

The Philadelphia Plan (1969 AD): The Historical Roots of Affirmative Action Policies in the United States of America

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Abstract: The Philadelphia Plan of 1969 was an important milestone in the development of affirmative action policies in the US. The plan was an expression of the federal government's dedication to ending racial discrimination in the US labor force. The plan was a product of the convergence of civil rights movements, government policies, and labor market conditions. The plan was a significant development in affirmative action policies as it institutionalized affirmative action policies in the US. The paper will discuss the historical antecedents of affirmative action policies from the New Deal to the Great Society. The paper will also discuss the role of various presidential administrations in developing affirmative action policies in the US. The various presidential administrations that will be discussed in this paper are those of F.D. Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, J.F. Kennedy, L.B. Johnson, Nixon, and others.

The historical institutionalist approach will be used in this paper to understand the development of the Revised Philadelphia Plan. Other sources used in this paper will include executive orders, labor statistics, Congressional debates, and scholarly analyses. The paper will also show that the plan was developed with an objective to integrate African American laborers with their white counterparts without replacing the existing workforce. According to labor statistics from 1963 to 1969, African American unemployment was almost double that of whites.

These findings show that although the Revised Philadelphia Plan faced resistance, had little employment benefits, and was not successful, it was an early affirmative action policy by the president that had a significant impact on many other policies in fifty-six cities in the United States. The Philadelphia Plan was a federal contracting policy that utilized the federal contracting power to enforce civil rights policies, which has been an important part of affirmative action policies.

It can clearly be determined that the Philadelphia Plan was an important strategy aimed at solving many of the issues affecting African Americans, especially when considering employment, the civil rights movement, and other important aspects affecting the United States. Moreover, it can clearly be determined that the policy offered an important guideline for the formulation of affirmative action policies aimed at solving the issue of employment, equality, and social justice, among others.

Keywords: Philadelphia Plan, Affirmative Action, Civil Rights, Employment Discrimination, African Americans, Federal Labor Policy, Executive Orders, United States, Minority Employment, Social Justice.

1. Introduction

It can clearly be determined that the formulation of affirmative action policies in the United States has been an important part of American history, especially considering the many challenges that the United States has faced, especially during the Civil Rights Movement. The formulation of affirmative action policies has been a function of many factors, including the Civil Rights Movement, the

president, federal labor policies, among others. Moreover, it can clearly be determined that the presidential policy has been a function of many factors, although it has been determined that the presidency has had an important level of hesitancy when dealing with the issues affecting African Americans, especially after the Civil Rights Movement.

In this wider trajectory, the Philadelphia Plan of 1969 was a turning point, different in kind from previous voluntary or permissive approaches in its institutionalization of affirmative action in the formulation of goals and timetables in federal contracts for construction work. The institutionalization of affirmative action was an important turning point in the history of civil rights, and the question of the constitutionality of the Philadelphia Plan in relation to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was highly contentious.

This study argues that the Philadelphia Plan was a paradigm shift in civil rights policy, moving from a non-discrimination policy to a policy that recognized and addressed the issue of racial exclusion in the skilled labor force. This study, through a historical analysis of the existing literature on affirmative action policy, labor statistics, congressional records, and existing scholarly interpretations of civil rights policy, argues that the Philadelphia Plan was not simply a labor policy, but a strategic policy tool of the federal executive branch to manage the social and economic relations of power in the face of urban unrest, labor union resistance, and competing ideologies of equal protection under the law.

The research methodology for this study was a historical analysis of the existing literature on affirmative action policy, labor statistics, congressional records, and existing scholarly interpretations of civil rights policy. This study will be divided into two parts. The first part of this study will explore the historical context in which the Philadelphia Plan was developed, including a historical overview of affirmative action policy from the New Deal to the Great Society. The second part of the study will explore the formulation, implementation, and political acceptance of the Revised Philadelphia Plan of 1969.

This study offers a new analysis of the Philadelphia Plan in its political context, which will offer a new understanding of affirmative action policy as a tool of civil rights policy, rather than a symbolic expression of support for civil rights.

2. The Historical Context for the Emergence of the Philadelphia Plan

A. Affirmative Action Policies and Their Impact on the Adoption of the Plan

The history of the development of affirmative action plans in the United States traces its root to the 1930s. This was made possible through the efforts of the then Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes (Harold L. Ickes) (1). During his tenure, the Secretary of the Interior sought to guarantee that a certain percentage of African American workers were employed by contractors who had been awarded contracts by the Public Works Administration in regions where the African American population was high (2). The term “affirmative action” was first used in the Wagner National Labor Relations Act of (1935) (Wagner National Labor Relations Act of 1935) (3).

In the same context, the thirty-second President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Franklin Delano Roosevelt 1933m–1945) (4), issued the first executive order concerning racial discrimination in the workplace on June 25 (1941) as a response to protest marches that were advancing towards Washington. These protest marches had been organized by those who opposed discriminatory policies in the workplace in federal institutions. Thus, the President issued Executive Order (8802), which clearly stated that:

“The policy of the United States is hereby reaffirmed that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or in government because of race, creed, color, or national origin; and it is hereby declared to be the duty of employers and labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and this Order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin” (5).

Subsequently, the thirty-third President of the United States, Harry S. Truman (Harry S. Truman 1945m–1953) (6), established the Committee on Government Contract Compliance to assess the methods adopted by government agencies in enforcing the policy of non-discrimination that had been declared. Furthermore, he established a special advisory committee to oversee and control cases of employment discrimination in government agencies and contractors (7). Similarly, the thirty-fourth President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower (Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower 1953m–1961) (8), established a similar committee to achieve the same goals (9).

The contemporary phase of affirmative action began in (1961) under the administration of the thirty-fifth President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (John Fitzgerald Kennedy 1961m–1963) (10). The “Plans for Progress” (Plans for Progress) (PFP) program was introduced in this phase. The “Plans for Progress” program was a voluntary program of affirmative action aimed at addressing the issue of the underrepresentation of African Americans in different occupations. The program encouraged owners and managers of big companies to improve the representation of minorities in the workforce (Minorities) (11). Furthermore, President Kennedy gave a significant push to the elimination of discrimination in employment on March 6 (1961) (12) through his Executive Order No. (10925), which specified that:

“The contractor shall take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin” (13).

With this order, employers were expected to take affirmative steps to avoid discrimination. This order also established the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission) (EEOC), and this was the first instance when a law enforcement authority was provided sufficient power to compel compliance. This Commission was empowered to hold public hearings, make public disclosure of violators’ names, seek the assistance of the Department of Justice to procure a court order, suspend or terminate any contract, and bar violators from entering into any contract (14).

Still, African Americans continued to face discrimination and oppression, especially in the construction industry. In Philadelphia, racial conflicts culminated in violent clashes in (1963), causing injury to thirty-nine people. This was a follow-up to the sit-in protests organized by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) (NAACP) (15), meant to bring a halt to a school construction project due to the white monopoly over construction jobs (16).

Between the years (1962) and (1964), the Assistant Economic Adviser, Dorothy K. Newman (Dorothy K. Newman), who was affiliated with the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor, presented a research paper on “The Economic Status of the Negro.” In the study, it was revealed that the employment statistics of African Americans were discouraging. In the United States, the non-agricultural employment of African Americans increased by (5%) overall, with (3%) in manufacturing and (7%) in services. These statistics were much lower in major metropolitan areas such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, whereas increases were somewhat higher in Detroit, Washington, Cleveland, and St. Louis. In response to the situation, vocational institutes were established to train guidance counselors dealing with minority students, and a youth motivation task force sent over (200) young minority executives to colleges and high schools to conduct seminars on the opportunities awaiting African Americans in the business field.

Vice President and Head of the PFP Program, Hubert Horatio Humphrey Jr. (Hubert Horatio Humphrey Jr.) (17), stated that the program had registered (328) companies employing about (8.6) million workers. The first (100) registered companies showed a general rise in minority employment of (19.1%) during (1964), while the rise in total employment was only (6.6)%. The absolute rise in minority employment was (52,678) workers. (18).

B. A General Overview of the Conditions of African Americans after the Enactment of the Civil Rights Act (1964)

Affirmative action policy was developed in the 1960s and went through two different stages. The first stage resulted in the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of (1964) (19), which was the legislative foundation of the struggle to improve the conditions of African American workers. The Civil Rights Act of (1964) banned discrimination in different areas of society, and Title VII of the Act specifically banned discrimination in the workplace on the grounds of “race, color, religion, sex, or national origin” (22). The second important legislative act of the first stage was the Voting Rights Act of (1965) (The Voting Rights Act of 1965) (23).

The second stage of the development of affirmative action was marked by the influence of federal agencies and the judiciary. Two new agencies were created: the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (Office of Federal Contract Compliance) (OFCC) under Title VI, an agency of the Department of Labor responsible for ensuring the implementation of the civil rights provisions of the Act on federal contractors’ employment and promotion practices (24).

Within this context, the thirty-sixth President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson (Lyndon Baines Johnson 1963m–1968) (25), signed Executive Order No. (11246) on September 24 (1965), which extended the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of (1964) to all federal contractors (26). The order repeated the requirement of contractors to take measures of affirmative action in the workplace (27) and vested the enforcement of the order in the Secretary of Labor (28). To carry out the order, the Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz (William Willard Wirtz) (29), formally created the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and appointed Edward C. Sylvester (Edward C. Sylvester) (30) as its director. The agency focused on the construction industry, which was dominated by unionized workplaces (31)(32).

The significance of employment in the civil rights agenda was also highlighted in the speech delivered by Secretary Wirtz at the Civil Rights Conference held at the Washington Hilton Hotel on November 17 (1965) (33). In the mid-1960s, the rate of unemployment among African Americans continued to rise, and this led to frustration and restlessness among them. In this context, the Department of Labor launched race-conscious employment programs in construction trades in May (1966) (34). Labor statistics from June (1966) showed a dismal situation, and the unemployment rate among African American youth was as high as (27%), compared to (13.6%) among their white counterparts (35). This situation also contributed to the War on Poverty launched by President Johnson within the broader context of the Great Society (36).

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, construction contractors at the federal level had to submit a comprehensive employment schedule showing minority participation in each trade (37). In this context, the OFCC launched several programs, such as the Bay Area Rapid Transit (Bay Area Rapid Transit) (BART) and the Gateway Arch (The Gateway Arch) (38)(39), implemented in (1966). These programs compelled contractors to formulate a schedule showing "reasonable minority hiring goals in accordance with the availability of minority labor in the area." This led to resistance from labor unions due to the inclusion of non-union African American workers (40)(41).

In the case of Philadelphia, the efforts to break the monopoly of the unions came to fruition when Warren P. Phelan (Warren P. Phelan), Chairman of the Philadelphia Labor and Workforce Council, submitted the Original Operational Philadelphia Plan (OPP) on October 27 (1967) (42). The plan was implemented with effect from November 30 (1967). This ensured that there was a minimum number of minorities employed in each trade under federal construction contracts in Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia counties (43).

The implementation of the plan was met with labor unrest, as evidenced by the construction of the United States Mint building in Philadelphia during the month of May (1968). In this case, white electricians went on strike to protest the hiring of African American workers to fulfill the quotas mandated by the plan (44)(45).

From a political perspective, the plan was opposed by Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats (Elmer Boyd Staats) (46), Congress members, as well as Senator Sam James Ervin (Samuel James Ervin Jr.) (47), on grounds of violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the additional cost to taxpayers (47)(48)(49). In November (1968), the General Accounting Office (General Accounting Office) (GAO) (50) declared the plan to be illegal, leading to Secretary Wirtz withdrawing it (50)(51).

According to historian Hugh Graham (Hugh Graham), there was more than a single reason for this move. The reasons ranged from political to legal, economic, as well as institutional grounds (52). In spite of the withdrawal of the plan, labor unions implemented more vocational training programs across the nation. This led to an increase in the number of minority members of unions by (1968) (53)(54)(55)(56).

3. The Revised Philadelphia Plan (RPP) of (1969)

A. The Formulation of the Philadelphia Plan and Its Impact on the Employment Reality of African Americans

Governments initiated affirmative action programs to ensure that African Americans were represented in the workforce (57). During Richard Nixon's presidency (Richard Nixon), affirmative action programs were institutionalized by making an explicit use of goals and timetables for contractors, which was termed "employment policies." In April and May of (1969), civil rights activists in Philadelphia urged officials within the Nixon administration to ensure that urban unrest did not break out unless they formulated policies to ensure equality of employment for African Americans (58).

In response to these threats, President Nixon directed his Secretary of Labor, George Pratt Shultz (George Pratt Shultz) (59), to formulate measures that would ensure an increase in the number of skilled workers and dismantle the restrictions imposed by construction unions (60). Shultz was then directed to focus his attention on the decline in representation of minorities within six major construction trades (61). He then formulated a comprehensive proposal for addressing this problem and submitted a memorandum to President Nixon in June (1969). This was termed the Philadelphia Plan (Philadelphia Plan) and was so named because Philadelphia was the biggest urban center in the state of Pennsylvania (62).

The revised plan on the requirements of the affirmative action programs and the employment goals was designed to meet the requirements set by the Comptroller General of the United States. Numerical goals were established in the form of a minimum percentage range to meet the employment of non-white workers in certain trades. In the plan, it was stated that the requirements for affirmative action commitments were to be made at the pre-award stage on all federally funded construction projects in the city, provided the amount exceeds (\$500,000) (63).

In the aforementioned memorandum, Shultz pointed out that there had been a notable decline in the participation of minorities in these trades. In July of that year, the Secretary, in collaboration with senior officials of the Department of Labor, initiated the preparation of a detailed study to address this issue. On August 8 of the same year, President Nixon issued Executive Order No. 11478, which mandated that all federal agencies contracting with private organizations develop affirmative action programs to provide equal employment opportunities (64). This executive order heightened the institutional conflict that already existed between the Department of Labor, the Attorney General, the Comptroller General (65), the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the United States Congress (66). The Department of Labor initiated public hearings in Philadelphia on August 26, 27, and 29 of that year to convert qualitative standards into quantified numerical standards. On September 2 of that year, George Shultz presented the plan to President Nixon (67). The main objectives of the plan were:

- (1) to increase the participation of minorities in construction trades from 12%-26% over a three-year period; and
- (2) to implement the employment goals that were enunciated by the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Arthur Allen Fletcher (68), which were aimed at integrating African American workers along with

white workers without replacing the existing work force (69). The unemployment rates of the non-white population were found to be almost double those of the white population. The data presented below clearly reveal this fact(70) (71).

Unemployment Rates during the Years (1963m–1969)

Year	African Americans and Other Minorities	Whites
1963m	10.8	5
1964m	9.6	4.6
1965m	8.1	4.1
1966m	7.3	3.3
1967m	7.4	3.4
1968m	6.7	3.2
1969m	6.5	3.2

The escalation of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, in conjunction with the continuation of discriminatory policies towards minorities, such as African Americans, directly contributed to increasing unemployment rates. The result was that successive U.S. administrations, including President Lyndon B. Johnson, enacted comprehensive civil rights legislation aimed at eliminating discrimination in employment. In the aftermath of the Great Society, equitable employment policies were put in place. This led to minorities being employed in the skilled trades. This is an indication that there is a link between employment equity and unemployment rates in African American and minority communities.

From labor market statistics, there were (1200–1400) trained minority craftsmen ready to take up employment. Additionally, there were (5000–8000) more that would be trained if employment opportunities presented themselves. The projected outcome was that each year there would be a rate of (10%) absorption in each trade (72) (73).

B. Divergent Political and Institutional Reactions to the Plan

There were a number of compelling political and social conditions that made President Nixon decide to put in place the Revised Philadelphia Plan. At this time, racial violence was on the increase. This violence was mostly experienced in Philadelphia. This situation forced Mayor Joseph Barr (Joseph Barr) to send a telegram to Secretary Shultz in September (1969), requesting him to urgently come and sort out the problems to avert more violence. He pointed out that talks between the Black Construction Coalition, contractors, and unions had broken down. A grave crisis was looming in Philadelphia.

In response, a task force made up of the Secretary of Labor, George Shultz, and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, George Wilcken Romney (George Wilcken Romney) (74), was formed on December 20 (1969). The task force was mandated to oversee the implementation of the plan while evaluating the effects of the union restrictions on the housing sector (75). The task force noted the need to eliminate barriers which prevented Americans of African descent from being included in the construction unions. The task force noted the need to promote the concept of equal opportunities (76).

However, the plan received mixed reactions from Congress and other federal agencies. The plan was met with fierce opposition from labor unions and the Comptroller General, Mr. Elmer B. Staats (77)(78). Mr. Staats felt that the plan was against anti-discrimination legislation (79)(80). In a memorandum dated October 28 (1969AD), Mr. Staats noted that the coercive measures of the plan would inevitably lead to discrimination (81). Although Mr. Staats was against the plan, he was no way an advocate of discrimination practices. Mr. Staats' objections to the plan were technical and legal (82).

The plan was met with fierce opposition from prominent politicians such as William George Meany (83)(84), Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (85), and Senator Sam Ervin, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. This meant that the plan was opposed by a coalition of conservative

Republicans and Southern Democrats (86). In his own defense, President Nixon explained that the plan was not based on quota systems. The plan was based on flexible goals. Moreover, the plan required affirmative action only from contractors who failed to provide equal employment opportunities (87).

Conversely, the plan enjoyed robust support from moderate Republicans and liberal members of the administration, including Daniel Patrick Moynihan (88), Leonard Garment (89), and Bradley H. Patterson, Jr. (90). Although the Senate voted to withhold the funds, the plan was later revived through internal pressure from the Departments of Labor and Justice, supported by Gerald Ford (91), leading to the reinstatement of the funds and the continuation of the plan (92).

C. Evaluation of Outcomes and Broader Implications

Affirmative action initiatives of the Revised Philadelphia Plan covered a wide segment of the American economy (93)(94). Black capitalism initiatives resulted in the expansion of African American-owned businesses(95), reaching a total of 163,000 firms, constituting (2.2%) of all American businesses(96), with revenues of (\$4.5) billion, a small fraction of the total American business income of (1%) (97). The plan resulted in a small increase in employment at construction sites and a small increase in union members; however, the overall results of the plan were limited in terms of the quantitative outcomes.

By the end of (1973AD), the plan was replicated in fifty-six American cities, including Atlanta, Buffalo, Tacoma, New York, and Chicago. However, the initiatives of the plan suffered from administrative and implementation challenges, leading to widespread criticism of the plan (98). The plan was criticized for being ineffective and symbolic in nature. It was also reported that some of the plans were not implemented and that funds were mismanaged, leading to the collapse of the plan. The overall evaluation of the plan by the government, civil rights activists, and the American press was that the plan was ineffective. However, the fact remains that some of the plans were not implemented and that funds were mismanaged. It was reported that some of the plans collapsed due to non-implementation and financial mismanagement (99)(100).

4. Conclusion

Despite its suspension, the Revised Philadelphia Plan was an initial and significant expression of the presidential policy in affirmative action. The plan was a calculated attempt to remedy racial discrimination in the workplace through the use of federal contracting power and served as a model for subsequent affirmative action policies. Though the plan's impact was limited in scope, it was a significant change in the way the federal government addressed civil rights issues.

In this context, affirmative action became closely associated with the civil rights movement, representing an instrument by which American presidents aimed to promote equality of opportunity and eliminate the structural barriers that had been created by the forces of racial discrimination. The Philadelphia Plan proved that employment policy had the potential to become a tool to promote social, political, and economic balance. Although it did not manage to promote structural change, it represented an important step toward the restructuring of the relationship between the state, the labor market, and marginalized social groups.

References:

1. Edward Leclerc Eix (1874–1952): Served as the United States Secretary of the Interior during the Great Depression and World War II (1939–1945). He was appointed by the thirty-second President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1933–1945), shortly after Roosevelt's election to the presidency. He also served during Roosevelt's third term, which ended abruptly with the President's death in (1945). He submitted his resignation to the thirty-third President of the United States, Harry S. Truman (Harry S. Truman, 1945–1953), in (1946). For further details, see: Susan R. McGuire, *Speaking With People From the Past Within Our Profession: An Interview With a Former Secretary of the Interior, Rangelands*, 2010, p. 36.

2. David J. Garrow, *The Evolution of Affirmative Action and the Necessity Truly Individualized Admissions Decisions*, *Journal of College and University Law*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 2007, pp. 1–10.
3. It is considered the fundamental bill of rights for labor unions. It guaranteed workers the right to organize and join unions, to engage in collective bargaining, to strike, and to carry out activities supporting their objectives. With regard to labor relations, it specifically required employers to bargain in good faith over mandatory subjects of negotiation—wages, working hours, and terms and conditions of employment. The Act shifted the balance of power in favor of labor unions, a change that was partially achieved through the establishment of the National Labor Relations Board. This administrative body, composed of five members appointed by the President of the United States of America, was entrusted with determining appropriate bargaining units, conducting elections to determine union representation, and preventing or remedying employer actions that could lead to charges of unfair labor practices. For further details, see: David A. DeCenzo, Stephen P. Robbins, Susan L. Verhulst, *Fundamentals of Human Resource Management*, (New York: Wiley, 2016), p. 310.
4. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945): Born on January 30 (1882) in New York. In (1907), he passed the bar examination on his first attempt, after which he left law school without obtaining a degree. From (1907–1910), he practiced law at a prominent firm in New York City. In his bid for a third term in (1940), he defeated the Republican candidate Wendell Willkie. Despite his serious illness, he ran for a fourth term in (1944) and defeated his Republican opponent in February (1945). As the war in Europe neared its end, he died on April 12 (1945) in Warm Springs, Georgia. For further details, see: Franklin Delano Roosevelt: *Presidential Perspectives from the National Archives*, Washington, D.C.; Anne Schraff, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, (California: Saddleback Educational Publishing, 2008).
5. Quoted in: Dennis J. Dubois, *The Legality of the Revised Philadelphia Plan*, *Maryland Law Review*, Vol. 30, Issue 2, 1970, pp. 114–136.
6. Harry S. Truman (1884–1972): Born on May 8 (1884) in Lamar, Missouri. He entered politics in (1906), when he began working as a Democratic election clerk in Jackson County. He was one of thirteen newly elected Democratic members of the Senate when he took his seat in Washington in January (1935). He was nominated by the Democratic National Convention of (1944) for the office of Vice President of the United States. In the months following his nomination, he rose to leadership in the Senate, assuming his position as the second-highest official in the country on January 20 (1945). Less than three months later, he became both Head of State and Head of Government. For further details, see: Donald R. McCoy, *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman*, (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1984); Albert J. Baime, *The Accidental President: Harry S. Truman and the Four Months That Changed the World*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017); Aida D. Donald, *Citizen Soldier: A Life of Harry S. Truman*, (New York: Hachette UK, 2012).
7. Dennis J. Dubois, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114–136.
8. Dwight David Eisenhower (1890–1969): Born on October 14 (1890) in Denison, Texas. When he was two years old, his family moved to Kansas. After completing high school, he was sent by the U.S. Army to San Antonio, Texas, and was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant in (1917). Throughout (1918), he trained soldiers in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. In recognition of this service, he was promoted to the rank of Major in (1920). He was elected President on November 4 (1952), becoming the first Republican president in twenty years. He signed the Civil Rights Act of (1957) and was re-elected President of the United States in (1956). He died on March 28 (1969). See: Tamara L. Britton, *Dwight D. Eisenhower*, (North Mankato: Abdo, 2024); Dand Lombarby, *Historic Photos of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, (Nashville: Turner Publishing Company, 2007); George E. Stanley, *Childhood of Famous Americans*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006).
9. The Civil Rights Commission was established with the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of (1957). Its mission was “to investigate complaints alleging that citizens were deprived of their

right to vote because of race, color, religion, sex, age, disability, national origin, or due to fraudulent practices.” The Commission was also granted the authority to “study and collect information” related to such discrimination, to evaluate federal laws and policies, to “serve as a national clearinghouse for information regarding discrimination,” to submit recommendations to the President and Congress, and to “issue public service announcements to discourage discrimination.” For further details, see: Gerald D. Jaynes, *Encyclopedia of African American Society*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), Vol. 1, p. 831.

10. John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917–1963): Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, in (1917). He was elected to the House of Representatives as a Congressman from Massachusetts in (1952). He was re-elected to the United States Senate by a large margin in (1960), won the Democratic Party’s nomination for the presidential election of (1960), and won the election, becoming the thirty-fifth President of the United States on November 8 (1961). On September 22 (1962), he signed legislation establishing the Peace Corps. He submitted a historic bill aimed at reforming civil rights to Congress on July 19 (1962). He was assassinated during a trip to Dallas, Texas, at the age of 46, on November 22 (1963). For further details, see: Susan Muaddi Darraj, *John Kennedy*, (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2004); Who HQ, Yona Zeldis McDonough, *Who Was John F. Kennedy?*, (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 2005); Martin W. Sandler, *The Letters of John Kennedy*, (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2013).
11. By minorities is meant: African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Americans of Hispanic origin, Asians, Eskimos, and Aleuts. For further details, see: Kevin Yuill, BA, M.Phil., *An Unlikely Hero? The Origins of Affirmative Action during the Nixon Administration*, Thesis, (The University of Nottingham, March 2001), p. 151.
12. David Hamilton, Golland Brooklyn, *Only Nixon Could Go to Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Plan, the AFL-CIO, and the Politics of Race Hiring*, presented at the Race and Labor Matters Conference, New York, December 4–5, 2003, pp. 4–39.
13. Quoted in: Dennis J. Dubois, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114–136.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–136.
15. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP): Founded in (1905) by a group of African American intellectuals led by W. E. B. Du Bois, it is now the oldest and largest American civil rights organization. Its membership reached 450,000 members in (1945). Through its branches in the South, the Association worked to dismantle Jim Crow laws and to end racial segregation in schools. During the 1950s, it achieved several major victories. Its Washington, D.C., office helped secure the passage of major civil rights legislation in (1964), (1965), and (1968). It also participated directly in investigating allegations of voting irregularities in the (2000) presidential election, which placed it in conflict with the forty-third President of the United States, George W. Bush (George W. Bush, 2001–2009). Despite the social and political challenges and transformations it has faced throughout its existence, the Association continues to find itself at the center of the nation’s culture wars in the twenty-first century. For details, see: Kevin Yuill, BA, M.Phil., *Op. Cit.*, p. 151.
16. Hubert Horatio Humphrey Jr. (May 27, 1911 – January 13, 1978): Served as Vice President of the United States under President Lyndon Johnson. He served two terms as a United States Senator from Minnesota and also held the position of Democratic Majority Leader. He was one of the founders of the Minnesota Democratic–Farmer–Labor Party and of Americans for Democratic Action. He served as Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota, from (1945–1949). He was the Democratic Party’s nominee in the presidential election of (1968), but lost to the Republican candidate Richard Nixon. For further details, see: Jeffrey Strickland, *Weird Scientists – The Creators of Quantum Physics*, (North Carolina: Lulu, Inc., 2011), p. 407.
17. David Hamilton, Golland Brooklyn, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4–39.

18. The Act of (1964) is considered the most significant legislative achievement of the civil rights movement. It prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin, and banned discrimination in voting, public accommodations, and employment. For details, see: Fourth Annual Report, U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, No. 1:2/969, p. 3; Robert C. Smith, *Encyclopedia of African American Politics*, Third Edition, (New York: Infobase Holdings, Inc., 2021), p. 174.
19. The basic policy of the Act concerning federally assisted contracts stipulated the following: “No person shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” For details, see: Paul G. Dembling, *The Philadelphia Plan for Increasing Minority Group Employment in Federal Construction Projects: An Address*, General Counsel, U.S. General Accounting Office, before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, February 16, 1970.
20. Quoted in: David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, Op. Cit., pp. 4–39.
21. President Lyndon Johnson submitted a bill to Congress aimed at ending the unconstitutional efforts of those who deprived African Americans of the right to vote. Congress enacted the Voting Rights Act of (1965), which provided legal mechanisms to eliminate all legal barriers to the exercise of the franchise. For further details, see: Barbara A. Derry, *The Michigan Affirmative Action Cases*, (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2007), p. 13.
22. Robert P. Schuwerk, *The Philadelphia Plan: A Study in the Dynamics of Executive Power*, *The University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 1972, pp. 724–760; Dennis J. Dubois, Op. Cit., pp. 114–136.
23. Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908–1973): Born near Stonewall, Texas, on August 27 (1908). He was elected to the United States House of Representatives in (1937) and also served on the House Committee on Naval Affairs. In (1941), when the United States entered World War II, he served in the Navy and became the first active member of Congress to serve in the war. He was elected to the United States Senate in (1948). Following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22 (1963), he became President of the United States. He died of a heart attack on January 22 (1973), at the age of 64. For further details, see: Robert Dallek, *Lyndon B. Johnson: Portrait of a President*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Vaughn Davis, *The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson*, (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1983); Megan M. Gunderson, *Lyndon B. Johnson*, (North Mankato: Abdo Publishing, 2017).
24. Tyrone Anthony, *Examination of U.S. Federal Government Equal Employment Opportunity Discrimination Complaints: What Happens When Historically Marginalized Groups File Complaints Against Their Employers?* Dissertation, (University of San Francisco: The Faculty of the School of Education, 2010), pp. 1–2; Paul G. Dembling, Op. Cit.
25. Quoted in: Paul Marcus, *The Philadelphia Plan and Strict Racial Quotas in Federal Contracts*, *William and Mary Law Review*, Vol. 17, 1970, pp. 817–836.
26. Quoted in: Dennis J. Dubois, Op. Cit., pp. 114–136.
27. William Willard Wirtz (1912–2010): Born in DeKalb, Illinois, on March 14 (1912). He worked with the War Labor Board from (1943–1945) and served as Chairman of the National Wage Stabilization Board in (1946). He then returned to teaching law at Northwestern University until (1954). In (1961), he was appointed Under Secretary of Labor. In (1962), President John F. Kennedy appointed him Secretary of Labor, a position he continued to hold under President Lyndon Johnson until (1969). He died on April 24 (2010). For further details, see: Bob Navarro, *A Synopsis of the Secretary of Labor*, (North Carolina: Lulu Press, 2019), p. 26.
28. Edward C. Sylvester (1924–2005): A senior official in the Department of Labor during the Johnson administration. In (1965), he was appointed the first Director of the Department’s Office

of Federal Contract Compliance, where he was responsible for enforcing federal equal opportunity standards. Any company or labor union found to be engaging in discriminatory practices was subject to the loss of its federal contracts. He left the Department of Labor in (1968) to become Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He died on February 12 (2005) from respiratory failure in a nursing home in Washington, D.C. For further details, see: Edward Sylvester, 81; Enforced U.S. Rules on Equal Opportunity, L.A. Times Archives, February 19, 2005, 12:00 AM PT, From Times Staff and Wire Reports.

29. Dennis J. Dubois, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114–136.
30. These trades included: “sheet metal workers, plumbers, electricians, structural ironworkers, steamfitters, and elevator construction workers.” For details, see: Kevin Yuill, BA, M.Phil., *An Unlikely Hero*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 151.
31. Quoted in: David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4–39.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Pursuant to this, President Lyndon Johnson initiated, between (1964) and (1968), a series of programs focused on education and job training, along with targeted efforts to combat poverty in rural areas. Community action granted “maximum feasible participation” to the poor in shaping local responses to poverty. The intention was to give previously marginalized poor citizens a voice within their communities and in the programs designed to serve them. For further details, see: Sally J. Styfco, Edward Zigler, *The Hidden History of Head Start*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 26.
35. Congressional Record – Senate, December (1969), p. 13.
36. For further details on the Bay Area Rapid Transit system, see: Michael C. Healy, *BART: The Dramatic History of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System*, (California: Heyday Books, 2016).
37. For further details on the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, see: *This Is a Campaign to Decide the Destiny of a Whole People*, General Chairman, March 8, (1948), p. 113.
38. Historically, labor unions are known to have been segregated, exercising monopolistic power through their control over union membership, employment, and wage determination. Labor unions functioned as monopolistic sellers of labor, seeking to maximize the total income of their members. In order to achieve their objectives of increasing income and welfare benefits, unions controlled the supply of labor through restrictive membership, employing only union members. Moreover, white workers adopted discriminatory attitudes toward African American workers, refusing to allow them to become union members. As a result, unions established numerous exclusionary criteria, most notably race. Consequently, African American workers were not eligible for union membership and therefore could not be employed in industries under union control. See: Tyrone Anthony, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1–2.
39. Total Black membership in construction unions in Philadelphia reached (8.4%). The vast majority of these workers were members of laborers’ unions, while their membership in skilled building trades in Philadelphia remained extremely low, ranging from 4% (operating engineers) to only 0.4% (elevator constructors), according to government figures from (1967) on union membership. The plan applied to contractors holding federal or federally assisted construction contracts exceeding (\$500,000) in value. For further details, see: David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, *Op. Cit.*; Paul Marcus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 817–836.
40. David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, *Op. Cit.*
41. *Ibid*; Paul G. Dembling, *Op. Cit.*
42. Quoted in: David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, *Op. Cit.*

43. Ibid.
44. Elmer B. Staats (1914–2011): Born on June 16 (1914) in Richfield, Kansas. In (1966), President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed him Comptroller General of the United States, heading the General Accounting Office. His service extended across the administrations of Presidents Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight David Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon (1969–1974), Gerald Ford (Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr., 1974–1977), Jimmy Carter (Jimmy Carter, 1979–1981), Ronald Reagan (Ronald Reagan, 1981–1989), and George Bush Sr. (George Bush Sr., 1989–1993). For further details, see: Norma M. Riccucci, *Serving the Public Interest: Profiles of Successful and Innovative Public Servants*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 4–6.
45. United States District Court, E.D. Pennsylvania, *The Secretary of Labor, George Shultz, et al.*, March 13, (1970), pp. 1–8.
46. Sam James Ervin (September 27, 1896 – April 23, 1985): Served as a judge on the Burke County Criminal Court from (1935) to (1937) and was appointed to the Supreme Court of North Carolina in (1937). He opposed the Nixon administration's efforts to pass the District of Columbia Crime Bill of (1969). He decided not to seek re-election in late (1973) and left the Senate at the conclusion of the Ninety-third Congress in (1974). He retired to his home in Morganton, where he actively engaged in writing, practicing law, conducting historical research, traveling, and lecturing. He died in a hospital in Winston-Salem after a brief illness and was buried in Morganton. See: William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), Vol. 2, pp. 159–162.
47. During the first decade of Sam Ervin's senatorial career, he strongly opposed civil rights legislation for African Americans. He opposed the Supreme Court's (1954) decision to desegregate public schools and fought against the Civil Rights Acts of (1957) and (1960). His most difficult battle, however, was against the civil rights bill submitted by President John F. Kennedy to Congress in (1963). He opposed the Civil Rights Act (enacted in June 1964), which he regarded as a serious threat to individual liberties and as increasing the likelihood of governmental tyranny. See: Ibid., pp. 159–162; David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, Op. Cit.
48. Government Accountability Office (GAO): An independent, nonpartisan agency working for Congress and serving as the government's accountability watchdog. "Its highly trained evaluators examine everything from missiles to medicines, from aviation safety to food safety, and from national security to Social Security." It was initially defined by its focus on legal compliance and voucher auditing, a period often referred to as the "Accountant Era." From (1945–1966), priorities shifted toward integration and contracting—the "Economist Era." The period from the 1960s to the late 1970s was one of major turbulence and change, as President Lyndon Johnson strongly pushed for radical reforms in domestic programs. For further details, see: Norma M. Riccucci, *Serving the Public Interest: Profiles of Successful and Innovative Public Servants*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 4–6.
49. David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, Op. Cit.
50. Quoted in: David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, Op. Cit.
51. Quoted in: Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Nasser Thajil Mansour Hussein Al-Zuhairi, *George Shultz and His Impact on United States Foreign Policy, 1982–1988*, PhD Dissertation, (Dhi Qar University: College of Arts, 2023), pp. 8–16.

56. Richard Milhous Nixon (1913–1994): Born in Yorba Linda, California, on January 9 (1913). In November (1946), he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives after the war and was re-elected in (1948). He was appointed to the House Un-American Activities Committee. In (1952), General Dwight D. Eisenhower secured the Republican nomination for president and selected Nixon as his running mate. On January 20 (1969), Nixon became the thirty-seventh President of the United States; he resigned on August 9 (1974), after which Vice President Gerald Ford assumed the presidency. Nixon died on April 22 (1994). For further details, see: William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986), Vol. 2; Tamara L. Britton, *Richard Nixon*, (Minneapolis: Abdo Publishing Company, 2016); Joeming Dunn, *Richard Nixon: 37th U.S. President*, (Minneapolis: Abdo Publishing Company, 2012).
57. Kul B. Rai, Tohn W. Critzer, *Affirmative Action and the University: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Higher Education Employment*, (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), pp. 11–12; Antoine L. Joseph, *The Dynamics of Racial Progress: Economics, Inequality, and Race Relations since Reconstruction*, (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), pp. 5–6.
58. George Pratt Shultz (1920–2021): Born on December 13 (1920) in New York City. He began his government service as Secretary of Labor between (1969) and (1970). In (1970), President Richard Nixon appointed him Director of the newly established Office of Management and Budget. In (1972), he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, but he strongly disagreed with Nixon over policy and resigned in (1974). He was appointed Secretary of State in (1982). After retiring from government service, he became a part-time professor of business administration at Stanford University. For further details, see: Richard L. Wilson, *American Political Leaders*, (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2002), p. 365.
59. David Hamilton, Golland Brooklyn, *Op. Cit.*
60. “Only Nixon Could Go to Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Plan, the AFL-CIO, and the Politics of Race Hiring,” a paper presented at the Race and Labor Matters Conference, December 4–5 (2003), pp. 4–39.
61. Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Oxford Handbook of African American Citizenship, 1865–Present*, (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2012), pp. 329–335; Kul B. Rai, Tohn W. Critzer, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11–12.
62. Mitchell K. Hall, *Historical Dictionaries of U.S. Historical Eras*, (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2008), p. 165; Paul Marcus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 817–836.
63. This required contractors to employ between (4–9%) minority workers in (1970), (9–15%) in (1971), (14–20%) in (1972), and (19–26%) in (1973). For further details, see: Revised Philadelphia Plan for Compliance with Equal Employment Opportunity Requirements of Executive Order 11246 for Federally Involved Construction, p. 1; Dennis J. Dubois, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114–136.
64. Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort: A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, (1970); Nasser Thajil Mansour Hussein Al-Zuhairi, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8–16.
65. United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C. 20425, April (1969); Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Oxford Handbook of African American Citizenship, 1865–Present*, (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2012), pp. 329–335; Kul B. Rai, Tohn W. Critzer, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11–12.
66. Paul Marcus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 817–836.
67. Dennis J. Dubois, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114–136.
68. Nasser Thajil Mansour Hussein Al-Zuhairi, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8–16.

69. Arthur A. Fletcher (December 22, 1924 – July 12, 2005): Born in Phoenix, Arizona. He served as Vice Chairman of the Republican Party in Kansas from (1955–1957). In (1968), he became the first African American to run for Lieutenant Governor of Washington State. In (1969), he was appointed Assistant Secretary for Wage and Labor Standards in the U.S. Department of Labor, making him one of the highest-ranking African Americans in President Richard Nixon's administration. On September 22 (1971), he resigned from his position as Assistant Secretary of Labor. In January (1972), he became Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund. From (1976–1977), he served as Deputy Assistant for Urban Affairs. During the 1980s, he advised President Ronald Reagan on equal employment opportunity. From (1990–1993), he served as Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, appointed by President George H. W. Bush. Until his death, he remained committed to the Republican Party while criticizing its opposition to affirmative action. See: Paul Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present: From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 222–223.
70. The Contractors Association of Eastern Pennsylvania, No. 19027, March 1 (1971) – April 22 (1971); Grace Palladino, *Skilled Hands: A Century of Building Trades History and Strong Spirits*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 164; Cabell Brand, *Op. Cit.*, p. 23; Kul B. Rai, Tohn W. Critzer, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11–12.
71. Oliver Lee Mbatia, *The Economic Impact of the 1969 Fair Employment Practices Act and Subsequent Executive Orders on Black Americans*, Thesis, (Oregon State University, 1973), p. 103.
72. Dennis J. Dubois, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114–136.
73. George Wilcken Romney (1907–1995): Born in Colonia Dublán, Galeana, Mexico. He returned to the United States in (1928) and studied at the University of Utah. In (1969), he sought the presidency but withdrew after declining in the polls; President Richard Nixon appointed him Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. He died on July 26 (1995). For further details, see: Bob Navarro, *A Synopsis of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development*, (Lulu.com, 2019), pp. 9–14.
74. Dean J. Kotlowksi, *Nixon's Civil Rights Politics: Principle and Policy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 114.
75. Quoted in: *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Vol. 5, No. 27, Monday, July 7 (1969), p. 1762.
76. Richard C. Van Dusen (1925–1990): Graduated from Harvard Law School in (1949). He served as President of Dickinson Wright, Detroit, and Vice President of the American Automobile Association. In the mid-1950s, he served in the Michigan House of Representatives and later became legal counsel to Governor George W. Romney. He played a central role in Romney's unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential nomination in (1968). He became Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in (1969) but left the position in (1972). For further details, see: R. C. Van Dusen, "65; Was Housing Official," *The New York Times*, June 11 (1991).
77. Quoted in: Dean J. Kotlowksi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.
78. M. J. Cosson, *Affirmative Action*, (Edina: ABDO Publishing Company, 2008), pp. 37–38.
79. Nasser Thajil Mansour Hussein Al-Zuhairi, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8–16.
80. Quoted in: David Hamilton, *Golland Brooklyn*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4–39.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–39.
82. William George Meany (1894–1980): Born in New York in (1894). He was a member of the National Defense Mediation Board (1941–1942) and the National War Labor Board (1942–1945). On November 25 (1952), he was elected President of the American Federation of Labor. He died

on January 10 (1980) following a knee injury that exacerbated arthritis in his hip. For further details, see: George Meany, United States Department of the Interior, National Service, February (1982), pp. 1–23.

83. Dean J. Kotlowksi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.
84. Everett McKinley Dirksen (1896–1969): Born in Pekin, Illinois, he represented his state as both a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. After studying law in Minnesota, he joined the U.S. Army and served in World War I. He returned to Pekin in (1919), entered local politics, and won a seat on the city council in (1926). Six years later, he was elected as a Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives. During the 1960s, his strong and effective leadership made him one of the most powerful and respected Republicans in Washington. He remained Senate Republican Leader until his death in (1969). See: William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986), Vol. 2, pp. 159–162.
85. Dean J. Kotlowksi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.
86. Quoted in: Clyton W. Dumont Jr., *The Promise of Post-Structuralist Sociology: Marginalized Peoples and the Problem of Knowledge*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2008), p. 155.
87. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1927–2006): Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on March 16 (1927). He was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University. After leaving the administration of U.S. President Richard Nixon in (1970), he returned to Harvard University as a professor in the Department of Government and shifted his interests from domestic policy to foreign affairs. He briefly returned to Harvard in (1975) after serving as the United States Ambassador to India, but later left to become the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. For further details, see: <https://www.nixonlibrary.gov>
88. Leonard Garment (1924–2013): Born on May 11 (1924) in Brooklyn, New York. He attended Brooklyn College but did not receive a degree. He earned a Bachelor of Laws degree and served as editor of the Brooklyn Law Review and captain of the moot court team. From (1946–1949), he studied at Brooklyn Law School. On March 7 (1949), Thomas W. Evans, the managing partner, began working with him at the firm, and since (1954), he served as a partner in the firm. He was admitted to the Washington, D.C. Bar on July 27 (1967). See: United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 4-7-1969.
89. Bradley H. Patterson Jr. (1921–2020): Born in Wellesley, Massachusetts. He served in this position from (1954–1961) and was appointed Executive Secretary of the Peace Corps (1961–1962), Executive Director of the National Advisory Committee on Selective Service (1966–1967), and Director of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (1967–1969). He later rejoined the White House staff as Executive Assistant to Leonard Garment, where he was closely involved in civil rights and Indian affairs. In late (1974), he was appointed Assistant Director of the Presidential Personnel Office. For further details, see: *Management Theories in the Private and Public Sectors: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Civil Service, Post Office, and General Services of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-Eighth Congress, Second Session, S. HRG. 98–1218, September 19–26, (1984).*
90. Gerald Ford (1913–2006): Born in Omaha, Nebraska, in (1913). He excelled as a football player at the University of Michigan, then attended Yale University, where he worked as an assistant coach while earning a law degree. During World War II, he attained the rank of lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy. After the war, he practiced law. From (1965–1973), he served as Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives. He won the Republican nomination for the presidency in (1976) but lost the election to his Democratic opponent, former Governor of Georgia Jimmy Carter. See: Frank Freidel, *The Presidents of the United States of America*, (Washington, D.C.: Diane Publishing, 1998), p. 80.

91. Grayson Mitchell, "Ford Meets with Blacks to Get Their Ideas and Views," *The Untold Side of President Ford*, JET, Vol. 46, No. 23, August 29, (1974), pp. 15–16.
92. On May 9, (1970), one of the largest armed mass youth movements occurred, which the American press referred to as the "student revolution." Demonstrations took place on the university campus in Kent, Washington, against the aggression in Cambodia, ending with gunfire by National Guard forces. Classes were suspended at more than (500) educational institutions. These disturbances transformed Washington into a besieged city, and tens of thousands of residents took to the streets of Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and other cities. For further details, see: *A Group of Russian Researchers, Pages from the History of the United States of America, 1945–1980*, trans. Yusuf Zina, (Damascus: Publications of the Syrian General Book Authority, 2023), Vol. 2, pp. 689–809.
93. Nasser Thijel Mansour Hussein Al-Zuheiri, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8–16.
94. Harry Robbins Haldeman (1926–1993): Born on October 27 (1926) in California. In (1956), he was selected as the chief campaign manager for Richard Nixon's presidential campaign in (1960). Following the failed burglary on June 17 (1972) at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate complex, he played a central role in covering up the scandal even after Nixon's re-election in November (1972). He was sentenced to 18 months in federal prison. After his release, he returned to private life. He died of cancer at his home in Santa Barbara, California, on November 12 (1993). See: Richard L. Wilson, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 246–247.
95. Dean J. Kotlowski, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.
96. Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 335–329.
97. Kevin Yuill, BA, M.Phil., *Op. Cit.*, p. 151.
98. Dean J. Kotlowski, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.
99. Kevin Yuill, BA, M.Phil., *Op. Cit.*, p. 151.
100. Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p. 151.