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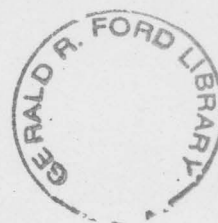
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CAMPAIGN PLAN

A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

BLACK VOTE IN 1972



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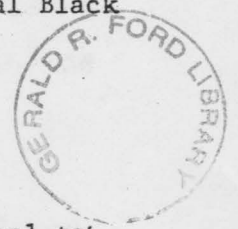
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INTRODUCTION

The attached presentation proposes a strategy to secure for the Republican Party a significant number of Black votes in the 1972 Presidential election. It represents a consolidation of ideas suggested by a number of the top Black appointees in the Administration. It is felt very strongly that the Black vote at every strategic level and section of the country should not and cannot be ignored. It was with this potential in mind -- the market of some 7-1/2 million potential Black voters -- that this strategy was devised.



Campaign Plan

This campaign plan is a general approach designed as an immediate broad appeal to the Black community. This general plan will provide a vehicle to effectively inform Blacks of accomplishments of the Administration that impact primarily on minority groups. Further, the plan is specifically aimed at early implementation in order to effect some change in the present negative feelings about the Administration in many of the Black areas of the Nation. This will also present an opportunity to benefit from the growing opinion of Blacks that their vote should not be the property of a single political party but rather should be used for leverage as a swing vote.

At the point when the Committee for the Re-Election of the President develops State Victory Plans, it is anticipated that this Division will build in a specific Black vote action plan for each key state. Overall efforts will then be locked into the State plans which will govern all further actions.

Background on Black Vote

The importance of the Black vote is indicated by the fact that of the 79 million persons participating in the 1968 general election, 8.0% or 6.3 million were Black. In the South the Black proportion was 14.7% and in the North and West, 5.5%. In 1960, the Republican Presidential ticket received and estimated 32%

of the Black vote, but in 1964 this figure dropped to 6%. In 1968 the President was only able to recover to a level of approximately 12%. (See Tab A).

? [The plan avoids any gradiose, radical scheme to attract fresh Black votes, which could be held suspect by the Black community; but rather proposes the judicious use of traditional political approaches. It contemplates a strong offensive approach, rather than a defensive or apologetic one. It calls for maximum involvement from every facet of the Black community, including officials in the Administration and opinion leaders from all walks of life.

The 1970 census report showed a significant increase in the Black population, especially in larger urban communities. The census figure of total Black population is 22,578,273.

The Black population has been extremely mobile. Eleven cities according to the 1970 census, showed large Black population gains due to net in-migration of 25,000 or more persons. Net gains of over 100,000 persons contributed to substantial population increases in the cities of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles in states of large electoral votes.

Where The Black Voters Are. Nationally, but especially in regions other than the South Black voters make their greatest impact in cities of 50,000 or more population. At least half of the Black voters are concentrated in 50 cities and one-third of that total is in 15 cities. On the whole Black voters are about 11% of the total voters in the country. (See Tab B).

Not only are Black voters a major factor in the urban and heavily industrialized regions of the North, West and South, they are also a factor outside of the metropolitan areas in the South. Black voters, then, can be placed into three important broad demographic groups: Northern-Western-Urban, Southern-Urban, and Southern small-town and rural.

Who The Voters Are. The 1970 census information indicates the median income of Black families in the United States is \$6,279.00 which is 61% of that of white families. Looking at the breakdown of Black family incomes by regions we find that:

1. The median income for the Black family in the Northeast is \$7,774 (67% of white family income).
2. For the North Central United States Black family median income is \$7,718 (73% of white family income).
3. In the South the median income for the Black family is \$5,226 (57% of white family income).
4. The Western regional Black family income is \$8,001 (77% of white family income).

These figures indicate a slow but consistent rise in income for Blacks of approximately 3% over a five year period 1965-1970. Strangely though the only area in which these gains narrowed the gap between Black and White family incomes at about three-fourths of White family incomes. Statistics indicate that the difference between Black husband-wife families and White husband-wife families in the North and West is the working Black wives. Approximately seven out of every ten young Black wives contribute to family income by working.

In summary Blacks voters are younger, less educated, more ill-housed and unemployed than White voters. A further important factor is that 30% of the Nation's Black families are headed by women.

Historic Trends. Historic trends and voting behavior shows the Black voter to be basically Democrat (86%). Going back to 1960 we find that the Republican Presidential candidate received approximately 32% of the Black vote. This equaled the support the Republican Party received from Blacks in the 1950's. In 1964 Barry Goldwater received only 6%, and in 1968 the President was only able to gain 12%

of the vote.

The Gallup Poll presently shows the President having a 28% nation-wide approval rating among Blacks. Southern Blacks offer him strongest support. They approve of the Administration by a 42%-38% margin, with 20% undecided.

There are marked regional differences. In the Deep South, (those states carried by Wallace in 1968), the Black vote is proportionately the highest, but the election outcome has traditionally been decided by the conservative White vote.

In the Border States, the Black vote is still proportionately high, but in 1968 the President won most of the states with a substantial plurality.

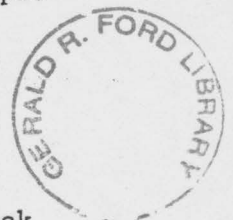
In the Industrial Northeast, the Black voter probably carries the greatest leverage. The total vote tends to be balanced, and capable of swinging to either party in a given year. The Black vote represents approximately 10% of the total, and heavily favors the Democrats, giving them a substantial plurality.

New England is mixed. Massachusetts and Connecticut tend to resemble the Industrial Northeast. The remaining states have a low Black population which would not be a factor in most election.

The Upper Midwest has a relatively low Black population, and the total state pluralities in 1968 were substantially larger than the leverage exerted by those voters.

The Mountain States, generally speaking, do not feel much effect from the Black voters.

In the Pacific States, the impact is mixed, with substantial effect in California, less in Washington, and very little in the remaining states.



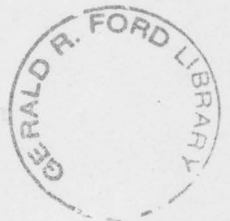
Strategy

This is recommended strategy for neutralizing the almost unchallenged monopoly which the Democratic Party has held in the Black community in recent Presidential elections. The strategy proceeds from the assumptions that this Administration has a good record of accomplishment in areas of concern to Blacks, that they will listen if the message is presented effectively, and that they will vote for the President in greater numbers if they are to be convinced of his concern for their well-being and that he wants their vote.

The objective in 1972 can realistically be set at increasing the President's share of the Black vote by 50% -- from 12% in 1968 to at least 18% in 1972. In 1968, that increment would have given the President victories in Maryland and Texas, and solidified the narrow margins of victory in Missouri, New Jersey and Ohio.

In addressing campaign strategies, the following facts should be given careful consideration:

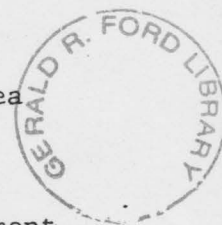
1. It appears evident that current Democratic leadership is willing to make whatever promises necessary to secure the Black vote.
2. A Black candidate for President has been fielded for several primaries.
3. The Black community is not sufficiently apprised of the progress made by this Administration in the area of domestic affairs.
4. There is a sizeable segment of the Black community that has expressed negative feelings about the President and this Republican Administration.
5. There are a number of issues which are of major concern to Blacks. Discrimination and racial conflict are still major issues, but other issues are:



- A. The high rate of unemployment among Blacks; (here emphasis will be on widespread dissemination of information on programs providing job training with Administration assistance through the Department of Labor, OEO, Model Cities, and on job producing grants from SBA, OMBE, SBA, HUD).
 - B. Inadequate housing;
 - C. Quality of educational opportunities; (Black colleges will be Exhibit A to show the concern by the Administration).
 - D. Crime in the Black community; (Federal assistance in this area to assist localities will be highlighted).
 - E. Heroin traffic in the Black community; (the new drug enforcement program resources will be of assistance in this area).
- 6. Many Blacks have expressed a desire to participate in the campaign (open-ended committees will give credibility to their efforts).
 - 7. As much as possible, we should avoid dealing with splinter organizations which will serve to dilute the effectiveness of the overall program (all efforts will be coordinated closely with State Chairman).
 - 8. A strong effort will be made to build communications between local supporters and Federal officials
 - 9. There should be key events planned in the Black community for recommended Presidential participation.

The strategy to increase the Black vote to 18% will center around publicizing the President's record of accomplishments for Blacks.

Another issue of concern to Blacks and related to job discrimination is that of inadequate housing and housing discrimination. The majority of central city housing is owned and controlled by wealthy unconcerned absentee-landlords or the local and Federal governments. Blacks view the landlords and government agencies



as repressive and bureaucratic. In many instances disproportionate percentage of Black families incomes go to pay for inadequate housing.

All too often because of inadequate salaries, bureaucratic regulations and policies and discrimination on the part of lending institutions and real estate agencies, Black families feel themselves trapped in ghetto-type conditions and see little possible hope of escape.

The Administration through HUD programs and the regulation of deposits of Federal funds to financial institutions has the resources to assist in remedying such situations, make a positive impact and improve its credibility in the Black community.



Black voters without a doubt are concerned about the high cost of living. Consumerism is an everyday word in Black households. Blacks seek a better value for dollars spent. Blacks have traditionally been noted as spenders rather than savers; now as they become more educated and gain more sophistication in consumer economies indications are they are buying less impulsively.

Black parents in greater numbers than ever are seeking more and higher quality educational opportunities for their children and themselves. Black parents on the whole are concerned about the quality of their children's education. The Administration must continue to seek proper vehicles through which it can convey an expression of its support for equal educational opportunities for all persons and publicize the fact that it has supported this belief financially.

Considering the fact that Blacks are by far more often the victims of violent crimes than whites, certainly Black voters are concerned about maintaining law and order in their communities but it must be so approached as to avoid a negative, repressive image.

Most Blacks are against crime and are for "law and order" if convinced it is not a code phrase meaning laws designed to repress Blacks.

Recommendation: That you approve the strategy to increase the Black vote to 18% by publicizing through a comprehensive public relations program, the President's Record.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

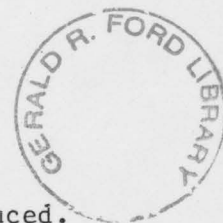
Plan Of Action

To effectively bridge the credibility gap now present in the Black community and to create a climate from which to capture an increased percentage of the Black vote a field operation should be established to assure organization and coordination of efforts.

Field Operations

The effectiveness of the campaign strategy can be measured by the votes produced. Nothing is more important than reaching the voter, and that requires good local organization. The proposed plan for 1972 contemplates grass-roots organizations in most major urban areas of key states as well as the rural South. They will be under the operational control of the Nixon State Chairman, but will be functionally coordinated by the Black Voters Division in Washington. Coordination would be accomplished initially through three staff field men and field consultants (part-time) such as use of ministers.

The regional field man will be used to assure that local organizations are established, that communications reach the people, and that provisions are made to identify our voters and, finally, to get them to the polls. A system of reporting and controls will be established so that realistic appraisal of progress can be made from Washington and corrective action taken if necessary.



Voter education will be an important factor in 1972 and will be a major concern of field staff. Most Black voters do not normally split the ticket, but have shown that they will when attractive alternatives are presented. Some obvious examples are Black Republican officials who have been elected from heavily Democratic districts. Education in the justification and methods of ticket-splitting should substantially increase the President's share of the vote in some areas.

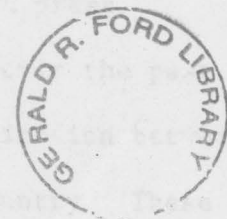
The field operation will be geared to working closely with local Blacks tied into State machinery. Field representatives will also work to identify persons, other than Republicans, who are inclined to support the President.

State Chairmen will be given support and assistance in selection of Black State Directors. While the Black State Director will report directly to the State Chairman, he will receive functional guidance from the Washington level.

Initial focus of the field operations will be on developing mobile organizational structures wherever there is a major concentration of Black population, this will further serve to accomplish the public relations objectives of the Plan's strategy.

Issues of major concern to Blacks, and areas where the Administration has made significant strides will be concentrated on and include:

1. Equal Employment Opportunities
2. Civil Rights Budget
3. Equal Educational Opportunity
4. Minority Enterprise
5. Housing and Community Development
6. The Administration of Justice



In each of these areas the President's record is solid yet only limited information of his accomplishments has effectively reached local levels.

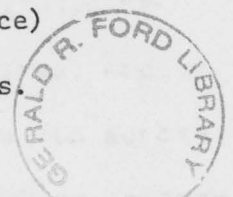
Major approaches for achieving objectives are:

Establishment Of Visible Support In The Black Community. In order for the President's campaign to be credible in the Black community, there must be highly visible members of the community actively supporting and campaigning for him. Several such groups will be identified and/or can be organized by field coordinators. Additionally, Black celebrities will be used in special events. Commitments for key appearances, such as has been obtained from Sammy Davis, Jr., will be sought.

Use Of High Administration Appointees. It is not generally realized how many Blacks have been appointed to high positions by the President, nor the extent of the effectiveness in implementing important programs. Some of them are politically experienced and effective in public appearances.

A sustained effort will be started to raise the profiles of high Black Administration appointees. Approaches will include:

- (1) An expanded schedule of well-publicized speaking engagements before important audiences. This effort should be coordinated by minority White House staff (Stan Scott and Bob Brown) during the campaign (with assistance from the Scheduling and Speakers Bureau Office) and should tie in closely with the Council of Black Appointees.
- (2) Dissemination of news and feature stories to the Black press. Stan Scott in Herb Klein's office, has made progress over the past several months in establishing better lines of communication between the Administration and Black newspapers across the country. These publications are read extensively and do have impact in the Black community.
- (3) Inclusion, where appropriate, of Black appointees on Presidential trips to their home areas (and on Cabinet member engagements).



Recommendation: That you approve the concept of high visibility of influential Blacks and of Black political appointees during the campaign, and the implementation of the three approaches listed above.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

That you approve of the assignment of Stan Scott of Herb Klein's office to working with the Executive Director, to be responsible for the public relations outlined above and to work closely with Public Information Offices of departments and agencies in disseminating information on Black appointees.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



Opinion Leaders Of The Black Community

A series of White House briefings have shown that there are Blacks who want to work with the Administration. These individuals are to a great extent those who are making it within the system, and whose opinions have some influence within the Black community. Some have indicated a strong interest in working toward the President's re-election.

These opinion leaders could be used most effectively if organized into groups reflecting professions or special interests; for example, business executives, educators, athletes, etc. They would act to spread the word about Administration accomplishments and generate support for the President through mailings, speaking appearances and press releases. Further, the existence of such citizens' groups would provide a vehicle for the involvement of other persons who want to actively participate in the campaign, whether through volunteer work or financial contribution. Black Citizens Committee members should be integrated into overall re-election Committees such as youth, women, educators, etc. -- as they are announced.

The following four groups should be immediately set up and budgeted in order to begin operations immediately. Other groups of Black professionals and special

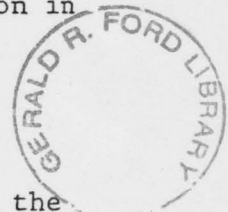
interests groups would be established later following the basic pattern set forth by the initial four groups:

1. Black Young Business Executives for the Re-Election of the President

This group would be made up of people on the order of Abraham Venable, former Director of OMBE and presently Director of Urban Affairs for General Motors; Aubrey Lewis, Assistant Vice President with Woolworth and former All-American football star with Notre Dame; John Sims, Director of Minority Affairs with U.S. Plywood Champion Papers; James Mack, President, B & C. Associates, High Point, North Carolina; Ronald Evans, of ITT, Washington Office; and LeRoy Jeffries, Los Angeles businessman. These men are strong supporters of the President. A budget of \$2,000 should be appropriated for this group to begin operation in April.

2. Black Churchmen for the Re-Election of the President

This will be a vitally important committee as it would represent the most powerful single force in the Black community. The Black minister plays an important role in influencing his congregation. We have close relations with a number of Black clergymen who support the President. Among them are Dr. William Holmes Borders, Pastor, Wheat Street Baptist Church in Atlanta; Dr. L.V. Booth of Cincinnati; Bishop William M. Smith of the AME Zion Church, who is also a member of the Alabama Republican Executive Committee; Dr. J.J. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention (National Baptist is the largest Black church group in the Nation); Rev. Arthur Marshall of St. Louis; Rev. Roland Smith of Atlanta who is one of the founders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In light of the high priority role that this group will play, a budget of \$10,000 is recommended to begin operation in April. Ministers will also be used to work with field coordinators in key congressional districts and states with their salaries sup-



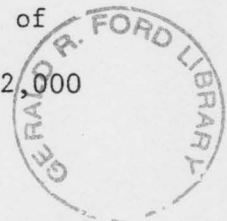
plemented on a per diem basis.

3. Black Educators for the Re-Election of the President

This group could be headed up by Dr. Helen Edmonds, former member of U.S. Delegation to the U.N. and former Dean of the Graduate School of North Carolina Central University. She is dedicated Republican, having made a seconding speech for the nomination of President Eisenhower at the Republican National Convention. The budget for this group should be \$3,000 to begin operations in April.

4. Black Professional Athletes for the Re-Election of the President

The membership of this group would be based around men like Bennie McCrae of the New York Giants; Buddy Young, Assistant to the Commissioner of Football; Roger Brown of the Indianapolis Pacers, who was recently elected to the City Council as a Republican; Brady Keyes, formerly of the Philadelphia Eagles and now President of All-Pro Chicken. The recommended budget for this group is \$2,000 and start-up date is April.



These budget recommendations should carry these groups through the first few weeks of actual operation and allow for Steering Committee to meet to develop strategy, for initial dissemination of information materials and press releases, for mailings and in appropriate instances, for travel.

Other Black Citizens' Committees which might also be formed and later meshed with total Re-Election Committee efforts are listed in Tab C.

Recommendation: That you approve the concept of actively involving noted Black leaders in the re-election of the President by the formation of Black citizen groups, and inclusion of key persons on Re-Election Committees lists and that you authorize the Executive Director to immediately begin forming the groups in detail.

The start-up budget would be \$17,000 to be expended on meetings, travel, publicity, mailings and appearances before various Black regional and national conventions and meetings. That you approve of the concept with a detailed operating budget for the campaign to be submitted for each major group. It is anticipated the outlay will not be considerable. In some instances Black fund raising efforts can partially defray expenses. Committee members will be phased into overall Committees.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Local Republican Organizations

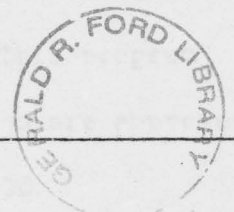
We must depend on attracting new supporters for the greatest assistance. However, there are traditional local Black Republican organizations in many cities and they should be given every opportunity for maximum participation. They should be actively worked with by the minority specialist at the Republican National Committee. This will also serve to minimize competitiveness between Republicans and others supporting re-election efforts.

Recommendation: That the Executive Director of the Black Voters Division of the Re-Election Committee establish a coordinating group, including the Black staff of the Republican National Committee, the Campaign Congressional Committee and representatives of Black Republican Clubs for the purpose of providing a coordinating effort for representatives of Black Republican groups to allow maximum involvement of Black Republicans.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Black Republican Candidates

A Republican Presidential campaign has a great deal of difficulty in attaining visibility in many Black communities. The local politics, including Congressional races in some instances, are heavily dominated by the Democratic Party. In 1972, however, for the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an oppor-



tunity to field Black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election and/or making a creditable showing. In particular, viable candidates should be identified to oppose the members of the Congressional Black Caucus. If strong Republican campaigns can be run, they will serve the multiple purposes of

- (1) Keeping the Black Caucus members involved in their home districts, rather than campaigning across the country for the Democratic nominee.
- (2) Presenting the possibility of defeating Democratic incumbents in the House.
- (3) Establishing a method for publicizing the record of the Administration in the Black community.
- (4) Most important, extending the Republican Presidential campaign into those communities, by association of the local candidate with the President and his record, and, hopefully, cutting into the Democratic vote plurality.
- (5) Allowing post-election follow-up to build Party loyalty and allegiance.

Two steps are needed to implement this strategy:

- (1) To immediately identify attractive candidates and convince them to run.
- (2) To assure adequate financial support to conduct an effective campaign.

Recommendation: That you approve the strategy of fielding strong Republican candidates in as many predominately Black districts as possible, and that you authorize an immediate search begin to identify appropriate persons to enter those races. This program should also assure some level of financial support to those candidates who are approved (through the Congressional Campaign Committee). Estimated cost is \$50,000.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



Republican National Convention

The Republican National Convention will provide an opportunity to demonstrate that the Party is really relating to the Black community. In that connection, it is urged that early planning go into this aspect of the Convention. While certain rules already dictate Convention procedure, it is highly desirable that we take advantage of the wide publicity that will flow from San Diego by developing an approach to:

1. Encourage states to have Black representation among delegates.
2. Assure that Blacks work on Convention planning committees.
3. Make certain that Convention special social events involve Blacks and that special events are planned for Blacks attending the Convention.
4. Use Blacks in Convention jobs as pages, secretaries, etc.
5. Involve prominent Blacks in key visible roles such as nominating and/or seconding speeches, delivering of invocation and appearances before appropriate Convention Committees receiving national attention.

Recommendations

1. That you approve of Blacks being assigned to convention planning committees.

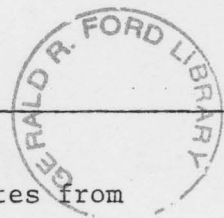
APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

2. That appropriate states be encouraged to have Black delegates from districts in which there is a sizeable Black population.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

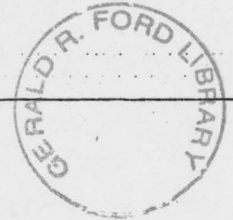
3. That social events include Blacks and that special social events be planned for Blacks.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



4. That Blacks be seriously considered for key visible roles such as delivering nominating and/or secondary speeches, as keynoter, for convention committees (Senator Brooke, James Farmer, Art Fletcher, Ben Davis, Chappie James, Dr. J. J. Jackson, are among leading Blacks who will serve).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



Special Events

The Black appointed officials have committed themselves to raising a minimum of \$100,000 for the re-election of the President. This will be handled by the Council of Black Appointees and coordinated by Bob Brown.

A black tie dinner is recommended for the Washington, D.C. area. Suggested theme: "Moving Into The Mainstream" -- will honor the President. Cost will be \$100.00 per plate or \$1,000 per table.

Major entertainment will be solicited. The President should be the featured speaker at this national Black tribute to his accomplishments. Cabinet officers and other high ranking Administration officials should be encouraged to be present.

As the campaign progresses, other special events will be planned throughout the country on a regional and state basis. Black entertainers for the re-election of the President will be called on to contribute to the events.

The PR value of large gatherings of Blacks in support of the President will have a favorable effect on the Black voter.

Recommendation

That you approve the idea of a special event honoring the President, sponsored and arranged by the Black political appointees and coordinated by Bob Brown's office. A detailed plan will be presented for final approval before the event is announced.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



Communications

A major element of the strategy for capturing a larger share of the Black vote in 1972 will be to inform the people of successful Administration programs. This will require effective use of all possible media, because it is inherently difficult to get the Republican message to these voters. The Communications program should flow through the Committee's Press and Advertising Divisions and utilize major elements as follows:

1. The Black Press. These newspapers are probably more influential than their counterparts in the White community. As noted before, improving lines of communication are being established with the editors. As the campaign progresses, we may be less able to place Administration oriented material in the news sections, because it may be seen as "too political" by unsympathetic editors. However, a combination of news releases plus advertising could be used effectively as part of State Victory Plans. A detailed communications plan, including timing and tone of ads and resources to be used will be developed through the Committee's Advertising Division and will jointly involve the Nixon State organization and the Re-Election Committee Black Vote Division.
2. Other mass media. Radio "soul" stations are very influential in many Black communities. Television has great impact, as it does with all American families. It is proposed that a Black Communications Advisory Group be formed to work closely with the overall campaign advertising staff to obtain the greatest possible impact in the Black community.
3. Printed materials. With respect to direct mail, brochures, posters, leaflets, newsletters and other printed materials, it will be essential that publication and dissemination be under the auspices of one of the Black Citizens Committees already recommended while produced through

the Advertising Division. Done in this manner, these will possess the necessary credibility to accomplish the basic purpose of the effort; to influence the Black vote. Budget information is attached. See Tab F.

To disseminate information about Administration achievements, a monthly newsletter highlighting Black involvement in Federal and other programs is proposed. Qualified Black agencies are available to assist in these efforts and should be used by the Advertising Division.

4. Spokesmen. As mentioned earlier, expanded speaking schedules have been recommended for appointed Black officials. In addition, there should be greater visibility of non-Black top level officials in the Black community, through participation in speaking engagements and cultural activities. The Committee's Scheduling and Speakers Bureau should assign a staff person to this area (preferably a Black) to coordinate efforts. Additionally, certain non-Administration Black citizens who are opinion makers will be used in speaking engagements before civic, social, fraternal and religious groups and attention will be given to developing at least one super star spokesman who can commend national attention.

Recommendation
~~That you approve~~ of the use of key Black spokesmen in appropriate instances to tell of the President's achievements and to publicize appointments affecting Blacks with an initial budget of \$5,000 for per diem travel expenses. Additional budget information will be built into State Victory Plans for key states.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Recommendation

That you approve the employment of three field coordinators, to be appointed by the Executive Director and to report directly to him. These three would be appointed in April, May, June so that there would be time to accomplish the necessary organizational work by the time the campaign is in full swing in late summer and to offset



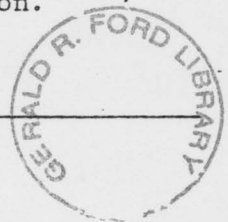
Democrat efforts stemming from State Primaries. Their salary range would be \$1,400--\$1,700 per month plus travel expenses.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Recommendation

That you approve the use of ministers and opinion makers as consultants -- ten persons initially for approximately twenty days each at \$100 per day -- a total of \$20,000 plus expenses. Consultants will be used in key states as part of the field operation; as support for field coordinators; in connection with key state primaries (as Calif.) and in lining up support in their given areas of specialization.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



ORGANIZATION

As has been proposed for other specific voter groups, this plan contemplates an organization headed by a highly visible Chairman with Co-Chairmen and a Steering Committee and an Executive Director who will be responsible for the day-to-day operations. The most critical appointment is that of Executive Director. The Chairman should be appointed shortly after the official announcement of the appointment of the Executive Director.

This organization will be a part of the Re-Election Committee, reporting to the campaign management. It will coordinate closely with top appointed Black officials within the Administration with appropriate White House staff and with the Republican National Committee.

In order to assure maximum coordination from the out-set a team approach to implementation of strategy and execution of the plan of action will be used. The team coordinating efforts will include Paul R. Jones, Black Vote Division Executive Director, Robert Brown, Special Assistant to the President; Stan Scott, White House Communi-

cations Staff Member; Ed Sexton, RNC and Samuel Jackson, Assistant Secretary of HUD (representing the Council of Black Appointees). It is anticipated that this group will meet regularly on a weekly basis and inter-act daily as needed.

An analysis of past efforts to attract Black votes underscores the primary concern of Washington staff placing emphasis on organization, coordination and control. In addition to the Executive Director it is proposed that a Deputy Director be brought onboard early with responsibility for Administration; day to day supervision of field operations. This will provide for synchronizing efforts of field coordinators with State Chairmen operations.

As the very creation of a Black Vote Division serves to attract a large, disproportionate number of Blacks (PR and consultant firms, advertising agencies, press representatives, volunteers and job seekers) to Black staff members an Administrative Assistant will work in this area with visitors, correspondence and phone-callers (a load which has already reached a point of justification of this position).

While the number of field coordinators is small (3) it is expected that they will travel extensively initially to assist in setting up state-wide organizational structures and that their efforts will be augmented by select consultants. As we move toward Convention and election, and key states are more clearly identified, their attention will narrow in focus to the areas of concentration of Black population therein. (See Tab D for present ranking of States).

The proposed organization chart is shown in Tab E. These positions are considered absolutely necessary to accomplish the general program plan as outlined.

Recommendation

That you approve the organization chart and staffing plan as proposed. Recommendations of specific candidates will be presented separately before positions are filled.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Conclusion

While political strategists are increasingly aware of the importance of the Black vote in Presidential elections it has generally been assumed that most Blacks who go to the polls will vote for Democrat candidates. With a growing sophistication in the Black electorate, 1972 is a year in which this awareness can have an enormous impact on the Presidential election. Tab F provides an indication of the effect that can be made by additional Black voter turn-out, Party switch, or stay-at-home approaches.

The calculations from the tables point out a message that is loud and clear: Black votes will be crucial in 1972.

With several candidates seeking the Democrat nomination through State Primary contests a large number of Blacks will be sought out for early involvement and commitment. It is thus vitally important that this general plan of action be instituted early to create a positive PR climate for the President and his Administration -- highlighting concern for the Black community.

In support of staff efforts it is proposed that emphasis be placed on closer control of grants, loans, contracts and appointments -- especially from socially-oriented Departments and agencies. What the Administration does economically is key. The major issues of concern to the rank and file Black voter are those which have an economic base. They are concerned about those things that affect day to day livelihood and well-being.

It is important that visitors see, and publicity indicates, greater visibility of Blacks working at Re-Election Committee headquarters. We ought to move immediately to alleviate the absence of Blacks on staff. This point has been stressed by the Council of Black Appointees. We have done well with Youth and Women, but not with Blacks.



Recommendation

That you approve of recruiting/hiring of Blacks for the Re-Election Committee in areas other than with the Black Vote Division.

Many Black Appointees have not seen the President. The President's appearance at the Bob Brown Tribute (of nearly 3,000 Blacks from across the Nation) was seen as his most positive appearance to date and begins to indicate to Blacks that he takes these vote seriously.

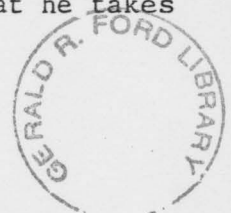
Recommendation

That you approve of a brief appearance of the President at a meeting of key Black Appointees. Such event could be held at the White House and called by Bob Brown. It's effect would be positive and serve to encourage Appointees.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Finally, the program plan is based on the premise that the current Black political posture is pragmatic -- the feeling being that Black voters should be practical and selfish on behalf of Black people -- that they should not be taken for granted -- that they must take whatever they can from whomever they can -- and that they should support, with less regard to Party, whoever offers the best response to a developing Black agenda. This mood offers a real opportunity for the President to make substantial gains in the percentage of Blacks votes attracted as contrasted with 1968. The Black vote in 1972 then must be seen as the PLUS FACTOR -- a margin to victory in key states.

The strategy is to cash in on the Black attitude of not wanting all eggs-in-one-basket. Many Blacks feel the President will win with or without their support. Many of these want to be a part of a winning team. The plan is designed to provide this opportunity. With the candidate already in office, there is every opportunity to respond positively to Black concerns in coming months -- by moving Blacks toward fuller employment and more adequate housing, toward greater protection against crime and toward reform of the criminal justice system, toward treatment of Blacks



education as a national resource and toward more comprehensive health care.

While overall strategy is to work in cities and states with significant Black population, Tab G ranks states in their present order of importance and serves as an indication of areas for concentrated major efforts -- where Black voting bloc shifts can serve as a swing vote.

Retreat/Planning/Strategy Session

In order to launch the Black Vote Division campaign it is proposed to bring 25-30 key persons into Washington for a retreat/planning/strategy session. It is estimated that transportation, accommodations and expenses will run \$5,000. The Chairman and appropriate Re-Election staff will be invited to appear before the group. In connection with the retreat a select group of supporters could be invited to a Blair House briefing.

Recommendation

That you approve of the retreat and the \$5,000 budget connected therewith and that a Blair House briefing be included in arrangements.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

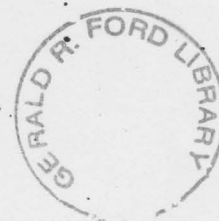


TAB A



REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGES AMONG THE NON-WHITE VOTE

<u>Year</u>	<u>GOP Per Cent</u>	<u>Election</u>
1952	21%	Presidential
1954	22%	Congressional
1956	39%	Presidential
1958	31%	Congressional
1960	32%	Presidential
1962	26%	Congressional
1964	6%	Presidential
1966	19%	Congressional
1968	12%	Presidential

(Source: Gallup Poll)

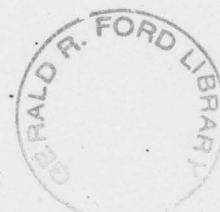


TAB C



POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL BLACK CITIZENS' GROUPS
FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1. Black Financial Executives -- (Savings & Loan, Insurance) for the Re-election of the President;
2. Black Women for the Re-election of the President;
3. Black Bank Officials for the Re-election of the President;
4. Black Lawyers for the Re-election of the President;
5. Black Physicians for the Re-election of the President;
6. Minority Contractors for the Re-election of the President;
7. Black Senior Citizens for the Re-election of the President;
8. Blacks for Safe Communities, organized for the Re-election of the President;
9. Black Consulting Firms for the Re-election of the President;
10. Black Entertainers for the Re-election of the President;
11. Black Barbers and Beauticians for the Re-election of the President;
12. Black Morticians for the Re-election of the President;
13. Black Dentists for the Re-election of the President;
14. Black Farmers for the Re-election of the President;
15. Black Manufacturers for the Re-election of the President;
16. Black Elected Officials for the Re-election of the President;
17. Black Law Enforcement Officers Committee for the Re-election of the President;
18. Black Newspaper Publishers for the Re-election of the President;
19. Black Youth for the Re-election of the President;
20. Black Fraternal Officers for the Re-election of the President;
21. Black Real Estate Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

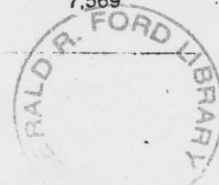


TAB D



100 city **EBONY** magazine families

City	Black Population*	% Black of Total	Black Families	EBONY Circulation†	% Prime EBONY Family Coverage
Akron, Ohio	68,000	22.0	15,596	3,111	19.9
Atlanta, Ga.	212,000	39.0	48,623	11,254	23.7
Atlantic City, N.J.	29,000	47.0	6,651	1,378	20.7
Augusta, Ga.	36,000	51.0	8,257	2,186	26.5
Austin, Texas	32,000	14.0	7,339	1,297	17.7
Baltimore, Md.	432,000	47.0	99,083	16,015	16.2
Baton Rouge, La.	55,000	32.0	12,615	2,961	23.5
Beaumont, Texas	41,000	30.0	9,404	1,594	17.0
Berkeley, Calif.	34,000	31.0	7,798	3,105	39.8
Birmingham, Ala.	141,000	40.0	32,339	6,197	19.2
Boston, Mass.	85,000	13.0	19,495	9,593	49.2
Buffalo, N.Y.	114,000	22.0	26,147	4,807	18.4
Camden, N.J.	38,000	32.0	8,716	2,151	24.7
Charleston, S.C.	36,000	57.0	8,257	2,001	24.2
Charlotte, N.C.	67,000	27.0	15,367	4,012	26.7
Chattanooga, Tenn.	48,000	38.0	11,009	1,572	14.9
Chester, Pa.	29,000	45.0	6,651	2,070	31.7
Chicago, Ill.	1,150,000	32.0	263,761	80,002	30.3
Cincinnati, Ohio	150,000	31.0	34,404	8,506	24.7
Cleveland, Ohio	305,000	38.0	69,954	23,098	33.0
Columbia, S.C.	29,000	27.0	6,651	2,254	33.9
Columbus, Ga.	35,000	25.0	8,028	1,784	22.2
Columbus, Ohio	167,000	32.0	38,303	6,512	17.0
Compton, Calif.	52,000	51.0	11,927	3,336	28.0
Dallas, Texas	200,000	25.0	45,872	6,327	13.9
Dayton, Ohio	85,000	30.0	19,495	6,224	31.9
Denver, Colo.	51,000	10.0	11,697	4,828	41.9
Detroit, Mich.	800,000	47.0	183,486	41,347	22.5
Durham, N.C.	30,000	35.0	6,881	2,388	34.7
E. Orange, N.J.	28,000	29.0	6,422	2,810	43.8
E. St. Louis, Ill.	44,000	54.0	10,092	2,310	22.9
Elizabeth, N.J.	27,000	25.0	6,193	968	15.5
Flint, Mich.	52,000	26.0	11,927	3,150	26.4
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	35,000	27.0	8,028	990	12.9
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	26,000	14.0	5,963	1,554	28.7
Ft. Worth, Texas	83,000	20.0	19,037	2,241	11.9
Gary-Hammond-E. Chicago, Ind.	113,000	32.0	25,917	7,119	27.5
Greensboro-High Point, N.C.	53,000	24.0	12,156	2,928	24.7
Hampton, Va.	30,000	21.0	6,881	1,569	22.9
Hartford, Conn.	33,000	21.0	7,569	2,658	35.7
Houston, Texas	310,000	27.0	71,100	9,016	12.7
Indianapolis, Ind.	145,000	29.0	33,257	9,720	29.2
Jackson, Miss.	60,000	34.0	13,761	1,724	12.9
Jacksonville, Fla.	94,000	47.0	21,560	4,024	13.7
Jersey City, N.J.	52,000	20.0	11,927	2,192	18.4
Kansas City, Kan.-Mo.	153,000	25.0	35,092	8,256	23.5
Las Vegas, Nev.	28,000	22.0	6,422	927	14.4
Little Rock, Ark.	30,000	20.0	6,881	2,175	37.5
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	728,000	21.0	166,972	41,250	24.7
Louisville, Ky.	91,000	24.0	20,872	5,314	25.5
Macon, Ga.	32,000	45.0	7,339	1,214	15.5
Memphis, Tenn.	226,000	39.0	51,835	8,039	15.5
Miami Fla.	105,000	28.0	24,083	5,267	21.9
Milwaukee, Wisc.	146,000	18.0	33,486	5,375	19.7
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	33,000	4.0	7,569	4,267	56.4



coverage

CITIES OF 25,000 OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

City	Black Population*	% Black of Total	Black Families	EBONY Circulation†	% Primary EBONY Family Coverage
Mobile, Ala.	86,000	33.0	19,725	1,662	8.4
Monroe, La.	30,000	45.0	6,881	601	8.7
Montgomery, Ala.	51,000	32.0	11,697	1,667	14.3
Mount Vernon, N.Y.	25,000	35.0	5,734	2,764	48.2
Nashville, Tenn.	73,000	43.0	16,743	4,253	25.4
Newark, N.J.	185,000	46.0	42,431	7,232	17.0
New Haven, Conn.	28,000	20.0	6,422	2,812	43.8
New Orleans, La.	303,000	45.0	69,495	9,076	13.1
Newport News, Va.	44,000	34.0	10,092	1,688	16.7
New York, N.Y.	1,500,000	19.0	344,037	127,033	36.9
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.	137,000	25.0	31,422	7,373	23.5
Oklahoma City, Okla.	52,000	18.0	11,927	3,176	26.6
Omaha, Neb.	44,000	12.0	10,092	2,126	21.1
Orlando, Fla.	30,000	23.0	6,881	1,058	15.4
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	40,000	14.0	9,174	2,030	22.1
Philadelphia, Pa.	700,000	32.0	160,550	54,468	33.9
Phoenix, Ariz.	60,000	10.0	13,761	1,859	13.5
Pittsburgh, Pa.	126,000	21.0	28,899	7,959	27.5
Port Arthur, Texas	28,000	37.0	6,422	449	7.0
Portland, Ore.	25,000	7.0	5,734	2,768	48.3
Prichard, Ala.	44,000	60.0	10,092	150	1.5
Raleigh, N.C.	26,000	20.0	5,963	1,617	27.1
Richmond, Va.	110,000	51.0	25,229	5,702	22.6
Rochester, N.Y.	42,000	14.0	9,633	2,632	27.3
Sacramento, Calif.	64,000	22.0	14,679	3,134	21.4
Saginaw, Mich.	30,000	30.0	6,881	1,659	24.1
St. Louis, Mo.	320,000	46.0	73,394	15,254	20.8
St. Petersburg, Fla.	34,000	13.0	7,798	1,097	14.1
San Antonio, Texas	72,000	10.0	16,514	3,159	19.1
San Diego, Calif.	72,000	10.0	16,514	4,188	25.4
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	266,000	24.0	61,009	19,442	31.9
Savannah, Ga.	59,000	33.0	13,532	2,086	15.4
Seattle, Wash.	56,000	9.0	12,844	4,455	34.7
Shreveport, La.	73,000	40.0	16,743	1,930	11.5
South Bend, Ind.	25,000	17.0	5,734	849	14.8
Tampa, Fla.	61,000	17.0	13,991	1,610	11.5
Toledo, Ohio	77,000	23.0	17,661	3,167	17.9
Trenton, N.J.	46,000	42.0	10,550	4,072	38.6
Tulsa, Okla.	28,000	8.0	6,422	2,701	42.1
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	28,000	35.0	6,422	885	13.8
Washington, D.C.	574,000	68.0	131,651	48,905	37.1
Wilmington, Del.	38,000	42.0	8,716	2,439	28.0
Winston-Salem, N.C.	46,000	34.0	10,550	3,011	28.5
Wichita, Kan.	44,000	14.0	10,092	1,694	16.8
Youngstown-Warren, Ohio	55,000	24.0	12,615	3,164	25.1
100 City Total	13,165,000	25.4	3,019,495	780,023	25.8
Other Areas	9,562,000	6.2	2,193,119	469,977*	21.4
U.S. Total	22,727,000 +	11.2	5,212,614	1,250,000*	24.0

Source: * CRM Estimate 1970 Based on U.S. Census Figures Available Since 1960 † EBONY CIRCULATION, AUGUST 1969.

+ U.S. Bureau of Census (1969 Est.) ♦ Based on Guaranteed Minimum. • Guaranteed Minimum. January 1, 1970.



TAB D

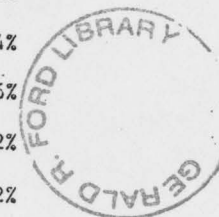
STATES		TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	% OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE '68
CALIFORNIA	45	19,953,134	1,400,143	881,341	6.3	H-44%, N-48%, W-7%
OHIO	25	10,652,017	970,477	617,225	8.4	H-43%, N-45%, W-12%
ILLINOIS	26	11,113,976	1,425,674	872,717	11.3	H-44%, N-47%, W-9%
TEXAS	26	11,196,730	1,399,005	918,744	12.0	H-41%, N-40%, W-19%
PENNSYLVANIA	27	11,793,909	1,016,514	680,803	8.1	H-48%, N-44%, W-8%
NEW YORK	41	18,241,266	2,169,455	1,443,643	11.1	H-58%, N-40%, W-3%
NEW JERSEY	17	7,168,164	770,292	476,502	9.5	H-44%, N-46%, W-9%(1% error)
MISSOURI	12	4,677,399	480,191	299,345	9.0	H-44%, N-45%, W-11%
GEORGIA	12	4,589,575	1,187,149	728,675	23.3	H-27%, N-30%, W-43%
MARYLAND	10	3,953,698	699,479	452,587	16.6	H-44%, N-42%, W-14%
FLORIDA	17	6,789,443	1,050,000	630,027	12.8	H-31%, N-41%, W-29%
INDIANA	13	5,193,669	357,000	220,070	6.2	H-39%, N-50%, W-12%
NORTH CAROLINA	13	5,082,059	1,126,478	701,401	19.9	H-29%, N-40%, W-31%
SOUTH CAROLINA	8	2,559,253	789,041	471,603	27.0	H-30%, N-38%, W-32%
WISCONSIN	11	4,417,933	128,224	72,290	2.4	H-44%, N-48%, W-8%
VIRGINIA	12	4,648,494	861,368	548,285	17.0	H-33%, N-44%, W-24%(1% error)
TENNESSEE	10	3,924,164	621,305	410,384	15.0	H-28%, N-38%, W-34%
KENTUCKY	9	3,219,311	241,000	150,626	6.8	H-38%, N-44%, W-18%
ARKANSAS	6	1,923,295	352,445	212,952	15.6	H-30%, N-31%, W-39%



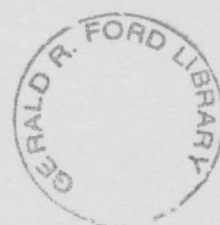
STATES		TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	BLACK VOTE AGE POPULATION	% OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE '68
LOUISIANA	10	3,643,180	1,086,986	652,392	27.2	H-28%, N-24%, W-48%
OKLAHOMA	8	2,559,253	178,000	106,340	5.8	H-32%, N-48%, W-20%
CONNECTICUT	8	3,032,217	181,000	108,544	5.1	H-50%, N-44%, W-6%
ALABAMA	9	3,444,165	903,467	553,419	23.5	H-15%, N-15%, W-71%
MISSISSIPPI	7	2,216,912	815,770	473,392	32.3	H-23%, N-14%, W-63%
MICHIGAN	21	8,875,083	991,066	623,322	10.4	H-48%, N-42%, W-10%
KANSAS	7	2,249,071	107,000	66,879	4.2	H-35%, N-55%, W-10%
DELAWARE	3	548,104	78,000	47,427	12.8	H-42%, N-45%, W-13%
NEVADA	3	488,738	28,000	16,046	4.8	H-39%, N-48%, W-13%
COLORADO	7	2,207,259	66,000	41,797	2.8	H-41%, N-51%, W-8%
WASHINGTON	9	3,409,169	71,000	45,300	1.9	H-47%, N-45%, W-7%
WEST VIRGINIA	6	1,744,237	74,000	45,316	3.7	H-50%, N-41%, W-10%(1% Error)
WASHINGTON, D.C.	3	757,000	538,000	371,592	66.8	H-82%, N-18%, W-0%
ARIZONA	6	1,772,482	53,000	31,818	2.7	H-36%, N-55%, W-10%
NEBRASKA	5	1,484,791	40,000	23,669	2.3	H-32%, N-60%, W-8%
NEW MEXICO	4	1,016,000	20,000	11,541	1.8	H-40%, N-52%, W-8%
IOWA	8	2,825,041	33,000	19,890	1.0	H-41%, N-53%, W-5%
OREGON	6	2,091,385	26,000	16,789	1.1	H-44%, N-50%, W-6%
ALASKA	3	302,173	9,000	5,883	3.0	H-43%, N-45%, W-12%

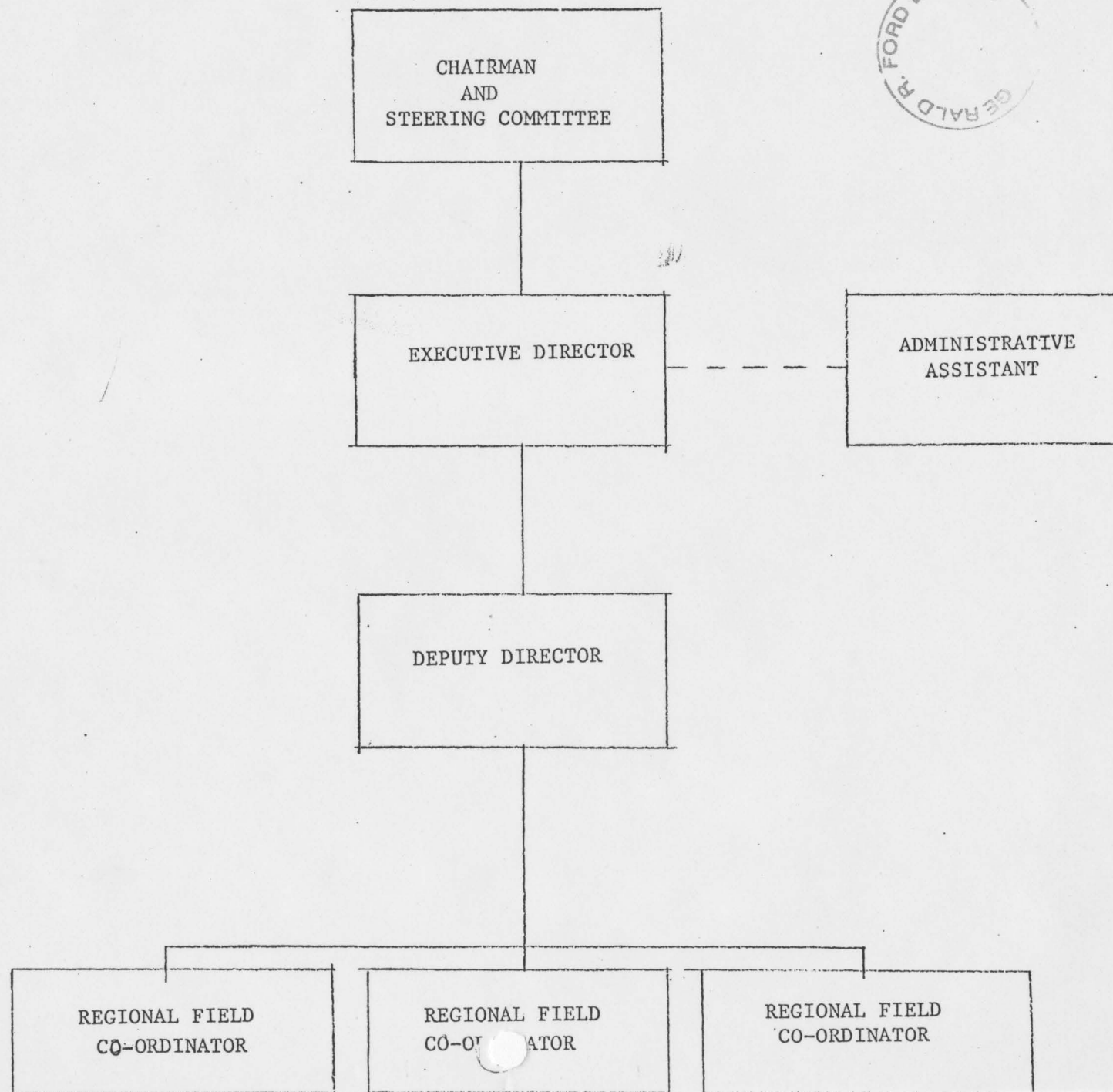


STATES		TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	BLACK VOTE AGE POPULATION	% OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE '68
MASSACHUSETTS	14	5,689,170	176,000	107,814	2.7	H-63%, N-33%, W-4%
RHODE ISLAND	4	949,723	25,000	16,158	2.4	H-64%, N-32%, W-4%
NEW HAMPSHIRE	4	737,681	3,000	1,615	.31	H-44%, N-52%, W-4%
UTAH	4	1,059,273	7,000	4,607	.67	H-37%, N-57%, W-6%
MAINE	4	993,663	3,000	1,828	.30	H-55%, N-43%, W-2%
HAWAII	4	769,913	8,000	5,212	.10	H-60%, N-39%, W-2%
MONTANA	4	694,409	2,000	4,388	.29	H-42%, N-51%, W-7%
IDAHO	4	713,008	2,000	(Total Non-White) 1,458	.30	H-31%, N-57%, W-13%
MINNESOTA	10	3,805,069	35,000	21,403	.80	H-54%, N-42%, W-4%
SOUTH DAKOTA	4	666,257	2,000	1,086	.23	H-42%, N-53%, W-5%
WYOMING	3	332,416	3,000	1,600	.70	H-36%, N-56%, W-9%
NORTH DAKOTA	3	617,761	2,000	1,515	.36	H-38%, N-56%, W-6%
VERMONT	3	444,732	2,000	537	.17	H-44%, N-53%, W-3%



TAB E





	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Expenses</u>		
Chairman		1,000	Apr.	8,000
Executive Director	2,600	1,000	Jan.	39,600
Secretary/Admin. Aide	830	--	Jan.	9,170
Administrative Asst.	1,800	1,000	Mar.	25,200
Deputy Director	2,000	1,000	Apr.	24,000
Secretary	700	--	Apr.	5,600
Regional Field Coordinator	1,500	1,500	Apr.	24,000
Regional Field Coordinator	1,500	1,500	May	21,000
Regional Field Coordinator	1,500	1,500	Jun.	18,000

TAB F



BLACK MEDIA ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

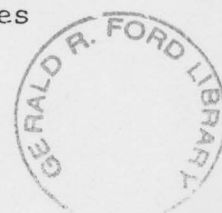
Brochure/Radio Advertising/Black Newspapers

Research clearly shows that minority-related Presidential initiatives, no matter how important, fail in terms of desired impact unless those initiatives are articulated and disseminated to the minority community through the minority media. Some of the major communications machinery presently available in reaching the 7-million potential Black voters include 173 Black newspapers, with a combined circulation of 3,589,103 and a total readership of about 8-million, and some 500 radio stations that direct all or portions of their programming to Black audiences.

Another specific communications thrust we should direct to the minority community includes brochures of facts and figures spelling out Presidential initiatives. Example: two Black men of General military rank when President Nixon assumed office... there are now six Generals and one Black Admiral, the first in history; President Nixon's appointment of first Black U.S. Military Court of Appeals; first time ever that seven Black Ambassadors have served under a President; aid to Black colleges, aid to minority business enterprise; aid to Black banks, etc. In addition to the list of positive facts and figures, the brochures would include photos of the President meeting with top Black leaders and Black Presidential appointees at the White House.

Once the brochure is finalized, an edited version would be used in leaflets and posters which would be distributed in the Black community.

In view of the fact that nearly half the nation's Black population is now concentrated in 50 cities, and a third of the total is in 15 cities,



it seems that maximum advertising effort should be centered in those 50 cities with the largest number of Negroes, and use of remaining resources in the other areas.

BROCHURE -- We should immediately produce an attractive brochure highlighting progress in civil rights and related social programs by President Nixon. The brochure, complete with photographs, would include the aforementioned Administration civil rights initiatives. The brochure also would include previously unlisted initiatives now in preparation, and would be updated as necessary throughout the campaign. The brochure would be mailed nation-wide to our in-house list of supporters, potential supporters, Black civic and social organizations, and would be distributed by Black appointed officials in appearances before Black groups. (Cost estimate 150,000 copies -- \$18,000 with possible second revised run at initial cost).

BLACK ORIENTED RADIO STATIONS -- We should reach the 50 most populated Black areas of the country. It is essential to saturate these 50 markets, with remaining resources elsewhere.

COST SUMMARY RADIO ADVERTISING IN NATION'S
50 TOP MINORITY MARKETS

<u>WEEKLY COST</u>		<u>12 WEEK COST</u>
1 PER DAY	\$13,455.40	\$161,464.80
2 PER DAY	\$25,289.10	\$303,469.20
3 PER DAY	\$36,572.95	\$438,875.40

This cost will drop proportionately if cut to the last month of the campaign.



BLACK NEWSPAPERS -- While there are presently 173 Black publications and three major magazines-Ebony-Jet-Tuesday-our newspaper advertising should concentrate on the 40 to 50 papers in the 50 cities where most of the Black population is located. We should continue scheduled meetings with Black publishers to strengthen Administration relations with this segment of the media. The schedule should include those cities where most of the Black population is concentrated. While most of the minority publishers are using our releases and photographs, we must encourage them to continue to use our material with a clear understanding that their publications would not be overlooked when the '72 campaign advertisement gets underway. In view of the fact that a majority of the Black publishers and editors are Democrats, we should personally approach the 40 or 50 papers in the target vote areas and reach a private understanding that we will give them display advertising with the clear understanding that they will run our releases and photos on a free basis. We would, of course, be monitoring all of their publications to ascertain that the agreement is being upheld. This is the successful arrangement made by the Eisenhower campaigners in 1956. These publishers would be paid on the installments plan to solidify our agreement. The releases to be sent to their publications with the advertising would, of course, be favorable to Presidential initiatives.

Cost Estimate

In terms of beaming our message through the 40 or 50 Black publications, it is strongly recommended that a budget of at least \$250,000 with remaining resources going to some of the fringe Black publications.

