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[October 1972]

RESPONSE TO BLACK CAUCUS STATEMENT

BY: STANLEY S. SCOTT
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR
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FOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH



For years, it seems, every time black politicians met to discuss the black role in politics the word was always: don't tie blacks to one party; let's use our leverage. But as we close in on the last days of the 1972 campaign, the (Democrat) Congressional Black Caucus, purporting to speak for all black citizens, has launched a vicious, personal attack on black leaders who have dared to give their endorsement to President Nixon, arguing, instead, to stick with the Democrat, George McGovern.

Unfortunately, even the Black Caucus cannot come up with anything but tired old phrases and bitter personal attacks. Challenged for the first time in years, and seeing their personal political machines in danger of eroding, the Caucus stooped to the "Uncle Tom" label in a scare campaign which does not credit the Caucus' ability to argue its case.

Just why do we have to support the Democrat candidate? There is no provision in the U.S. Constitution saying to blacks: "Thou shalt vote Democrat." Yet certain blacks continue to preach the Democrat gospel.

There are three good reasons why blacks should support Richard Nixon in 1972. First, he has done more than any other American president to advance the well-being of black citizens in the United States. Two, George McGovern has probably the worst civil rights record of any so-called "liberal" Senator in the Congress. Third, refusing to vote Democrat by reflex will be a healthy step forward in giving blacks leverage upon the political process. Let's examine these points.

President Nixon proposed a civil rights enforcement budget in fiscal 1973 more than eight times greater than it was in the last year of Lyndon Johnson. Minority workers now make up nearly 20% of the Federal workforce -- more than in any prior administration. There are $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more blacks in high-paying policy-making positions in the federal government. There are more than 30 blacks in leading positions in the Executive Office of the President -- many more than any other administration. Federal procurement from minority businesses is expected to be more than 27 times greater in FY 1973 than in FY 1969. There are black Admirals and Generals in the armed forces in numbers that President Kennedy only dreamed of.



That's a small part of the President's record. It's not one of high rhetoric, but one of high performance. If supporting the President who is the first ever to attack sickle cell anemia which destroys our children makes me an Uncle Tom, you can Tom me as long as you want. You do the name-calling while Mr. Nixon saves our children.

As for Senator McGovern's record. In 14 years in the Congress, Mr. McGovern has sponsored no legislation in the field of civil rights. He co-sponsored only 8 civil rights bills and in three of these cases, he was added as a co-sponsor after the legislation was introduced. Seven of the eight pieces of legislation never left the committee. The other was indefinitely postponed. Now there is a man with a lot to overcome! What has he done?

The 1957 Civil Rights Act urged by President Eisenhower was the first such law to be enacted since Reconstruction. George McGovern didn't even show up for the votes leading to passage of this bill in the House. When, in 1959, the Rooney Amendment was introduced to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years, McGovern was absent. In 1960, McGovern voted against the McDonough Amendment which would prohibit the Federal National Mortgage Association from purchasing housing where discrimination was involved. One month later, he voted against the Powell Amendment to prevent



discrimination in federally funded school facilities. And on June 15, 1964 Senator McGovern joined in a last ditch effort to emasculate the voting rights provisions of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. That's the McGovern record. and, by the way, I don't remember George McGovern ever marching in Alabama against Bull Connor with that great "Uncle Tom", Sammy Davis, Jr.

The final reason why blacks should reject the stridently offered advice of the Black Caucus is simply that by automatically voting Democrat for the last 40 years, black voters have lost leverage in the political process. In effect, we have been political slaves. Because of such ill-informed advice as given by Louis Stokes, most Democrats fully expect a hip-pocket black vote of 85-90%. Given this certainty, Democrat politicians see little reasons for doing anything to help blacks at the risk of losing their white constituency. Consequently, the Democrat politician shows up for his annual "ghetto appearance," puts away some ribs and greens, says his "right ons," and counts up his 90% black vote on election night like Midas counted his gold.

The result of such arrogant tokenism is that blacks are taken for granted by Democrat politicians. The best example of this phenomonon took place in the once-potent Muskie presidential candidacy. Asked if he would put a black man on his ticket as



vice-president, Muskie said, no. In effect, he said we weren't ready for it yet. After forty years of the black voter making up nearly 20% of the Democrat party; after years of providing victory margins for the Democrats; here was the response: no room in the Democrat party for a black vice-president. That's a polite way of saying: if you're black, step back. But Ed Muskie could make his statement with impunity, for he knew he would never be punished. That is because blacks have lost their leverage by blindly following the advice of the Julian Bonds and Louis Stokeses.

I would guess that the real reason we have seen the recent outpouring of venom against blacks who support Richard Nixon is that in 1972 blacks are waking up and are shifting parties in order to gain the leverage the Democrats have denied them. This shift is striking fear into the hearts of the Black Caucus because the Caucus and its allies know that once blacks leave the Democrat plantation for political freedom, the Caucus will have to come up with deeds instead of hot rhetoric.

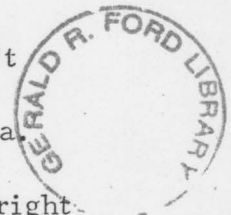
As blacks continue to wake up to their political freedom, we will no longer see such condescending acts such as the decision made by Democratic National Chairwoman, Jean Westwood. Her first order as head of the party was to wipe out the Minorities



Division -- an act which could be predicated solely on the notion that blacks could be taken for granted. Such arrogance will have its come-uppance on November 7th.

~~Finally~~, I ~~must~~ strongly object to the insulting way in which the Black Caucus reacted to support of the President by Sammy Davis, Jr.; James Brown; Jim Brown; Lionel Hampton; Johnny Mathis; and others. These men have had their integrity ~~attacked~~ ~~impugned~~ for exercising their constitutional right to endorse a political candidate. It is only in totalitarian countries where lock-step, blind obedience is expected, and that is what the Black Caucus statement suggests. Congressman Stokes said: "they have turned their backs on their own people. . . . "

With all due respect, I say, don't you dare accuse these men of turning their backs on their brothers and sisters. Don't you dare question their vision of what is right for America. And don't you dare arrogate to yourself some omnipotent right to speak for every black man and woman. Such thinking is the most outrageous example of black elitism I have ever witnessed. I daresay that the men and women you have slandered have paid their dues twice over, and one of the reasons they have come over to Richard Nixon is this type of posturing, hot-air which has plagued the black man's emergence as a political force for the last 40 years.



EDITORIAL #1

Black leaders of high stature and in surprising numbers have pledged support to President Nixon's re-election bid, and their endorsements require on our part a closer look at the Nixon record than many would have thought necessary. The fact is that many Blacks have not felt comfortable about the Nixon Administration and have been displeased by utterances of various of its spokesmen. But, in this election, Nixon campaigners have made a major effort to win Black votes -- evidently in the belief that they have a convincing case to make. As independent, individual voters, Blacks should hear that case before deciding for which candidate they will vote on November 7.

The Nixon campaign has stressed the Administration's economic development programs for Blacks, its promotion of Black-owned business enterprises and its record on minority hiring practices, both in the federal government and in the private sector. There are Black leaders who reject all of this out-of-hand as an effort by the Nixon Administration to buy Black support. Their reaction is grounded more in deep-seated dislike than in a rational appraisal of the record.

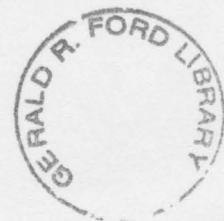
Economics, after all, is what lies at the heart of the problem of achieving equality and guaranteeing the civil rights of minorities in housing, education and virtually every other area of human need. Certainly, if Blacks had enjoyed a proportional share of this country's economic power, the progress which has been made toward equality would have come much earlier and gone much farther than has been the case.

(more)



We have about arrived at the limits of what Blacks can accomplish through protest and appeals to the conscience of those who, in fact, have the huge share of economic power in this country. We cannot expect continued gains to come from the methods which have been used in the past. The time has come to look beyond the struggles of the 1960's and to adopt realistic goals -- and methods to attain those goals -- for the 1970's. The answer for Blacks -- as it has been for various white ethnic minorities in the past -- is growing economic independence.

The Nixon programs and policies have helped us move in that direction, and there is every expectation that those programs and policies would continue if the President were re-elected. We do not wish to impugn Senator McGovern's honest identification with the problems which Blacks face today in America -- in many respects he gives voice to our aspirations. However, expressions of concern and hope simply are not enough. An examination of the Nixon record convinces us that he is the most realistic choice for Blacks this year, and we hereby endorse his candidacy.

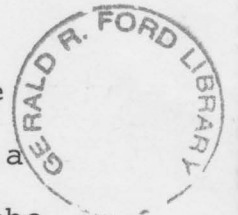


In more ways than we can name, the Democratic Party over the years has been the party which has been the friend of Black people. Certainly, from the time of Franklin Roosevelt on, Democratic candidates showed greater concern for Black needs and aspirations, and Democratic administrations and congressmen delivered more for Black people. But just as we have benefitted from this condition, so we have come to be regarded by Democratic politicians as automatic votes for them every time they run for public office. We have come to be taken for granted, and that is not the way to exercise political power.

In 1972 we should recognize, first, that we have come to be taken for granted, and, second, that the mood of the country as a whole suggests that we will see far fewer of the kinds of help the Democrats have extended in the past. Distasteful as it may be, Blacks must recognize that the days of massive federal aid to minorities as we have known it in the past may well be coming to an end -- that we must accomplish more on our own, independent of a fixed allegiance to a given political party.

For that reason, this is a year in which Blacks should give very serious consideration to President Nixon's re-election bid as well as to the candidacy of Senator George McGovern. Senator McGovern no doubt feels great concern for Black needs and interests. Unfortunately, however, he represents the kind of political support which, despite its great successes of the 1960's, is ceasing to be an effective means of achieving Black goals. There is a great gap between what Senator McGovern believes and promises, on the one hand, and what he could actually provide if he were elected, on the other. That is, simply, a realistic assessment of what his candidacy means for us.

(more)



And what of President Nixon, for whom so many Blacks feel a strong antipathy? Surprisingly, the record of his Administration over the past four years -- as opposed to the unfortunate rhetoric of some of its members -- has been good for Blacks. Curiously, its emphasis on developing Black economic independence may foreshadow the most realistic means by which Blacks will advance their cause during the coming decade. If it is agreed that massive federal spending for minorities is likely to subside as the majority white mood takes effect in Washington, then it is clear Blacks must generate more economic aid for themselves. And Black-owned businesses can do just that.

Some would argue that the Nixon Administration is against poor people, and it may be true that it has provided less than others have promised. Yet, President Nixon, like Senator McGovern, is pledged to a guaranteed annual income, and, although Senator McGovern's proposals would provide much larger benefits, it is only realistic to admit that something along the lines of President Nixon's plan is much more likely to be passed by the Congress.

In conclusion, we would say that the choice for Blacks on November 7 is between a President, of whom many may be suspicious yet who has compiled a record of meaningful aid to the Black community, and a Senator, to whom many may respond emotionally yet who would be unable to deliver what he promises. Looking toward substantial progress for Blacks in the 1970's, we must declare our support for President Nixon.



PRESS RELEASE

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS
Hon. Louis Stokes, Chairman

OCT 16 1972

10/18/72

BLACK CAUCUS BLASTS PRESIDENT NIXON
FOR EXPLOITING BLACK ENTERTAINERS

Certain black members of the House of Representatives blasted the Nixon Administration for "blatant exploitation of politically naive" black entertainers as a hoax to influence black voters.

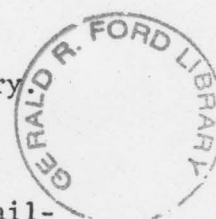
The black Congressmen were incensed over recent White House visits by Black entertainers and athletes and their subsequent statements praising President Nixon for "all that he is doing for black folks." The most recent black entertainer to be invited to the White House for lunch with the President, was singer James Brown. Following the luncheon meeting with the President, Brown indicated his support for the President's candidacy.

Reactions of black Congressmen were sharply critical.

Stated Rep. Louis Stokes, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus:

Sammy Davis, Jr., Lionel Hampton, ~~Billy Eckstein~~, James Brown, Johnny Mathis and Jim Brown all have one thing in common: they are all dancing to the tune of "benign neglect." It's a tune that's being orchestrated by the White House -- by the same Administration that, in four short years, has begun to strip away the constitutional and human rights of minority, poor and disadvantaged Americans.

Somewhere along the line, the Administration said, 'watch what we do, not what we say.' And so we did. We watched as 'busing,' 'law and order' and now 'quotas' were turned into systematic attempts to deprive black Americans of their rights. We watched as Nixon appointees to the courts began to chip away at hardearned civil rights. We watched as black Americans became the victims of an economic program that gave industry its biggest profits in history. We watched our children's schools be deprived of the funds they need to operate. We watched as grain dealers, milk producers, railroad executives and high Republican officials were allowed to use their money and connections to open White House doors. But it took the Congressional Black Caucus over two years to get a meeting behind those doors. We watched as, over the years, less money was available for programs for the poor -- because of a war that is draining our economy of \$16.7 million a day.



Stokes continued:

This is not what the Administration said. This is what it did. Either the black entertainers know about this record and don't care, or they are uninformed. In either case, they have turned their backs on their own people, and they deserve the strongest condemnation from black Americans.

Congressman Stokes concluded:

If Mr. Nixon is re-elected, by 1976, when white Americans are celebrating their Declaration of Independence, black Americans will have nothing to commemorate but a return to slavery.

Are Davis, Hampton, Eckstein, James Brown, Mathis and Jim Brown going to be willing to 'pay the piper' in exchange for four more years of benign neglect?

Congressman William Clay, of St. Louis, Mo., commented: "I have respect for the musical talents of Sammy Davis, James Brown and Lionel Hampton and I think Jim Brown is a great football player and a promising actor, but as political spokesmen for black folks they are terribly naive, ignorant and are either witting or unwitting pawns of the Nixon Administration.

"It is both sickening and disgraceful for any blacks, especially entertainers, who are where they are because of black support, to be duped by shrewd political con-men and then to have the gall to try to con black people into believing that one of their greatest oppressors, Richard Milhous Nixon, is their friend and should be supported for re-election. That is nothing but pure bull.

Clay added, "It seems so strange to me that the President has spent more time in the past several weeks with black entertainers and athletes than he has in three years with legitimate black leaders. He must think all blacks are fools and will be ripped off by 30 pieces of silver and his political trickery. Trickey Dick hasn't changed a bit."

Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, of Chicago, had this to say:

The action of the President to seek political endorsements from black entertainers and athletes as a means of influencing black voters is regrettable. This type of activity by the President underestimates the political sophistication of our black citizens. On November 7, 1972, the voters will remember the President's veto of needed health care programs and educational programs for our inner-cities, for hospital construction programs, his veto of the child development act and his appointees to the Supreme Court. This is still another indication of the poor leadership coming from the White House. Instead of addressing himself

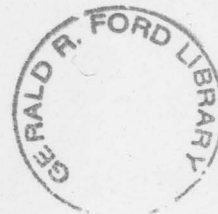


to the problems of our citizens, the President is trying to create an illusion that all is well. What we need now is a President who deals with the reality and not illusions, and on election day these citizens will show by their votes that they perceive the fraud that is being committed.

Congressman John Conyers, Jr., of Detroit, concluded with this statement:

"It seems to me that the President is more anxious to meet with black entertainers and athletes than with legislators. Two months elapsed before a letter from the Congressional Black Caucus requesting a meeting was even answered. Another eleven months passed before an appointment was arranged.

"It is clear to me that Mr. Nixon finds it easier to tell sports and show business figures rather than legislators what he is doing to eliminate the tremendous disadvantages of Black America. Fortunately, the evidence shows that black voters, nationwide, will look at what public officials did rather than with whom they were seen."



FOR RELEASE: 7:30 PM EDT
October 24, 1972



THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS FOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

STANLEY S. SCOTT, ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR

Response to the Black Caucus Statement

I must strongly ~~object~~ to the insulting way in which the Black Caucus reacted to support of the President by Sammy Davis, Jr.; James Brown; Jim Brown; Lionel Hampton; Johnny Mathis; and others. These men have had their integrity impugned for exercising their constitutional right to endorse a political candidate. It is only in totalitarian countries where lock-step, blind obedience is expected, and that is what the Black Caucus statement suggests. Congressman Stokes said: "they have turned their backs on their own people....." With all due respect, I say, don't you dare accuse these men of turning their backs on their brothers and sisters. Don't you dare question their vision of what is right for America. And don't you dare arrogate to yourself some omnipotent right to speak for every black man and woman. Such thinking is the most outrageous example of black elitism I have ever witnessed. I daresay that the men and women you have slandered have paid their ~~dues~~ twice over, and one of the reasons they have come over to Richard Nixon is this type of posturing, hot-air which has plagued the black man's

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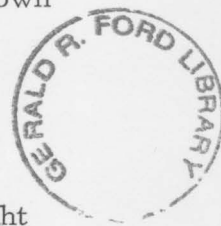
Several months ago Representative William Clay accused President Nixon of being a "racist President." He went on to say he thought the President was "making a mistake, surrounding himself with the kind of colored people he has...."

I consider his charges cheap, and underhanded. They smack of partisan politics, they smack of demagoguery at its worst, and further they serve no useful purpose.

Congressman Clay has chosen to hit below-the-belt. He has used the auspices of his office as an elected official of this country to further his own political ambitions. But, even worse than that -- he has done it at the expense and welfare of our own people.

Further, I would suggest that Congressman Clay stop harping about the President and his staff. Instead, Clay might explain to our people why his own party leadership -- in the Senate and in the House -- has flatly refused to meet with the Black Caucus. I might add that President Nixon has met with them and given an item by item response.

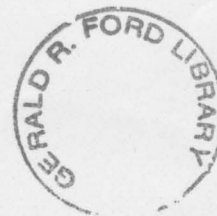
I should also like to point out that as members of the House of Representatives, the Black Caucus could have -- and still can -- put their entire list of proposals in the form of legislation and submit them to the Democrat controlled Congress for passage.



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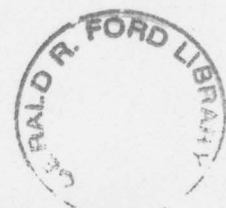
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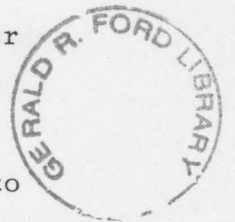
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