

**The original documents are located in Box 7, folder “Brown, Robert J. - Transcript of "Black Journal" Television Program on the Campaign, October 1972” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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**WNET/13**

NATIONAL PROGRAMMING DIVISION

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October 20, 1972

Mr. Robert Brown  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO  
THE PRESIDENT  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

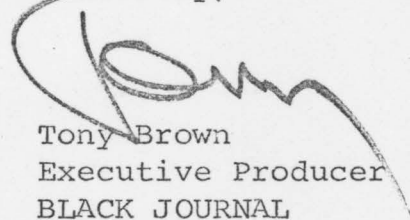
Dear Bob,

As I promised, I am enclosing a copy of the transcript of the program you taped with Waldaba Stewart, the New York State Senator.

Thank you very much for your promptness and let me apologize for the usual television studio delays. We're calling this program "Black Pro Nixon/Black Pro McGovern" and it will be broadcast nationally on the Public Broadcasting Service on Tuesday, October 31 at 9:30 p.m. (in D.C. on Channel 26).

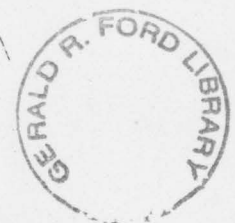
I've been thinking to myself that it is ironical that a picture of the President has been projected as forthright as you did in an atmosphere of fairness on a Black program oriented to Black people. In all of the previous settings in which proponents of Mr. Nixon have tried to describe him, I have never seen it relate as specifically to Blacks as you were able to do.

Sincerely,

  
Tony Brown  
Executive Producer  
BLACK JOURNAL

TB:ca  
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Stanley Scott



NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

BLACK JOURNAL

#304

BLACK PRO NIXON

BLACK PRO MC GOVERN

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MUSIC

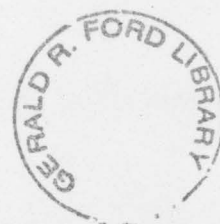
NARRATION

Black Journal is an on the air magazine reporting on the personalities, ideas and issues that affect black America. It attempts to achieve balance by reporting from a black perspective.

. . . .

NARRATION

This season we are offering you free the Black Journal magazine filled with articles about our program and philosophy, ideas of leading black and many more interesting features. For a free souvenir copy send your name and address and 50 cents in postage stamps, do not send cash, to Black Journal, Department M, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York . . . .



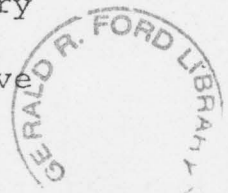
TONY BROWN

Now that the presidential election is only one week away, the black community grapples with itself for direction and a commitment to either George McGovern or Richard Nixon as our next president.

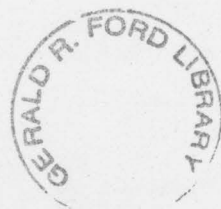
Symbolizing the difference in ideological orientation prevalent in the black community are Robert Brown, special assistant to President Nixon, who supports his reelection and Waldaba Stewart, a state senator from New York who supports the election of George McGovern as President. To either of you, to put our dialogue in perspective, although we are Americans and we are affected by the issues that affect affect all Americans, because we are black and our unique relationship to whites in this country, we as blacks are concerned how a president feels about black people, personally, because the president, at least thus far, has always been white. How would you respond to that, Mr. Brown? How do you feel that the president ideologically relates, or what do you think his basic attitude is toward black Americans?

ROBERT BROWN

In the 3 1/2 years since I've been in Washington, I think the president has made a unique effort to include blacks on every level within the federal structure, in jobs where blacks have



not served before, in the White House itself, tradition has been that you would have one black staffer and one black secretary, and that's the way it was when we came here, 3 1/2 years ago. It's no longer the case. In the office of management and budget alone in the White House, we have more than 30 young blacks, so all told I would say we have maybe 100 times more blacks in the White House itself than ever before. So I think what is happening, in the real sense, is that we've changed things to the point where it will never be the same again. All of the people who have talked about given anti Nixon attitudes and slogans and so forth, the president has set a record, he's set a record in all these areas, employment, sickle cell anemia, sickle cell anemia's been around a long time, black people have suffered from it for a thousand years, but up to two years ago, nobody ever thought too much about it, and this here's been the first president to move ahead in this area, and many others, to get blacks into business, in the mainstream of what's happening in the country. So I would say that from this, and from what he has done thus far, which is a tremendous beginning he has depicted an attitude that we want to get the job done, we don't want to promise people something and don't deliver and that is what has happened too often in the past.

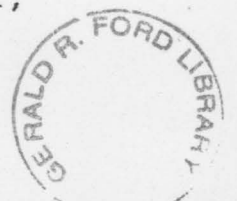


TONY BROWN

Mr. Stuart, although the polls indicate that Mr. McGovern is leading Mr. Nixon in the black community there's still a sentiment in the black community that Mr. McGovern, because he's from a state with a very small black constituency, perhaps, is not sensitive enough to the needs of black people. Now how do you size Mr. McGovern up, in comparison to Mr. Nixon, in ideological relation to the black community? Or to black people?

STUART

Well, Senator McGovern has proven himself to be a man with the guts to take morally sound positions, even at times at the cost to the point where it will never be the same again. All of the people who have talked about given anti Nixon attitudes and slogans and so forth, the president has set a record, he's set a record in all these areas, employment, sickle cell anemia, sickle cell anemia's been around a long time, Black people have suffered from it for a thousand years, but up to two years ago, nobody ever thought too much about it, and this here's been the first president to move ahead in this area, and many others, to get Blacks into business, in the mainstream of what's happening in the country. So I would say that from this, and from what he has done thus far, which is a tremendous beginning he has depicted an attitude that we want to get the job done, we don't want to promise people something and don't deliver and that is what has



TONY BROWN

Mr. Stuart, although the polls indicate that Mr. McGovern is leading Mr. Nixon in the Black community there's still a sentiment in the Black community that Mr. McGovern, because he's from a state with a very small Black constituency, perhaps, is not sensitive enough to the needs of Black people. Now how do you size Mr. McGovern up, in comparison to Mr. Nixon, in ideological relation to the Black community? Or to Black people?

STUART

Well, Senator McGovern has proven himself to be a man with the guts to take morally sound positions, even at times at the cost of support in certain sectors of our nation. He has had the courage and the commitment for example to work towards the reform of the Democratic party to make it more inclusive of all minority groups and all ideological factions within the democratic family. That took courage and commitment and what we need at this time in this nation is a president who will stand up for what is morally right in terms of the various ethnic groups and the various minorities of our country, and this is an area where we feel that McGovern does a much better job than Nixon.

TONY BROWN

By implication are you saying that Mr. Nixon does not take a moral position toward Black people?

STUART

Well, in many parts of our country there seems to be an open



I do not see the evidence of the moral commitment and the outspoken leadership on the part of President Nixon in this area of presidential activity that he should follow.

ROBERT BROWN

There are two things I'd like to respond to here, the courage situation the Senator brought up. When you talk about courage I think that a man like Senator McGovern who says one thing one day and the next day he's altogether different, courage, that it took for him to stand behind Senator Eagleton, 1,000 percent, and what happened to Senator Eagleton, the courage that it took when he announced back in 1971 that he was 1,000 percent behind the Black Caucus, for 6500 dollars a year for poor families, a change in the welfare system, and then get away from that and come to another kind of welfare program, then several months ago offering a welfare program of 1,000 dollars for every family in the country, that sort of thing, and then vacillate from that to something else. I think that the record is very clear in respect to Senator McGovern's courage, Senator McGovern in 1964, 65, when the amendments to the civil rights bills were coming up, Senator McGovern was either absent or he abstained from voting on those bills that affected the lives of Black people in this country. So I can't from the courage point of view, all the record says, it's just the opposite.

In terms of what you were saying about President doing certain things in certain areas, I think that the President has shown this nation that he's a man who can stand above the battle



Black hostility being against him, and everything else, doing more for Black people than the other Presidents have done, with all of the promises they made, we've had presidents who have said that they come out for moral commitment, we've had presidents who got on national TV and said we're gonna overcome and then they put one or two or three showcase Black folk up there and say, OK, we have overcome now, or that we're gonna end poverty in the next 3,4 years, and then we look up and Black folk are cut out, they're poorer than they were ever before. This is not...the Black people are no longer concerned with this kind of thing any more. I think what Black people are concerned about now are results. We've heard all the rhetoric, we know about we shall overcome, we know all the speeches, cause we've been hearing them all the time.

TONY BROWN

You feel that President Nixon's position on quotas, that he's limiting, eliminating I believe, the quota system that t<sup>h</sup>ey were using for Blacks in federal jobs, do you think that that adds to his record in terms of Black achievement?

ROBERT BROWN

Well, number one, we have never used quotas within the federal system, and there are very few systems anywhere that use quotas, because the same way a quota works for you it can work against you. As you know, for all too many years, just li<sup>k</sup>e the quota at the White House for Black folk, unwritten kind of quota, but a quota for a long time was zero, until the Eisenhower



quota in other areas, the federal communication commission where Judge Benjamin Hooks now serves, the quota for all time there was zero, there were no Blacks serving on the FCC, the quota for the US civil service commission was zero, and all this has been... Senator McGovern has been in congress for many many years, and if you want to do something about this, why is it that all of a sudden in 1972, he's coming out and he's gonna do something about Blacks serving in various positions and all of this? This is the first time that these kind of things have ever happened, and as a Black man having been involved in civil rights and many other areas, across this country, for a good number of years now, I happen to know that we wanted a high level man in the defense department for instance, at the Assistant Secretary level. There's never been one before this administration. I happen to know that we wanted an Assistant Postmaster General Black, there was never one before this administration. I happen to know that we wanted a civil service commission, and there are only three that control several million civil service jobs in this country, there was never a Black civil service commissioner before this administration.

STUART

Let me point out that most of the so called advancements made by Nixon were started by President Johnson, and all that Nixon did...let's take the small business development, he changed the name of OMBI and it's the same program continuing, that



Nixon administration. Let's deal again more specifically with courage. Yes, it takes courage to change a position if you feel that the practicality of the situations warrants change. But it doesn't really take much courage to take what is a position of a prevailing move to the right, in terms of our country that does not in effect benefit Black people. Like for example it doesn't take any courage for Nixon to say he's not for any quota. In fact, ...

ROBERT BROWN

Well, Senator McGovern has said the same thing.

STUART

It doesn't take any courage for Nixon to say that he's not for busing period. On any circumstance.

ROBERT BROWN

Or racial balance.

STUART

The latest quote I got was that...

It doesn't take any courage for Nixon to take a stand that puts him in an image as being not friendly to Black people. It doesn't take courage, because a certain percentage of his constituency have that position. All right? Now let me deal with a point that does take courage. It does take courage to say that you are morally committed, quota or no quota, to do right by every ethnic group in the country. I have not heard Nixon say that.



With respect to what you said President Johnson started, I recall that back in 1968, as a young Black businessman, the 8A (?) program and the SBA, the small business administration which has been around a long time, the most the Blacks ever got out of that program in terms of contracts, was 7.8 million dollars and that was in 1968. Up until this time we have committed and we have gotten into Black hands, Black controlled companies, more than 300 million dollars. Now, you can say that that was started by President Johnson. That's all right. But the fact is it didn't happen under President Johnson. The fact is that President Johnson, or no other president, I'm not just talking about President Johnson, but no other president thought it was feasible to get that kind of money out in Black hands. The sickle cell anemia program, and you said something about busing a few minutes ago. Let's be realistic about this. How are you gonna bus all the kids out of the Bedford Stuyvesant area or Brownsville section in Brooklyn. It's just not gonna happen in the next decade or the next two decades. And I think what people are doing in a very real sense in this country, when you speak of busing, you're condemning a lot of young Black kids, Black kids by the millions in these areas, where some of us have lived, where some of us live now, we're condemning them to another decade or two of inferior education, just because we're saying, well, we want some more busing... Busing for the purpose strictly for the purpose of racial balance is not gonna help



know that as well as I do, and we may as well tell Black people the truth now.

STUART

Well, again let's deal with the leadership that the President is supposed to provide. Now I haven't seen President Nixon providing the top quality education. The number one priority in his administration, in the Black community. That just has not happened, and of course you are acquainted with our position that really, the busing procedure is not the issue. We've never said that. But I feel....

(CROSS TALK)

I said that I do not see that Nixon...it doesn't take any courage for Nixon to say that he's against busing period. That's a nice vital statement. But it would take...

ROBERT BROWN

I would hope that you would refrain from saying that and quoting the president, because he did not say that. The president said specifically, I know what he said, because I was there when he said it. He said specifically that he is against busing for the sole purpose of racial balance. Now the president knows as well as you know and I know and everybody knows that there's gonna be some busing in this country, there's been busing for a long time, and there's gonna be a lot more, but what we're talking about is not just disintegrate all those Black schools and do away with them.



OK because we feel that Black people have the capability as

to improve that.

STUART

Again, you're spending time on the false issues. The real issue...

ROBERT BROWN

You brought it up, I didn't bring it up...

STUART

The real issue is the president's commitment and leadership the same way he fights to ram through a defense budget, what has the president done to really bring the delivery of quality education to every Black child in this country. The answer is he has not provided that commitment...

ROBERT BROWN

...let me tell you one thing here. The president asked for 2½ billion dollars from Congress about two years ago for compensatory education. Now what did the democratic congress do to the president's bill. For the 2½ billion dollars he asked for, they didn't think it was very important, because they cut it back to 500 million out of 2½ billion. Now most of this money would inevitable gone to poor Black schools and poor white schools and poor Mexican/American schools, simply because there was a provision in that bill that all of those school districts that had 30 per cent or more poor kids in it, whether they be white, Black, Mexican/American, what have you, would get the bulk of



that money. That does not now exist in the laws of this country, and if you're talking about equitable moneys for the schools in districts where maybe some of your people live and where other Blacks live, en masse around this country then we have to support this kind of thing, but I did not hear from anybody and I didn't hear anybody speaking up when Congress eliminated 2 billion dollars from that bill. I didn't hear your voice. I didn't hear the voice of any major Black spokesman in this country, but yet this bill means a great deal to Black people. In terms of the Black colleges, you talk about education..the Black colleges in this country that traditionally have educated most of the Black people who have received a higher education and who have traditionally never received any money hardly, very little, a few million here and a few million there, this year we will be spending more than 200 million dollars, you know, in grants in aid alone, these Black colleges. And I'm not talking about...irrespective of what the federal government is doing at Howard University for instance, which is the largest and most prestigious predominantly Black institution in America. Now this has never happened before...

We have not done enough, but what I'm saying, what I am saying very clearly...that we have made a fantastic and tremendous beginning and that things will never be the same for Black people in this country again...with all the promises.



intimidate the people in our community, and again I do not see the president putting up as tough a fight in that area as he does about the defense budget, and getting more money for missiles to waste away other people in other lands.

ROBERT BROWN

I'd hate to put it this way, sir, but I'm glad you brought the drug subject up. For one reason, for about 3 years, I was a federal narcotic agent. I worked in various parts of the country including your own district, New York, and I happen to know for a fact that for many many years up until 3 years ago, the maximum amount of money that was ever spent in any one year for fighting the drug, the dreaded drug problem in this country was about 50 million dollars. Today, our budget is approaching 400 million dollars this year, to fight the dreaded drug problem in this country. And the president has committed himself and committed his administration to use whatever moneys, whatever resources that are available to fight the dreaded drug problem in this country. Now those are facts sebatirm abd bi natter how you put it, no matter how you want to cut it up, Black people have to know that, and you can't cut it up any other way but to say that this is a fact of life. You know that as well as I do.

STUART

Again, I like your language. Your language is very careful. You said every available resource. Now let's see how resources



either the congress or your president decides that the priority exists. Yes, it's true that now that drug addiction has reached the middle American, the white communities in our country, that there is some attention being drawn to it, but again I'm saying to you that as far as we're concerned in our communities, crime has increased, drug addiction has increased, and the availability of treatment, just ask any Black in any community across this country and they will tell you that the drug treatment resources....

ROBERT BROWN

...what you are in effect are saying, though, Senator what you in effect are saying, and what you are doing is that you in effect are condemning prior administrations, every one of them and every prior president simply because up until about 3 years ago there was never any massive effort to rid this country of the drug problem. Now I know that, you know that, so I don't, you know, that's not a question of debate on this program because that's a matter of fact. In terms of crime, the Black community has to be for law and order with justice because the Black community has been the community that has suffered most from crime. The rapes, the robber, the murder, the muggers and all these other things, the Black community has suffered from that.

TONY BROWN

Do you feel that the Democratic party takes the Black population



ROBERT BROWN

I certainly do. I think that most Blacks, a great many Blacks in this country feel that way and for that reason, I think that's why many of the top Blacks in this country, many of the masses of Black people have said to me personally, and have written letters and have held press conferences, and said, OK, we're gonna be supportive of the president. People like Sammy Davis Jr., people like James Brown, soul brother number one, people like Jim Brown, the immortal football player and actor...other people across this nation...

TONY BROWN

If the assumption that Senator Stuart makes that there isn't the quote moral leadership do you feel that if President Nixon wins, the election, and as a lame duck president, doesn't have to particularly play politics, do you foresee him committing himself more vociferously than he has in the past to the needs of Black people?

ROBERT BROWN

I see him progressing and moving upward in terms of Blacks being able to participate in every level of government, Blacks Black progress in minority enterprise, in education, in every walk of life, Blacks, I see that accelerating at a very rapid pace in the administration, and I have to see that, and I think that if Black people would be rational about it, you would have to see it too = Simply because that here is a



president who in his first term in office received very few Black votes in the election, who has received very little support from the Black community. . . and all of a sudden he has done more in all of these areas than any other president, and all these other presidents who received 90 percent of the Black votes, who did nothing. . .

TONY BROWN

Do you believe that President Nixon, as a lame duck president, would change his philosophy and attitude towards Black people?

STUART

Recent events belie that thought altogether. Let's take the republican convention, in Miami. They practically said we don't want any more Blacks in the republican party. So yes, the democrats have had their problems, I'm not going to be insincere on this program. However, we have a Kennedy for president on the democratic side, who has fought within his own party to open that party to Blacks and has succeeded in opening that party to Blacks. On the other side we have a president that calls the signals in the republican convention and keeps his party closed to Blacks. Now the signals don't seem to portend a new Nixon, that would be concerned about the political empowerment of Black people in this crisis. . .

ROBERT BROWN

There were a lot of Black people in Miami. Now you know as well I know that the only way that you're gonna effectively participate



in politics in this country on the national level is to first be effective on the local level. and Blacks traditionally in the past 30 years or 40 years have been participants in the democratic party on a massive scale on the local level, so in effect they would be up until the past convention, although Blacks gave the democratic party 90 per cent and sometimes 90 per cent of their vote, they received you know as well as I know that the representation at the past convention was very little.

TONY BROWN

We have run out of time, and I thank you Brother Brown and I thank you Brother Stuart for this very interesting conversation.

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Next week on BLACK JOURNAL we will continue our investigation of the presidential race by examining the next four years under the next president as it affects Black life.

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