

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual
collections.

Collection: Deaver, Michael
Folder Title: Blacks-Catholics-Hispanics-
[Jews] (4)
Box: 35

To see more digitized collections
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives

Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

F4I

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1984

*Bill
I want a
meeting*

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK DONATELLI

FROM:

JAMES W. CICCONI *Jim*

SUBJECT:

Luncheon with Catholic Bishops

Since the April 18th luncheon with Catholic Bishops could potentially involve a wide range of subjects, it is probably important that work begin on appropriate briefing materials for the President.

I would suggest that you coordinate with Bob Kimmitt in NSC regarding preparation of briefing material on arms control and other national security/foreign policy issues. Briefing material on domestic policy issues of concern to the Church (such as the homeless) might be coordinated with Jack Svahn. Also, Mike Baroody has offered to be of assistance, and would be a good resource.

In order to avoid having to "cover the waterfront," thereby overburdening the President, an attempt should be made to identify the specific issues of concern to the Church, outline the Church's position (or probable views), and provide brief talking points on the Administration's stance.

Thanks.

cc: ✓ Michael K. Deaver

File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1984

*- V with Pals
- get Times
arrival & Departure
Times on Tues.*

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM

EDWARD V. HICKEY, JR. *E.V.H.*

SUBJECT

Installation of John J. O'Connor
as the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York

I believe you are aware that Archbishop O'Connor and I are personal friends and in that context he called me this afternoon. He wanted us to know that he strongly supports the President and will continue to do so.

He stated that not for personal reasons but for pragmatic reasons he was disappointed that the President will not be attending his installation at St. Patrick's Cathedral on Monday, March 19th.

He pointed out to me the following:

1. President Johnson attended the installation of Cardinal Cooke as the Archbishop of New York.
2. The Archbishop of New York is the military vicar of the Armed Forces and the President is their Commander-in-Chief.
3. In the recent past, the Chairman of ITT paid a courtesy call on the Archbishop and inquired as to whether or not the President would be attending and felt that in not doing so the White House had created a classic political loss.
4. The Archbishop felt that Senator Moynihan and Governor Cuomo would be "basking their glory" before extensive television coverage.
5. The Archbishop indicated that he would address the abortion issue and the war and peace issue in his sermon and both views are parallel to those of the President.

In our long association I have never given you political advice but I know you have relied on my intuitive sense as to when to speak up and give my recommendations. I think we are missing an extremely big one in this and I do not feel that logistical or security implications should preclude the President's attendance if indeed this has surfaced. The message I am getting is really a dubious "why?". I would appreciate your thoughts.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FR*
SUBJECT: Installation of Archbishop O'Connor

I thought you might want to know that Senator Laxalt is pushing for the President to personally attend the Installation of Archbishop O'Connor on Monday. Apparently, the installation of the last two Archbishops were attended by Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Franklin Roosevelt. In addition to missing a good opportunity to reach catholics, he feels that the President will be open for criticism if he does not go.

The current proposal is to have the President represented by Secretary Clark and perhaps Neil Reagan if you concur.

His Excellency
The Most Reverend John J. O'Connor, D. D.
invites you to be present at the
Ceremony of his Installation
as
The Eighth Archbishop of New York
by

His Excellency
The Most Reverend Pio Laghi, D. D.
Apostolic Delegate in the United States
Monday the nineteenth of March
Nineteen hundred and eighty-four
at noon
Saint Patrick's Cathedral
New York City

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File

December 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: NANCY RISQUE *Nancy*

SUBJECT: Church resistance to Social Security taxation

Attached is the paper you forwarded to Ken. Per my conversation with Mike McManus, our guidance is to do nothing at this time.

This issue is supposed to be discussed this week before Dole's Finance Committee. The Administration is not testifying and at this time we do not anticipate taking a public position on Jepsen's bill. Our general comments on this have been that we had to work hard to get the Social Security package, that all of us had to accept some things that we didn't care for, but that were necessary to get the consensus. You should know that non-profits and state and local government employees got caught in this too.

OPD is mindful of the problems and any changes in position would be fully discussed.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO:

K. Dulles

FROM:

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

☐ Information

☒ Action

*In light of these
comments - do you
think we should
publicly support
Jepson's efforts?*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: BILL SITTMAN

THROUGH: Faith Whittlesey *FW*

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: Impending Church Resistance to New Social Security Taxation

At 5:00 p.m. Wednesday, I received your note and attachments relating to the November 28 call of Jim Lockwood to Dave Fischer. Kathy Osborne got information on the issue Monday from Joyce Thomann of my office. Kathy did not give us Lockwood's number or suggest we follow-up.

Per your suggestion, Wednesday I tried to reach Lockwood immediately, but he was out. I will track him down as soon as possible.

The Dr. Little to whom Lockwood refers is Earl Little of the Christian Law Association, a group highly regarded in theologically conservative religious circles. This group specializes in defending religious rights. The Earl Little meeting in Dallas next week, to which Lockwood refers, is not a national meeting, but one of a series of local meetings Little is having to brief church and church school leaders on the new Social Security law.

In mid-October, Mrs. Whittlesey reported by memorandum to Jim Baker on the impending problem, suggesting the Administration back a repealer of the new Social Security taxation as it applies to previously uncovered church employees. At that time, I spoke with Jack Svahn, who said any exemptions might cause a disintegration of the Social Security reform package.

Earlier on Wednesday, eleven leaders of religious school associations and allied religious leaders had a meeting with Roscoe Eggers of the Internal Revenue Service about the problem. Eggers told them he had no choice but to apply the new law.

Here is how the situation now stands:

1. The Social Security taxation of previously uncovered, non-clergy church employees is scheduled to take effect January 1, 1984.
2. Senator Jepsen has proposed a bill which would delay for two years the implementation of taxation of this category of church employees.
3. Senator Dole has promised Senator Jepsen a one-day Senate Finance Committee hearing on his bill in mid-December.
4. Senator Jepsen has a study indicating that, because many churches already voluntarily have their employees in the Social Security system, the financial impact of exempting currently uncovered church employees is less than one-half of one percent of the new revenues expected to be brought in by the Social Security reform.

In my view, there is a serious political danger here. Lockwood's claim is that at least 5,000 pastors will go to jail rather than have their churches pay this new tax. That may be an exaggeration; at any rate, it cannot be proved now. At minimum, though, it is safe to say that across the country many hundreds of churches will refuse to pay. Since those refusing to pay will tend to be in the small employer category, they will fall under Social Security's quarterly payment schedule, and their first payments for many or most would fall due about April 15. Therefore, U.S. legal actions against church leaders would probably commence just when many conservative churches are now expected to be engaging in massive voter registration drives.

The constitutional argument (taxing churches), the biblical argument (taxing God to pay Caesar) and the fiscal argument (taxing already poor religious institutions) are an emotion-packed combination. Very unpleasant, newsworthy confrontations are certain if we don't back away from this tax.

MCB:jet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO MIKE DEEVER

FROM: PAM BAILEY *jaB*
SUBJECT: Strategies re Blacks

Apparently in response to an inquiry from you, Jack Svahn had myself, Nancy Risque, Joe Wright and Lee Verstandig meet with him yesterday to discuss the status of the Administration's policies and communications vis-a-vis blacks. It was the sense of the group that at a minimum we needed a solid inventory of RR accomplishments on behalf of blacks and other minorities. Svahn is putting that together.

In terms of communicating these accomplishments, we agreed on two possible components:

1. A low key, carefully thought out plan to take our message to those blacks who, if better informed, could be part of RR's constituency. To do this we need a review of polling data and an inventory of programs and efforts to date at the RNC, Reagan-Bush, OPL and other White House offices. (Svahn to undertake.)
2. Recognition that improved communications to the general public on how RR's policies have helped minorities can help make the point that RR is sensitive to the needs of all Americans, especially the most vulnerable among us.

It was agreed that we would try to put some material together within the next two weeks.

I'd appreciate any comments or concerns you may have on this.

cc: Mike McManus

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 21, 1983

TO: MIKE DEEVER

FROM: *CRAIG L. FULLER*

☒ FYI

☐ Comment

☐ Action



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
The Assistant Secretary for Economic Development
Washington, D.C. 20230

Beach file

November 16, 1983

Mr. Craig Fuller
Assistant to the President
for Cabinet Affairs
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Fuller:

I am providing you with the enclosed fiscal year 1983 summary report of EDA assistance to the cities with Black mayors, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Black controlled non-profit organizations, and a Black-owned business.

Twenty-two cities represented by Black mayors received approximately \$24 million this past fiscal year. In addition, approximately \$6 million was awarded to Black controlled non-profit organizations. EDA guaranteed ninety percent of a \$2.8 million loan for a Black high technology firm in Virginia.

President Reagan, under Executive Order 12320, recently stated,

... the Black colleges and universities in America have offered Black citizens a variety of opportunities to develop their skills and talents. It is through such diversity that freedom flourishes. And it is through the education they offer that individuals can make themselves into the type of people they choose to be, not what some central planner says they should be...

As part of the President's ongoing commitment to help strengthen the role of HBCUs, he has directed the appropriate Federal agencies to increase their funding levels for these schools.

EDA's financial assistance to HBCUs to establish and retain university centers which offer training to businesses and local government units has increased from \$100,000 in fiscal year 1980 to over \$639,000 in fiscal year 1983. The fiscal year 1983 awards provide grants for nine centers, representing 21 percent of the \$3 million allocated for the university program.

For additional information, please contact Ms. Christy Bakaly at (202) 377-5113.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Carlos C. Campbell", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Carlos C. Campbell
Assistant Secretary
for Economic Development

Enclosure

SUMMARY OF
EDA ASSISTANCE TO BLACKS - FY 1983

- I. Grants to Units of Government (Cities and/or Counties) which are Represented by Black elected officials and to Black Controlled Non-Profit Organizations

<u>Program</u>	<u>Total EDA Monies</u>	<u>Percent of Program Allocation</u>
<u>Public Works, Title I</u>	8,103,000	6.3
<u>Jobs Act</u>	12,781,681	12.8
<u>Title IX-LTED/RLF</u>	4,125,000	2.8
<u>Title IX-SSed</u>	1,437,500	7.6
<u>Technical Assistance</u>	2,502,876	31
<u>Planning</u>	<u>680,876</u>	<u>3.2</u>
GRAND TOTAL	29,630,612	10%

- I. Loan Guarantee to Black Firm

<u>EDA Monies</u>	<u>Percent of Program Approvals</u>
90% of \$2,800,000	15.7

I. Grants to Black Controlled Non-profit Organizations

<u>Program</u>	<u>Applicant</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>EDA Monies</u>
<u>Public Works</u> <u>Title I</u>	Hub-City Urban Development	CA	\$370,000
<u>Jobs Act</u>	Madame Walker Urban Life Center, Inc.	IN	208,000
	Harlem Commonwealth Council, Inc.	NY	600,000
	East Ninth Street Community Development Corporation	TN	208,317
<u>Title IX</u> <u>LTED/RLF</u>	Southeast Alabama Self-Help Organization	AL	250,000
	Tennessee Valley Center for Minority Econ. Dev.	TN	375,000
<u>Technical Assistance</u>	Economic Resources Corp.	CA	25,000
	Las Vegas O.I.C.	NV	35,000
	Green County Industrial & Econ. Dev. Board	AL	50,000
	National Conference of Black Mayors (2 grants)	GA	225,000
	Institute for American Business	DC	395,000
	Carribeana Council	DC	375,000
	AAMESBIC	DC	175,000
	National Urban Coalition	DC	150,000
	Institute for Urban and Human Development	CA	148,855
	Peoples Involvement Corp.	DC	20,000
	HBCU-Prentiss Normal & Industrial Institute	MS	97,195

Technical Assistance
(continued)

HBCU-Meharry Medical College	TN	67,395
HBCU-Atlanta University*	GA	209,100
HBCU-Coppin State*	MD	100,000
HBCU-St. Augustine's*	NC	25,000
HBCU-Texas Southern*	TX	100,000
HBCU-Hampton Institute*	VA	125,000
HBCU-Benedict College*	SC	80,000
GRAND TOTAL		<u>\$5,920,372</u>

*University Centers - \$639,100

<u>Planning</u>	Las Vegas O.I.C.	NV	70,000
<u>Title IX</u>	MACE	MS	800,000
<u>SSD</u>	Operation Second Chance	CA	637,500

II. Grants to Units of Government (Cities and/or Counties)
Which are Represented by Black Elected Officials (Mayors)

<u>Applicant</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Mayor</u>	<u>EDA Monies</u>
<u>Public Works-Title I</u>			
Pritchard	AL	John Smith	\$ 500,000
Whitehall	AL	John Jackson	280,000
Gretna	FL	Ernest O. Barkley, Jr.	192,000
Toccoa	GA	James Neal	1,163,000
Compton	CA	Lionel Cade	370,000
Oakland	CA	Lionel Wilson	366,000
Inglewood	CA	Edwin Vincent	500,000
Pontiac	MI	Wallace E. Holland	1,100,000
Detroit	MI	Coleman A Young	856,000
North Chicago	IL	Bobby Thompson	436,000
New Orleans	LA	Ernest N. Morial	2,340,000

Jobs Act

Forkland	AL	Jim Isaac	257,600
Los Angeles (3 projects)	CA	Thomas Bradley	2,166,000
Compton	CA	Lionel Cade	812,000
Oakland	CA	Lionel Wilson	920,000
District of Columbia	DC	Marion Barry	1,000,000
East St. Louis	IL	Carl E. Officer	925,000
Chicago	IL	Harold Washington	2,000,000
Detroit (2 projects)	MI	Coleman A. Young	1,980,000
Pontiac	MI	Wallace E. Holland	346,000
Ypsilanti	MI	Geroge B. Goodman	356,000
Camden	NJ	Melvin Primas	1,000,000

Title IX-LTED/RLF

Compton	CA	Lionel Cade	500,000
Los Angeles	CA	Thomas Bradley	500,000
Pontiac	MI	Wallace e. Holland	1,000,000
New Orleans	LA	Ernest N. Morial	1,000,000
Camden	NJ	Melvin Primas	500,000

Technical Assistance

Los Angeles (Olympic Procurement and Assistance Program)	CA	Thomas Bradley	100,000
--	----	----------------	---------

Planning

Atlanta	GA	Andrew Young	74,040
Birmingham	AL	Richard Arrington	39,488
Chicago	IL	Harold Washington	100,000
District of Columbia	DC	Marion Barry	54,296
East St. Louis	IL	Carl E. Officer	37,020
Hartford	CT	Thirman Milner	61,700
Los Angeles	CA	Thomas Bradley	133,272
Newark	NJ	Kenneth Gibson	37,020
Oakland	CA	Lionel Wilson	37,020
Pontiac	MI	Wallace E. Holland	37,020

GRAND TOTAL \$23,709,240

III. Loan Guarantee to Black Firm

<u>Applicant</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>EDA Monies</u>
Systems Management America, Inc.	VA	90% of 2,800,000

Bill
Per your request.
Jim 11/1

Outreach
my
✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III ✓
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: Jim Cicconi *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: Black Strategy

Attached are suggestions for a possible black strategy which expand on ideas previously set forth. Though some of the points should be given more immediate attention, the majority are intended for consideration by the Outreach Strategy Group when this subject is discussed.

The suggestions are divided into three types: immediate actions (month of July) to begin altering perceptions; civil rights oriented actions (August-September) to better explain our policies and record; and general "sensitivity" actions (July-October) to demonstrate the President's personal commitment to civil rights and his sensitivity to black concerns.

cc: Ed Rollins
Lee Atwater
Dave Gergen

A. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION (July)

1. 4th of July: The President could deliver a radio talk tying equal rights in with the general theme of patriotism, and stressing his personal commitment to such values.
2. Fair Housing Bill: This is ready for transmission to Congress, and may be one of our few opportunities to introduce significant civil rights legislation. We could mention in the above talk that the bill will soon be forwarded. The bill could then be sent up when Congress returns, with the President reading a statement in the press room accompanied by Secretary Pierce and the Attorney General. Testimony on the Hill would be personally presented by Secretary Pierce and the Attorney General.
3. Executive Order on Minority Business: This will be ready for signature after quick circulation and clearance. A small event could be set up at which the President would sign both the order and a memorandum to appropriate federal agencies emphasizing the Administration's commitment. This could be done between July 14 and 19.
4. Apartheid: We should seek an opportunity sometime in July for the President to personally restate that South Africa's apartheid system is "morally wrong" and that Administration policy seeks to encourage "a basic shift away from apartheid." Such remarks were delivered recently in a speech by Undersecretary of State Eagleburger; reiteration by the President in an appropriate forum would underscore the message to black Americans and others.
5. Black Leadership Report: A report was recently prepared by a group of black leaders under the auspices of the Joint Center for Political Studies (a summary paper prepared by OPD is attached). A close reading of their report, "A Policy Framework for Racial Justice," indicates that, apart from the expected rhetorical jabs and certain disagreements on economic policy, there are areas of clear agreement. Among these are the need to strengthen the black family, job training, work incentives, an emphasis on education (especially an assault on illiteracy), and the importance of private sector and community involvement. If the report is viewed as an attempt to find common ground, it may give us a basis for dialogue with the more responsible black leadership. The report might even be used in a way similar to our use of the educational excellence report, ignoring points of disagreement and focusing on its general thrust.

The report itself should be analyzed for areas of policy agreement. A preliminary meeting should then be held between WH staff and certain of those persons who prepared the report in order to gauge the likely response to Administration statements. If signals are positive, the President could then meet and discuss the report with a more expanded group, and could eventually use it as a basis for public comments.

6. Reynolds' Mississippi Trip: The President could begin citing Brad Reynolds' trip to Mississippi, and subsequent actions, as solid evidence of the Administration's commitment to enforce civil rights laws. While the trip itself caused political problems within the state, on a national level it provides us with a good rebuttal to accusations of lax enforcement.

B. CIVIL RIGHTS ORIENTED ACTIONS (August-September)

1. Coordination with Justice Department: The White House Communications Office has begun an effort to more closely coordinate with DOJ a public affairs strategy on civil rights. This process should become more formal, with the White House serving as the focal point for an Administration-wide effort.
2. Civil Rights Policy Document: The White House should work with Justice to produce a document that sets forth in all major areas of civil rights the Administration's policy, record of accomplishment, comparisons with the records of previous administrations, and future plans (in general terms). It should also cite specific examples, especially in the enforcement area. The document would spell out those policies we support (such as affirmative action), along with those we oppose and why (quotas and busing). This document would serve as the basis for our public education efforts on the Administration's civil rights policies and record; it should be assembled in a way appropriate for general release.
3. Briefing for Administration Officials: A half-day briefing could be set up in the EOB for key Administration officials, including those in charge of public affairs, enforcement or implementation of civil rights laws, EEO, and legislative affairs. During the briefing, White House and appropriate agency officials will seek to clarify the Administration's policies and record on civil rights. The document mentioned above would serve as the basis for the briefing, and copies would be made available. The President could drop-by the briefing for some personal comments on the subject.
4. Briefing for Editorial Writers and Columnists: This would be similar to the briefing for Administration officials. It would, however, be the first effort to make our case in a detailed way to opinion leaders, and thus to the general public.
5. Radio Talk on Civil Rights Enforcement: The President would deliver a radio speech on the Administration's civil rights record following the above briefings. This should take place before August 30--a march on Washington is scheduled for that day in commemoration of Martin Luther King's march in 1963.
6. Speeches by the Attorney General: Concurrent with the beginning of White House briefings on civil rights, the Attorney General should initiate a major speaking tour on the subject.

B. Civil Rights Oriented Actions (August-September)
Page 2

7. Presidential Speech: At some point in September, the President should consider delivering a major speech on civil rights. This should not be televised.

C. "SENSITIVITY" ACTIONS (July-October)

1. Identify Black Leaders: We should undertake to identify those black leaders with whom we can work (probably employing a subjective standard of "reasonableness"). This group might, for example, include Ben Hooks, John Jacob, and William Raspberry; it might exclude Jesse Jackson and Mary Frances Berry. Once identified, we should seek to regularly include such leaders in White House events, meetings, etc. A high-level member of the Administration (such as the Vice President) should be asked to develop and maintain a communication channel with certain of these people. The aim is not only to enhance communications in both directions, but to encourage moderation.
2. Pendleton and Thomas: We should consider elevating Clarence Pendleton and Clarence Thomas as spokesmen for Administration policies on civil rights. Meetings with the President and inclusion in specific White House events (such as the signing of the executive order on Minority Business) would help in enhancing their stature.
3. Private Lunches or Dinners: The Attorney General and Ed Schmults may want to initiate a series of private lunches with more moderate civil rights leaders (individually, not in groups). Though there will clearly be disagreements, the appearance of willingness to listen and to seek common ground is the main objective. Any personal rapport that develops will be a bonus. The Vice President might do something similar. If such private contacts prove helpful (or at least not harmful), the President might consider hosting similar private lunches or dinners to discuss the state of civil rights in America..
4. Ongoing Publicity at DOJ: The Justice Department should focus more attention on individual civil rights enforcement actions as they occur.
5. Appointments: The appointment of more blacks by the Administration should be pursued on four separate fronts:
 - a. Sub-Cabinet: A small pool of blacks should be pinpointed for high level/high profile Administration jobs as they occur.
 - b. Judgeships: We must increase the number of blacks appointed to federal judgeships and, in particular, should concentrate on naming a black to a Circuit Court.

C. "Sensitivity" Actions (July-October)

Page 2

- c. Justice Department: There are, at present, no blacks in high level positions at DOJ. This must be changed. One suggestion is to appoint a black Special Assistant to the Attorney General, who could be asked to serve as a sort of ombudsman for black concerns.
 - d. Advisory Boards and Commissions: Last year Political Affairs suggested that we pinpoint 25 congressional districts with significant black population, and then appoint two blacks from each of those districts to federal advisory boards or commissions (including the numerous departmental advisory committees). We should revive this suggestion.
- 6. Presidential Memo on Affirmative Action: The President could send a memo to all federal agencies emphasizing the importance of continuing to pursue equal opportunity objectives in hiring (goals, not quotas). This would serve to allay what Mel Bradley describes as the fear that we are out to dismantle even non-preferential affirmative action programs.
 - 7. Black Media: The Office of Media Liaison should expand its efforts to establish and effectively utilize a relationship with the black media. Black publications should, for example, receive a steady stream of facts on our civil rights record, especially specific enforcement actions as they are filed; they should also be made aware of black appointments as they occur.
 - 8. OFCCP Regulations: As Mel Bradley suggests, we should review the proposed revisions in OFCCP regulations to decide whether it might be preferable to put aside such changes. The proposals have been portrayed as weakening seriously affirmative action requirements for federal contractors.
 - 9. Black Elected Officials: The President might host a reception for blacks elected to state and local office within the past two years.
 - 10. Scheduling: The Scheduling Office could pinpoint events which allow the President to appear with blacks, and which allow him to be associated with equal rights/civil rights causes. We might productively concentrate initial efforts on education, stressing its particular importance to blacks, and citing the report of the Joint Center for Political Studies.
 - 11. Policy Initiatives: OPD could undertake to identify possible policy initiatives on civil rights, or initiatives which focus particularly on black concerns like education.

Black Leaders Urge Shift in Civil Rights Effort

A group of black leaders and scholars have urged that the civil rights movement alter its strategy and tackle issues that are not necessarily associated with racial discrimination. Their recommendations were recently published in a document entitled "A Policy Framework for Racial Justice."

The report argues that the current problems facing black Americans are deeper and more complex than they appeared to be in the 1960s. Persistent unemployment and underemployment, the difficulties of single-parent black families, and the lack of adequate education are the focus of this report.

The thirty prominent black leaders reached consensus on several conclusions:

- o Full employment at a decent wage level is vital to provide an adequate standard of living and to strengthen work incentives.
- o There is a crisis for the black family, with a precipitous growth in poor female-headed households. The majority of black babies are born to single mothers.
- o Reinforcing the family constitutes the single most important action the nation can take toward eliminating black poverty and related social problems.
- o Public assistance programs need to be redesigned to assist rather than undermine the family structure.
- o Education of black Americans needs to be strengthened, as the key vehicle for upward mobility. This includes holding schools accountable for the achievement level of students, and giving special attention to the problem of functional illiteracy among adults.

Contrary to the pattern of previous comments from black leaders, this report does not have as its central focus a call for large increases in Federal assistance. Many black leaders are increasingly persuaded that Federal programs are not necessarily the answer to their problems.

Much in the report is consistent with several themes of the Administration. It looks to a revitalized economy to bring about full employment; it supports strengthening the family as the essential fundamental unit of society; and it emphasizes the importance of improving education by action to meeting the needs of many black Americans at the local level.