

11/20/71 JWH

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ACTION

March 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD  
SUBJECT: THE ADMINISTRATION  
AND MINORITIES

PROBLEM

After two years in office, despite a record of substantive accomplishments, the Administration is perceived with substantial hostility by most racial minorities. Whether or not the perception is fair, it exists. Further, the whites sense that minorities feel the Administration is hostile, and that minorities are hostile to the Administration.

To the extent that we are perceived as unsympathetic or insensitive to minority groups' desire for racial justice and equality, we tend to lose their support on issues which can be portrayed as having racial overtones. The attitude of hostility to us on their racial concerns has an impact on their perception of Administration policies (such as the economy and Vietnam) which have no specific racial implications.

Finally, a good many individuals who are not members of minority groups will grant or withhold to the Administration support, both in



elections and on issues based at least in part on their perception of our record on racial issues. One group significantly affected will be the 25 million young people between the ages of 18 and 25 who will be eligible to vote in their first Presidential election in 1972. Further, many white citizens over 25 desire and will support only an Administration that at least has open communications with minorities and the young.

### BACKGROUND

A critical factor in altering the present perception of the Administration is hiring. Minority groups will be far more likely to perceive the Administration favorably if they are in fact a part of it. Administration policy will show a greater awareness of the problems of minority groups if the people involved include representatives of such groups.

Further, a larger minority presence means better contacts, consultation and communication with minorities on all issues and unquestionably will assure a more accurate perception of the President, his Administration and its policies by minorities across the country.

An analysis of existing minority staffing patterns in the governments in excepted positions, Presidential appointments, and the White House staff, reveals that none are representative of the population of the country.



A. Government Employment (General Schedule Civil Service)

As of May 31, 1970, there were 1,292,310 employees in the GS system, of the 2,592,956 total federal civilian employees. The remainder of full government employees are in the wage system or postal field services. (rewrite).

The difficulties encountered by blacks are illustrative of those other groups (Spanish-surnamed, American Indian, Oriental) on which we have data. Blacks comprise 12.4% of the national population (1970 census figures). They hold 10.5% of the GS jobs. Thus, they hold a portion of the jobs not far below what one would expect assuming equality of opportunity. However, the vast majority of these jobs are concentrated at the lowest, non-policy making grade levels.

- 1). Blacks hold 47% of the GS-1 positions (940 of 1,971 jobs).
- 2) Black minorities above the GS-6 level and the number of positions held falls considerably below their proportionate (12.4%) representation in the population holding . 14.7% of the GS-6 positions and 1.6% of the GS-18 position (rewrite)
- 3) Blacks occupy approximately 2.0% of GS-13 and above positions (3,501 of 170,631 jobs).
- 4) As of May, 1970, there were 5,371 supergrade positions (GS-16, 17, 18). Blacks held 75 of these jobs, or 1.4%.



5) The median grade level for whites is GS-9 (starting salary - \$10,470). The median grade level for blacks is GS-5 (starting salary - \$6,938).

B. Non-Civil Service Positions

Data on excepted and Presidential appointments and the White House staff is not current. However, the information which is available indicates that few individuals from minority groups are involved in key, policy-making positions.

1) As of November, 1969, blacks, who comprise 12.4% of the population, had held 3.5% of the excepted appointments.

2) The only high-level White House staff member from a minority group is Bob Brown. Nearly all professional positions in the White House-EOB complex are held by non-minorities.

3) There have been few, if any, minorities appointed to high level positions since June, 1969 in the Administration.

4) For the most part those minority group members who have been appointed hold "civil rights" as opposed to "policy-making" jobs.

C. Additional Considerations

The record of this Administration in hiring minorities is better than the record of previous Administrations; however, there is more than could and should be done. Admittedly, there are



obstacles to finding and recruiting qualified minorities, but it has and can be done. The OEO experience is illustrative of what can be accomplished.

- 1) At the present time, there are ten Assistant Directors of OEO (GS-18 or Level IV positions). Of the ten, one is black, two are Mexican-American, one is Jewish, and one is a woman. (All but one of these five are Republicans, and the fifth is an Independent.)
- 2) In early 1969, minorities held 36% of the positions in OEO, but they were concentrated in the entry levels, as opposed to senior level jobs.
- 3) From November of 1969 to November, 1970, 208 vacancies were created in OEO. Of these, 134 or 64% went to minorities.
- 4) More importantly, 57% of these new minority-held positions (77 of 134 jobs) are at the managerial level (GS-13 through 18).
- 5) Minorities now hold 23% of the positions in the GS-13 through 18 levels and 34% of the positions GS-8 through 12.

Although hiring and staffing patterns are the most significant factor in minorities' perception of the Administration, there are



activities which have a bearing on that perception. A classic  
the  
example is the President's personal involvement in/Whitney  
Young service which was generally well received.

Numerous opportunities exist to improve the record of the  
Administration and the perception of that record by minority  
groups and the public at large. The success of efforts to develop  
and implement a White-House directed activity will depend on the  
che's  
Executive Bran/perception of the President's interest. The effort  
should be granted sufficient priority to assure its success.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Establish a White House working group. Possible members  
would include Don Rumsfeld, George Shultz, Len Garment, Bob  
Brown and Fred Malek. Their assignment will consist of the  
assessment of existing efforts, the development of new efforts and  
monitoring of policies and actions which affect minorities.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

II. Group will focus initially on the following:

A. \_\_\_\_\_ to improve the representativeness of staffing  
patterns in the Civil Service and excepted appoints, includ-  
ing the White House staff.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

B. Develop a reporting systems to monitor, on a regular



basis, hiring, the operation of the Philadelphia Plan, federal assistance to black colleges, and other Administration efforts.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

C. Develop plans and recommendations affecting the perception of the Administration by minorities. For example, Presidential phone calls, displaying art by minority artists in the White House, meetings with and speeches to minority group organizations, invitations to White House social events, etc.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

