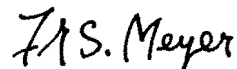
Our need is so great and our cause is so important that we wish you could send us at least \$100.00. But if you can't send \$100.00, please consider sending us as much as \$50.00. Even \$25.00 would be a gift that would be of immense help to us. But whatever amount you feel you can afford, please mail it today.

If you believe in the traditional Republican principles of a balanced Federal budget, opposition to Great Society type social legislation and a policy of military superiority over the Communists, then, please don't delay sending in your maximum contribution by even a few hours.

With Deep Concern,



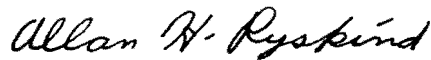
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Allen H. Ryskind  
Capitol Hill Editor  
HUMAN EVENTS



Ronald F. Docksai  
National Chairman  
Young Americans for Freedom



Wayne J. Thorburn  
Executive Director  
Young Americans for Freedom

P.S. The Ashbrook for President Committee plans to announce to the press in a few days how many more conservatives have suspended their support of Richard Nixon. If you will mail your form in today, we'll receive it in time for our next press conference.

**ASHBROOK FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE**

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*How do they get the lists?*

F E SCHLUTER  
111 FAIRWAY DR  
PRINCETON NJ 08540

Please make your check payable to  
**Ashbrook For President Committee**  
Room 909-A, 1028 Connecticut Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20036

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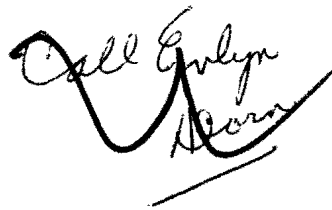
**ALICE CATT ARMSTRONG**  
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

CRESTVIEW 4-2362  
1331 CORDELL PLACE  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90069

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1970

FOR: ROSE WOODS  
FROM: JACK CAULFIELD

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "JC" or "Jack", with a long diagonal line extending from the bottom right.A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Evelyn Horn", with a long diagonal line extending from the bottom right.

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