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Black
F.D.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1983

Bul
pls follow up
on addendum
memo will
discussed

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM:

Jim Cicconi *me*

SUBJECT:

Comments on Mel Bradley's Memo

Regarding Mel Bradley's suggestions for improving our standing with Black Americans, the short answer to your question is that virtually all could be implemented without any serious dislocations in Administration policy. However, I feel they would have little or no effect on our standing among Blacks. Instead, we need to focus on a more realistic assessment of our position and goals, and then do much more than Mel has suggested.

I will try to cover "position and goals" in our discussion. As for going beyond Mel's suggestions, I would offer the following, in rough sequential order:

1. Coordinate an effort between WH and Justice to explain our policies, and to more clearly demonstrate our sensitivity. (Mike Baroody and I have already begun talks toward this end, though a great deal remains to be done.) *De*
2. Compile a report or briefing book on civil rights, fully explaining the Administration's philosophy, policies, and actions, along with supporting data. This would provide the basis for speeches and remarks, though it should not be viewed as an end in itself. (Work has begun on this.) *FE*
3. Certain "stage-setting" actions should be taken to show, insofar as possible, that we are willing to listen and intend to reach out to blacks. Failing some successful efforts in this area, our message would fall on deaf ears. Some suggestions have been conveyed to Justice; among them are a series of private lunches between the AG, *— D —* Schmults, and specific civil rights leaders, and the naming of a black Special Assistant to the AG who would *— D —* serve as a type of ombudsman for black concerns.
4. Devise an event to highlight introduction of our Fair Housing legislation. It need not be elaborate, and might consist of the President reading a statement in the press room, with the AG and Pierce present to handle questions afterward. *me*

- Shovel*
5. Set up an EOB briefing for Administration public affairs officers, black appointees, agency EEO officials, etc. in which various WH and departmental officials would explain our policies on civil rights, our goals, and our record. The President would do a drop-by.
 6. A series of briefings for selected reporters and columnists, especially from local media, could be set up to influence local opinion leaders regarding our civil rights stance and record.
 7. The Attorney General would begin a program of media events and speeches on civil rights.
 8. The President could deliver a speech on civil rights (not a televised speech, though one that would draw significant coverage). *WA 6A*

Other ideas can be developed: the above is only a game plan. It is important to remember, though, that we are dealing with perceptions that have become deeply ingrained; they cannot be altered by facts alone. Also, we must remember that civil rights as an issue affects Hispanics as well as Blacks-- our efforts must include both groups.

cc: James A. Baker, III
Bill Sittmann

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 31, 1983

Bill
discuss with
Jim [unclear] and
give me a paper
on these
recommendations

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: MEL BRADLEY *mb*
SUBJECT: Alienation of Black Americans

Per your suggestion of May 17, I have attached a listing which outlines the major developments occurring over the past two years that have led to the current environment. The comments are drawn from the Black perspective. They are based on my own observations and those of Black Americans including those who supported the election of the President. The second document outlines some opportunities for action to create a more positive environment. The sole purpose of the document is to indicate how we've gotten into this predicament and to suggest some immediate steps toward a strategy of reconciliation. It goes without saying that in my view, we can legitimately pursue such a strategy within the framework of the fundamental principles for which the President stands.

Attachment

PAST ISSUES AND EVENTS

Issue or Event

Comments

Voting Rights Act Extension

The impression is that our initial opposition to the amended Act was unjustified. By all accounts the newly strengthened legislation is working fine without the problems anticipated by those who opposed it.

Busing

The majority of Black Americans are not favorably disposed toward busing. Instead of taking advantage of this sentiment we have allowed ourselves to become identified with those who appear to be opposed to racial desegregation.

Tax Exemptions for Segregated Private Schools (Bob Jones)

To a great many persons this unfortunate incident left us with an image of turning back the clock on civil rights progress and of being tolerant of racial discrimination.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Title VI prohibits discrimination in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance. Interpretations limiting the coverage of the statute are leaving Blacks with the impression that the Administration considers laws which forbid discrimination a greater evil than racial discrimination itself.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Title VII which is enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, sex and national origin. EEOC's rather solid accomplishments under this Administration are being overshadowed by emphasis from other Administrations sources on the protection of white Americans from employment quotas -- a phenomenon which by objective accounts is negligible in scope.

Affirmative Action Programs

The fear of Blacks is that, contrary to public assurances by the President, the Justice Department intends to dismantle legitimate, nonquota, nonpreferential affirmative action programs under the guise of eliminating quotas. This view is also shared by women's groups, major employers and Labor Department officials, all of whom support the existing concept.

Regulations Governing Affirmative Action by Federal Contractors

Under Executive Order 11246, firms who profit from federal tax dollars have a special obligation with respect to equal employment opportunity. They must take affirmative action to identify and eliminate any remaining vestiges of discrimination in their workforce. OFCCP, a unit in the Department of Labor which administers this program, announced for public comment proposed regulatory changes which according to most commentators (both Black and White) would seriously weaken this special obligation.

Equal Opportunity in the Federal Government

There is a great deal of evidence that our image on civil rights has given federal administrators the impression that they need no longer pursue federal equal opportunity objectives with diligence.

Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice

The combination of a great many speeches and several court actions have led many Blacks to question whether the Federal Government now leans more toward the side of the perpetrators of discrimination than the victims of racial injustice.

Policy Regarding Refugees and Illegal Immigrants

The treatment of the Haitians left many with the impression of unequal treatment based upon race. The fact that the courts overturned the detention aspects of this treatment gave credence to this impression.

Personnel Appointments

The impression is that we have not made a significant number of Black appointments. Some agencies or areas stand out more than others -- Labor, Treasury, State Department, Justice, judgeships, ambassadors, etc.

Black Press

We have failed to make use of the Black press to counter the tendency of the general media to concentrate on the negatives insofar as Black interests are concerned. The result is that Blacks generally are not fully apprised of many of our positive initiatives.

OPPORTUNITIES

Issue or Event	Comments
Affirmative Action Programs	Consider a Presidential reaffirmation of the existing policy commitment to current affirmative action program standards which contain employment goals and discourage quotas.
Regulations Governing Affirmative Action by Federal Contractors	State publicly that the proposed regulations will not go into effect.
Executive Order on Minority Business	This executive order, which is now being drafted, should be accompanied by a communication to SBA and the federal contracting agencies reflecting the seriousness of the President's commitment to minority business development and the success of the section 8(a) program.
Direction to Federal Program Managers and Officials	The President might wish to direct federal agency heads to reaffirm to the program managers and officials the strength of the President's commitment to the principles of equal opportunity and fairness, and to take action to ensure that his commitment is reflected in the action's of the federal establishment.
Program of Presidential Contacts with Black Americans	Coordinate activities involving Blacks. Ed Harper's memo of February 7, 1983 which includes other measures for addressing the polarization between Blacks and the Administration.
Black Political Appointments	Take advantage of new appointment possibilities in federal agencies, for judgeships, and on boards and commissions.
White House Communications	Appoint a Black to White House Communications with responsibilities for outreach to the Black press as well as general press duties.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER III
EDWIN MEESE III

FROM: EDWIN L. HARPER 
SUBJECT: Black Outreach Activities

The purpose of this memorandum is to request your approval to proceed with the plans Mel Bradley has developed for Black Outreach activities.

At Tab A you will find the memorandum responding to your request that Mel become more active in this area. The most important item in that memorandum is a White House slot. This is essential to his performing the task we have asked him to undertake in representing the President.

At Tab B is a copy of Mel's proposal which essentially calls for increased contact between the President and Black Americans at major White House events to increase the awareness that the President associates with Blacks and takes them into account in his thinking about issues. The proposal includes the names of 70 Black leaders that the President could involve in one way or another in White House meetings and events. Most, but not all, are friends and supporters. Careful planning needs to be given as to how these individuals should be involved.

To insure that planning takes place Mel should be on the regular distribution for the President's long range schedule. This will enable Mel to suggest the inclusion of specific individuals in upcoming events in sufficient time for them to be properly considered and invited. It will also give him an opportunity to suggest additional events.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That Mel Bradley be allocated a White House slot.
2. That Mel Bradley regularly receive the President's long range schedule.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file here

February 16, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: MAMIE McDONOUGH 

SUBJECT: MINORITY PROGRAM

You asked Joe to comment on the Minority Communities Program memo from Steve Rhodes. He in turn asked Dick Parsons to evaluate the ideas. Dick, as I think you must know, is Joe's attorney as well as a former Deputy Director of the Domestic Council, under Jim Cannon.

Attached is Dick's analysis.

Please let me know if you would like me to do further follow-up regarding the attached.

Thanks

MEMORANDUM

TO: Michael K. Deaver
FROM: Joseph W. Canzeri
RE: Program for the Minority Communities

You asked that I review the attached memorandum from Steve Rhodes, highlight the main points and give you my recommendations.

Essentially, the Rhodes' memorandum makes five recommendations the implementation of which, it is argued, would help significantly to improve the President's standing in the minority community. These recommendations are:

1. To compile a list of the specific actions which the Administration has taken during the past year in the area of civil rights and equal opportunity.
2. To require "impact" statements regarding the ways in which changes in federal policy will effect civil rights and equal opportunity.
3. To launch a national public education effort regarding civil rights and equal opportunity.
4. To enhance current efforts to include minority business people in the Administration's economic recovery program.
5. To issue a Presidential Executive Order on civil rights and equal opportunity, consolidating civil rights policy development in the Executive Office of the President.

While the theme of this memorandum is "motherhood and apple pie," the specific recommendations are, in my judgment, either too vague or likely to do more harm than

good. For example, while recommendation number 2 might have the positive effect of making various policy makers more aware of the impact of their decisions on minorities, it could also serve to highlight for foes of the Administration the inevitable negative impact of any number of otherwise desirable policy shifts. Recommendations 3 and 4, while generally laudatory in spirit, speak more to the underlying problem than to their solutions. Recommendation 5 would have the effect of placing all civil rights policy development and coordination in the White House -- the dangers here are self-evident.

Accordingly, with the possible exception of the first recommendation (compiling a list of those actions which the Administration has taken to further civil rights and equal opportunity), I am not enthusiastic about Mr. Rhodes' suggestions. Clearly, however, it would be timely and politically a plus if the President could do something to offset some of the negative coverage we have been getting in this area. If you feel it would be helpful, I would be glad to pull together a small group who could give you some further thoughts on this matter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1982

*Feel
also highlight
points & give
me a
comment*

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM:

STEVE RHODES *Steve*

SUBJECT:

PROGRAM FOR THE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Attached is a proposal that I feel will have significant impact to offset many of the unfounded concerns by the minority communities towards the President.

Although this may seem like alot to ask, I think it is important and extremely timely. The President has been given an unfair stereotype and I think that if we proceed quickly with some of the ideas covered herein, we could nullify some of the outward criticism.

I would be more than happy to discuss the particulars of this at your convenience.

Attachment

CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Problem

Actions by diverse parts of the Administration have led to charges that the President is against civil rights for minorities. The claim is made that the Reagan Administration is attempting to reverse the civil rights and equal opportunity gains of the past generation. Frequently, issues related to the problems of poor people and of minority groups are improperly viewed as identical.

A number of highly visible administrative actions which have been the basis for these charges are:

- the recent action by the Departments of Justice and Treasury on tax exemption for schools which practice segregation.
- changes in affirmative action hiring policies by the Department of Labor.
- appointments of top officials at civil rights agencies such as the Civil Rights Commission and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
- policy formulation and action on Voting Rights and Fair Housing Legislation by Departments of Justice and Housing and Urban Development.
- changes in Executive Branch posture in the courts on issues such as busing for school desegregation, and voluntary affirmative action plans for employment of minorities.
- legislative and budget proposals which reduce federal spending for poor people.

The fact that these actions and others are aimed at establishing an appropriate and more effective role for the federal government in ensuring the civil rights of all citizens has not been adequately recognized. The President's strong personal commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity has not been clearly manifested in the public consciousness. It is apparent that from polls and concerns expressed by Republican members of Congress that the public reaction to the Administration's actions in the field of civil rights is not positive. It is evident that in some cases a more effective process could have been followed and different actions might have been desirable.

A series of specific actions during the next few months could establish a public posture on civil rights and equal opportunity, which is consistent with the President's strong commitments in these areas, with the policies of the administration, and with commitments made to the public during the presidential campaign.

These actions should not be of a defensive nature, but should reflect positive actions to carry out the mandates President Reagan obtained from the electorate.

Educating the General Public

The President and senior Administration officials have an important role to play in spelling out with clarity the Administration's commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity. It is especially important that special efforts be made to communicate with minority communities as an important part of the public. Too often the close identification of minority concerns as being limited to the concerns of poor people has resulted in bad policy and administrative action. A major education effort about minority group issues, based on adequate information about their social and economic characteristics, their geographical location, their roles in the labor force and in business activities, has often been lacking. It is also important to recognize the fact that many minority people have values which are quite consistent with the basic ideals on which our society operates. However, it is essential that the general public be sensitive to the special needs and circumstances and historical perspectives of minority groups in our society. An essential ingredient of this information and education effort must be a sensitivity to the special issues which confront different minority groups, while recognizing the significant commonality of values and interests between minority groups and the rest of society.

An example of the difficulty in public discourse about minority issues is the discussion about affirmative action. For some, affirmative action is a means of hiring incompetent people in order to meet a statistical standard of performance. A number of major corporations, however, have adopted affirmative action programs and now believe that they are an integral part of a sound personnel policy and program. By having a good understanding of the local labor market, and ensuring that recruitment efforts address the various elements of the varied subcomponents of the labor market, including minority group members, they have been able to improve the overall quality of their personnel. Generally, by ensuring that any past discriminatory practices are eliminated, competent people who might otherwise not have been given promotions have been identified and have successfully assumed positions of greater responsibility. Goals and time-tables in these firms are used as guides to measure performance, just as other goals and timetables regarding sales, profits or reductions in costs are used. The polarization in the discussion about affirmative action has resulted from the parties on different sides of the argument selecting examples which suit their purposes. There is a definite role for senior officials in the Administration to facilitate public education and understanding about effective ways of ensuring equality of opportunity in employment, housing and other areas.

A major objective of educating the general public should be to ensure understanding that the administration will enforce existing laws in the most effective and efficient manner possible. The Department of Justice and other civil rights enforcement agencies should be asked to compile examples of actions taken during the past year for use in the public education effort. It is important to underscore the differences between changes in regulations or legislation which are designed to make more efficient the enforcement and implementation of civil rights and equal opportunity law, and efforts to change or alter policy. Many of the regulatory and budgetary changes initiated by the Administration are not designed to undermine the basic purposes, but are an effort to improve the efficiency and effectiveness with which government achieves goals and legislative objectives which have been established by legislation or judicial action. A consistent theme of the public education effort should be a distinction between policy changes and administrative prudence. *The President should require all Federal departments and agencies to make an explicit statement about whether any proposed changes in civil rights or equal opportunity law is a change in policy or an effort to implement existing policy more efficiently or effectively.

The Economic Recovery Program and Equality of Opportunity

Presidential leadership to bring about close collaboration between minority businessmen and other business leaders in making the economic recovery program happen and sharing in the benefits could be an important element in establishing the Administration's public posture on civil rights and equal opportunity. There are a series of minority group organizations similar in purpose to organizations which serve the business community generally. For example, the National Bankers Association is made up primarily of minority banks, while the American Bankers Association represents all banking institutions. A similar duality exists with savings and loans, real estate, small business investment companies, and in numerous other business and professional areas.

The minority organizations and their members possess special knowledge about minority markets, which are large and growing, and how they are best served in a profitable fashion. They also have familiarity with past or current practices which may pose, or are perceived to pose, special inhibitions on successful business activities. There is a mutuality of interest between the business community generally and methods and techniques for serving, in a profitable fashion, minority markets. Overcoming the non-economic barriers to profitable activity and closer collaboration between minority business firms and the rest of the economy, could be an effective means of enhancing the economic recovery effort. Now is the time to begin building the links between minority business and around methods for exploiting the benefits of the new tax legislation, the deregulation efforts, and other

*This statement should be cleared through the White House before its release.

and other initiatives designed to improve the economy. The Administration could provide the leadership in bringing these groups together and making the economic recovery program work in ways which are profitable to all businesses. This, although an indirect approach to equal opportunity, is potentially highly effective. If people in the minority communities see signs of progress, we can reduce the amount of open criticism.

New Machinery

A Presidential Executive Order on Civil Rights and Equal Opportunity should be promulgated in order to provide some centralized oversight of the diverse civil rights and equal opportunity activities of the Administration. Responsibility for those activities should be lodged in the Executive Office of the President. The Vice President might be given the oversight responsibility or it might be assigned to one of the appropriate divisions in the White House. The executive order would deal with responsibility for monitoring, coordinating, and recommending the timing of administrative and legislative activities which relate to civil rights and equal opportunity. The overall purpose of the executive order would be to assist the President ensure effective and efficient implementation of existing laws, and provide a clearinghouse for the review of proposals for changes in existing laws, regulations and administration policies on civil rights and equal opportunity.

During the past twenty years, only fledgling efforts have been made to bring order into the diffuse civil rights and equal opportunity activities spread throughout the federal government. Experience with placing this responsibility in a cabinet, department, or operating agency has not been good. The Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, have at various times, been given the responsibility for civil rights coordination. For a brief period there was a Council on Equal Opportunity which lasted for about 6 months. These previous efforts at coordination have also involved, at times, a White House staff person having some limited oversight responsibility. However, and most importantly, none of these previous approaches has attempted to link civil rights and equal opportunity activities.

Action

The following summarizes the proposed action steps.

(1) Compile documentation of specific actions during the past year which are effective civil rights and equal opportunity actions by the Administration.

(2) Require an explicit statement about the effect of changes in policy or administration on civil rights and equal opportunity.

(3) Launch a well-designed national public education effort, with a special emphasis on minorities, on civil rights and equal opportunity.

(4) Initiate a collaborative process involving minority business people and other business leaders in a concerted joint effort to make the economic recovery program work.

(5) After (1) and (2) have been completed and (3) is underway, issue a Presidential Executive Order on Civil Rights and Equal Opportunity.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM JAMES S. ROSEBUSH *JSR*

SUBJECT BLACK ADVISOR

In our discussion yesterday I mentioned that I thought Art Fletcher could be enormously helpful to us on this subject.

He is out there pitching for us with Black groups everyday. And what's more he is successful with his explanation of Reaganomics.

He has an idea about bringing Black ministers (the best way to reach the Black grass roots) into the Oval Office.

You said you would like to spend fifteen minutes with him. Please ask Shirley to arrange a time and let me know. I will arrange it.

Shirley: a time and day this week

O/K MD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File

May 5, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
THROUGH: RICHARD S. WILLIAMSON
FROM: J. STEVEN RHODES *Steve*
SUBJECT: NATIONAL URBAN COALITION

decline

The National Urban Coalition has requested that you serve as a Vice Chair for their Fifteenth Anniversary "Salute to the Cities" Dinner, to be held on Thursday, May 13, 1982 at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

I recommend that you decline this invitation. The National Urban Coalition has not been supportive of the Administration. Mr. M. Carl Holman, President of the Coalition, has in fact been responsible for organizing Mayors and their community based organizations to emphasize the adverse effects of the Administration's budget cuts.

*asked
Steve R.
to decline
5-7-82*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 29, 1982

*put in
Black folder*

MEMORANDUM TO EDWIN MEESE, JAMES BAKER, MICHAEL DEEVER
THROUGH: RICHARD S. WILLIAMSON *Rich*
FROM: J. STEVEN RHODES *Steve*
SUBJECT: NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK MAYORS

On October 20, Mayor Johnny Ford was interviewed by Diane Sawyer of CBS MORNING. The mayor gave an insightful look at the goals of not only the National Conference of Black Mayors, but of the struggles facing all mayors throughout the United States.

I thought the interview was so positive and constructive that you might want to have a copy for your information.

This interview is a far cry from what we would have seen and heard if Dick Hatcher had still been president of the organization. Mayor Ford has worked closely with us, and while representing the views of many of the mayors and the black community, he has still been able to maintain a constructive positive dialogue with us.

cc: Edward Rollins
Edwin Harper
Elizabeth Dole

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

INTERVIEW OF MAYOR JOHNNY FORD
OF TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA
BY
DIANE SAWYER
OF CBS MORNING

October 20, 1982

MS. SAWYER: I am sure you have read about how the recession falls with extra weight on black Americans. Unemployment statistics tell that story. The current figure for blacks is almost double the national average. And among black teenagers, almost one in two has no job.

Furthermore, black leaders say federal cuts are the sharpest in social programs that black people depend on the most. Some examples of those: Welfare, where more than 40 percent of the beneficiaries are black; Public Housing; education for the disadvantaged; and Food Stamps, where blacks make up about one beneficiary in three.

Yet, President Reagan says that blacks will, in the end, be better off under his administration when he gets the economy under control.

These are things we are going to talk about this morning with Johnny Ford of Tuskegee, Alabama who is Chairman of the National Conference of Black Mayors, which is meeting this week in Washington.

Mayor Ford, thank you so much for joining us.

MAYOR FORD: Good morning, and thank you so very much.

MS. SAWYER: Let me ask you right away why do black Mayors meet? It sounds to me like a special interest kind of mayoring.

MAYOR FORD: Well, the point of it is Mayors in this country are faced with problems, be they black or white. But those of us who are black are so new at the business of being Mayors. Therefore, we need an organization where we can have one voice dealing with the problems facing our cities. And, therefore, we organized this organization back in 1972. And today, we represent 212 black Mayors -- men and women who are serving American cities, who are concerned about the problems caused by the recession, the concern of unemployment, for housing, the stagnation in terms of people who want to work, but cannot work.

And so we are grappling with the problems of trying to solve the problems in our cities, yet not have to pass on

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MAYOR FORD: Good morning, and thank you so very much.

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country are faced with problems, be they black or white. But those of us who are black are so new at the business of being Mayors. Therefore, we need an organization where we can have one voice dealing with the problems facing our cities. And, therefore, we organized this organization back in 1972. And today, we represent 212 black Mayors -- men and women who are serving American cities, who are concerned about the problems caused by the recession, the concern of unemployment, for housing, the stagnation in terms of people who want to work, but cannot work.

And so we are grappling with the problems of trying to solve the problems in our cities, yet not have to pass on increased taxes to our cities and towns across the nation.

MS. SAWYER: But I want to go back to what you said about black Mayors having special problems. Is the logical extension of what you are saying that, in the current climate of

MORE

this country, black Mayors cannot be as effective in recruiting businesses, for instance, as white Mayors?

MAYOR FORD: Well, the point of it is Mayors in this nation have problems. Those of us who are black -- many times our expertise and our resources are not equal to our counterparts. Therefore, we must ban together, and work together for positive reasons, not negative reasons.

The whole thrust of the matter is, while we are doing whatever we can do to work with this administration and to have an open line of communication with the White House, we realize, on the other hand, that we must build our own institutions. We must develop linkages with the private sector, because, indeed, the federal government cannot really solve our problems.

We need to tap the billions of dollars that are generated in the private sector in our cities and towns across the nation to develop a marriage between the private and public sectors so that our people can work, and have productive lives.

MS. SAWYER: Okay; let's talk about that. Unemployment -- why is the rate for black unemployment twice that of the national average?

MAYOR FORD: Because the society, and particularly industrial and commercial society, has not, in many instances, given equal opportunities to black and minorities and women and handicapped people in this country, and blacks in particular.

MS. SAWYER: Are you saying it is in the training, or in the hiring?

MAYOR FORD: It is combination of both. That is why the Job Training Partnership Act, I think, is a refreshing new sign; for it will concentrate on developing skills. But it, also, challenges corporate America to become more responsive in its hiring policies, and make sure that equal opportunity exists for black and other minorities in this country.

MS. SAWYER: Do you agree with President Reagan, though, that, in the end, the most important thing is to get inflation down and the economy under control? Do you agree that, in the broad sense, he is doing what is best for all people on the economy right now?

MAYOR FORD: Well, I think that the President is sincere. However, we cannot depend upon the President to solve our problems. We have come to Washington to meet with the White House, to meet with members of the Congress, to have an open line of dialogue.

But in the meantime, we will, also, be meeting with corporate America, because there is great potential for us -- those of us in the cities and towns out across America, because that is where the real jobs lie, not with the --

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But in the meantime, we will, also, be meeting with corporate America, because there is great potential for us -- those of us in the cities and towns out across America, because that is where the real jobs lie, not with the --

MS. SAWYER: Specifically, how do you get to them then? Are you talking about free enterprise zones -- bringing in businesses that way?

MAYOR FORD: It is a combination of all of those things. It begins, I think, by having an open line of communication, sitting around the table face to face, letting corporate America

MORE

understand what the problems are, facing our cities. For those corporations that are not willing to do that -- then we have to take another route.

But the point is, we must try to sensitize corporate America, and to cause them to become more responsive.

MS. SAWYER: Mayor Ford, it is interesting to me. I want to ask a question about your tone, because I know it won't surprise you that a lot of people have thought, in this country for a long time, that black groups generally just complain. And they are always complaining.

And I sense a more positive approach. Is this a trend? Is this something new?

MAYOR FORD: Well, the point of it -- those of us who are Mayors are very practical people. As Mayor of my city, I have got to worry about jobs for my people, houses, and problems which affect the poor and elderly people in my city.

People in America want to work. Contrary to the illusion that black people are lazy and don't want to work, I say that is nonsense. We are American citizens. All we want is an opportunity to work, to stand up on our own two feet, and to meet our own responsibilities.

And those of us who are leaders must put aside the emotion. Everyone thinks that we are coming to town to attack the administration. We do not have time for that. While we don't agree with many of the policies of the administration, it is necessary for us to have an open dialogue with the administration to make sure they understand, and to try to cause them to become more responsive.

But while we are dealing with the administration, we must, also, deal with the corporate sector as well. And that is why Mayors are here in the nation's capital today.

MS. SAWYER: Mayor Ford, so glad that you were here with us this morning. Thank you again for coming by.

END

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 7, 1982

FOR: MARTY ANDERSON

FROM: MELVIN BRADLEY *mb*

SUBJ: How Black America Perceives This Administration

I have attached a brief action paper on the above subject for your consideration. It has been more difficult to write than most policy memoranda. First, many of the issues affecting minorities have become emotional issues. Those issues are often difficult to understand; hence, often the nature of the issue is misrepresented. Second, it is difficult to accurately identify the nature of the problem. Finally, it is the very intangible nature of many of the problems which preclude clear and concise definition.

HOW BLACK AMERICA PERCEIVES THIS ADMINISTRATION

THE PROBLEM

The prevailing perception of the Black community is that the Administration is at best insensitive to its fundamental interests and concerns. For this reason, ardent Black supporters of the President are finding it difficult to defend the Administration and may even feel compelled to publicly announce that they can no longer support us. In addition press accounts tend to indicate that there is a perception among Americans in general that the Administration is indifferent toward the minority community. Growing numbers genuinely view Black Americans as being treated in the same manner as other American constituencies (e.g., labor, business, religious groups, farmers, Central European ethnics, etc.). Based on what I'm hearing, I fear that more and more Blacks are beginning to feel abandoned, alienated and rejected.

This memorandum does not question whether Blacks should harbor these views and react in such a fashion. The fact is they do. The task for the Administration is to seek to address their perceptions or feelings of Blacks in such a manner as to avoid the possibility of serious consequences, not only for the minority community, but for the Nation as a whole.

This President has the leadership qualities which could help the Nation solve these problems. The Administration to date has not made the best use of the President's qualities.

UNDERLYING CAUSES

Blacks do not point to a single policy or program which is indicative of negativism toward them and, perhaps, other minorities. Instead, their view is more the result of perceptions or misperceptions regarding a multitude of individual actions, inactions, policies, activities or undertakings which collectively create that overall impression. Some tangible examples are worthy of note.

First, the Administration's actions or inactions on the questions of voting rights, affirmative action in employment, minority business development and related efforts designed to bring minorities into the political, economic and social mainstream have given rise to the perception that we intend to reverse two decades of accelerated progress in these critical areas. Blacks view the current Voting Rights Act as having led to Black voter participation in substantial numbers. Still they believe that a great deal more progress is necessary if they are to establish a voting tradition which at least approximates that of the population at large. However, our handling of the proposed extension of the Act has led them to believe that the Administration is unconcerned about future progress in this area.

Affirmative action employment programs as originally conceived in 1971 are considered by minorities to be the only available mechanism which can guarantee that they will be hired and advanced in employment at levels reasonably consistent with their availability and qualifications. However, despite the initial positive statement on this subject by the President in January 1981, there has been a steady spate of public announcements by Administration officials which tend to blur the distinction between legitimate affirmative action goals and timetables and preferential quotas. These statements have led minorities to believe that the concept of affirmative action will be abolished under the guise of eliminating quotas and other forms of preferential treatment. The irony of this development is that the concept of non-preferential, nonquota-type affirmative action goals and timetables in employment is a Republican initiative.

Minority business development is another Republican initiative which minorities have considered to be of great importance. The minority business community greeted the election of President Reagan with some hope that programs designed to foster the expansion of minority businesses would be revitalized and strengthened. They are still awaiting the formulation of policy in this regard.

Second, there is the perception that in arriving at its economic recovery program, the Administration did not consider the short-term, disparate impact on Blacks and other minorities and explore other feasible alternatives. If the economic recovery program had been accompanied by announced plans to strengthen rather than roll back civil rights measures, a great many Blacks and other minorities indicate that the Administration's program would have been more acceptable.

Third, there is a perception that this Administration does not believe that Blacks have a legitimate and substantial interest in important issues affecting foreign affairs. In particular, Black Americans perceive this Administration's policies relating to Black nations as having been designed without their input, interests, or concerns in mind. They do not believe this has been the experience of other racial and ethnic minorities.

Beyond those basic issues, Blacks attach a great deal of significance to such matters as visibility of Blacks at Administration social events, access of Blacks to the President and top officials on a regular basis, and Presidential expression of concern about the plight of Blacks in major addresses. These matters are important because they indicate whether the Administration does, indeed, treat Blacks the same as it treats other Americans.

STEPS TOWARD A SOLUTION

- The severe reduction in economic and social programs which have traditionally been viewed by minorities as benefiting them should be counteracted by a strengthening of the Administration's position on such critical minority concerns as voting rights, affirmative action in employment, minority business development, and private sector initiatives which create jobs and income opportunities for Blacks.

- The Administration needs to factor into its policy-making processes an assessment of the potential impact of the policies on minorities. Where there is a determination that a particular policy will be harmful, then alternatives must be sought. The requirement that there be an assessment of the impact on Blacks must be communicated to this Administration by the President. All policy-making officials must understand that this is an important initiative because this President intends to be the President of all the people.
- The White House should bring about greater contact between the President, his Administration and Black Americans. Black Americans, in greater numbers should participate in White House meetings and major White House events: e.g., formal dinners and bill signings. In addition, there should be periodic meetings between the President and Black Americans, including key Blacks in the Administration, Black Republicans, and with leaders of Black organizations.
- The State of the Union Message provides an excellent opportunity for the President to indicate his concern about the problems expressed in this memorandum.