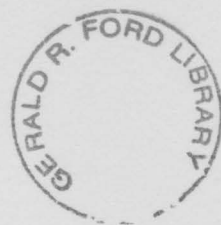


The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “Black Vote in 1972 - Campaign Plan (2)” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Research Report:

Black Political Participation



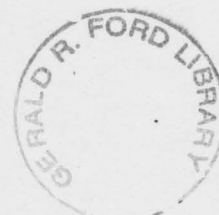
BACKGROUND

Black Americans comprise 11.16% of the total United States population. There are 22,672,570 blacks residing in America. By region, most blacks live in the South, where they comprise 19.20% of the population. They make-up 8.60% of the Northeast population; 8.08% of the North Central region; and 4.86% of the Western population.

Seventy-one percent of the black population is located in metropolitan areas. The ten cities with the largest black population are:

TOP TEN CITIES WITH LARGEST BLACK POPULATION: 1970

CITY, STATE	NUMBER OF BLACKS	% OF BLACKS	BLACKS 15 YRS. & OVER
New York City, N.Y.	1,666,636	21.2%	1,122,288
Chicago, Illinois	1,102,620	32.7	702,598
Detroit, Michigan	660,428	43.7	438,052
Philadelphia, Pa.	653,791	33.6	437,345
Washington, D.C.	537,712	71.1	371,592
Los Angeles, Calif.	503,606	17.9	337,090
Baltimore, Maryland	420,210	46.4	272,974
Houston, Texas	316,551	25.7	202,180
Cleveland, Ohio	287,841	38.3	191,254
New Orleans, La.	267,308	45.0	170,834



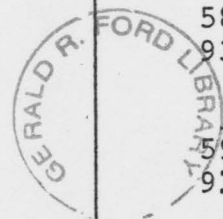
REGISTRATION*

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 provides for direct Federal action to enable blacks to register and vote without reliance upon litigation. Since the passage of the Act, there has been a significant increase in the number of blacks registering, voting, and running for office in the Southern states.

In 1967, more than 50% of the black voting age population was registered in every state. The largest gain has been in Mississippi, where black registration rose from 6.7% in 1964 to 59.8% in 1967. The following table shows changes in voter registration by race since enactment of the Voting Rights Act.

VOTER REGISTRATION BY RACE BEFORE AND AFTER
PASSAGE OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965^a

STATE	PRE-ACT REGISTRATION ^b	POST-ACT REGISTRATION ^c	PRE-ACT % OF VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED	POST-ACT % OF VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
ALABAMA:				
Nonwhite.	92,737	248,432	19.3%	51.6%
White	935,695	1,212,317	69.2	89.6
ARKANSAS:				
Nonwhite.	77,714	121,000	40.4	62.8
White	555,944	616,000	65.5	72.4
FLORIDA:				
Nonwhite.	240,616	299,033	51.2	63.6
White	1,958,499	2,131,105	74.8	81.4
GEORGIA:				
Nonwhite.	167,663	332,496	27.4	52.6
White	1,124,415	1,443,730	62.6	80.3
LOUISIANA:				
Nonwhite.	164,601	303,148	31.6	58.9
White	1,037,184	1,200,517	80.5	93.1
MISSISSIPPI:				
Nonwhite.	28,500	263,754	6.7	59.8 ^d
White	525,000	665,176	69.9	91.5 ^d
NORTH CAROLINA:				
Nonwhite.	258,000	277,404	46.8	51.3
White	1,942,000	1,602,980	96.8	83.0



STATE	PRE-ACT REGISTRATION ^b	POST-ACT REGISTRATION ^c	PRE-ACT % OF VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED	POST-ACT % OF VOTING AGE POPULATION REGISTERED
SOUTH CAROLINA:				
Nonwhite.	138,544	190,017	37.3	51.2
White	677,914	731,096	75.7	81.7
TENNESSEE:				
Nonwhite.	218,000	225,000	69.5	71.7
White	1,297,000	1,434,000	72.9	80.6
TEXAS:				
Nonwhite.	2,939,535 ^e	400,000	53.1 ^e	61.6
White		2,600,000		53.3
VIRGINIA:				
Nonwhite.	144,259	243,000	38.3	55.6
White	1,070,168	1,190,000	61.1	63.4

* Estimates are available only for Southern States.

FOOTNOTES:

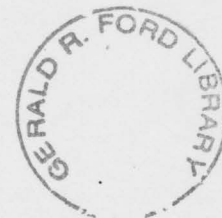
^a Appendix VII contains county by county estimates of pre-Act and post-Act registration by race.

^b All pre-Act registration statistics are from Information Center, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Registration and Voting Statistics, Mar. 19, 1965. The registration statistics for Alabama are as of May 3, 1964; Arkansas, October 1963; Florida, May 1964; Georgia, December 1962; Louisiana, Oct. 3, 1964; Mississippi, Nov. 1, 1964; North Carolina, 1964; South Carolina, Nov. 1, 1964; Tennessee, Nov. 1, 1964; Texas, Nov. 3, 1964; and Virginia, October 1964. These statistics represent estimates based on official and unofficial sources and vary widely in their accuracy. Even where official figures were available, registrars frequently failed to remove the names of dead or emigrated voters and thus reported figures which exceeded the actual registration. Unofficial figures which came from a variety of sources are subject to even greater inaccuracies.

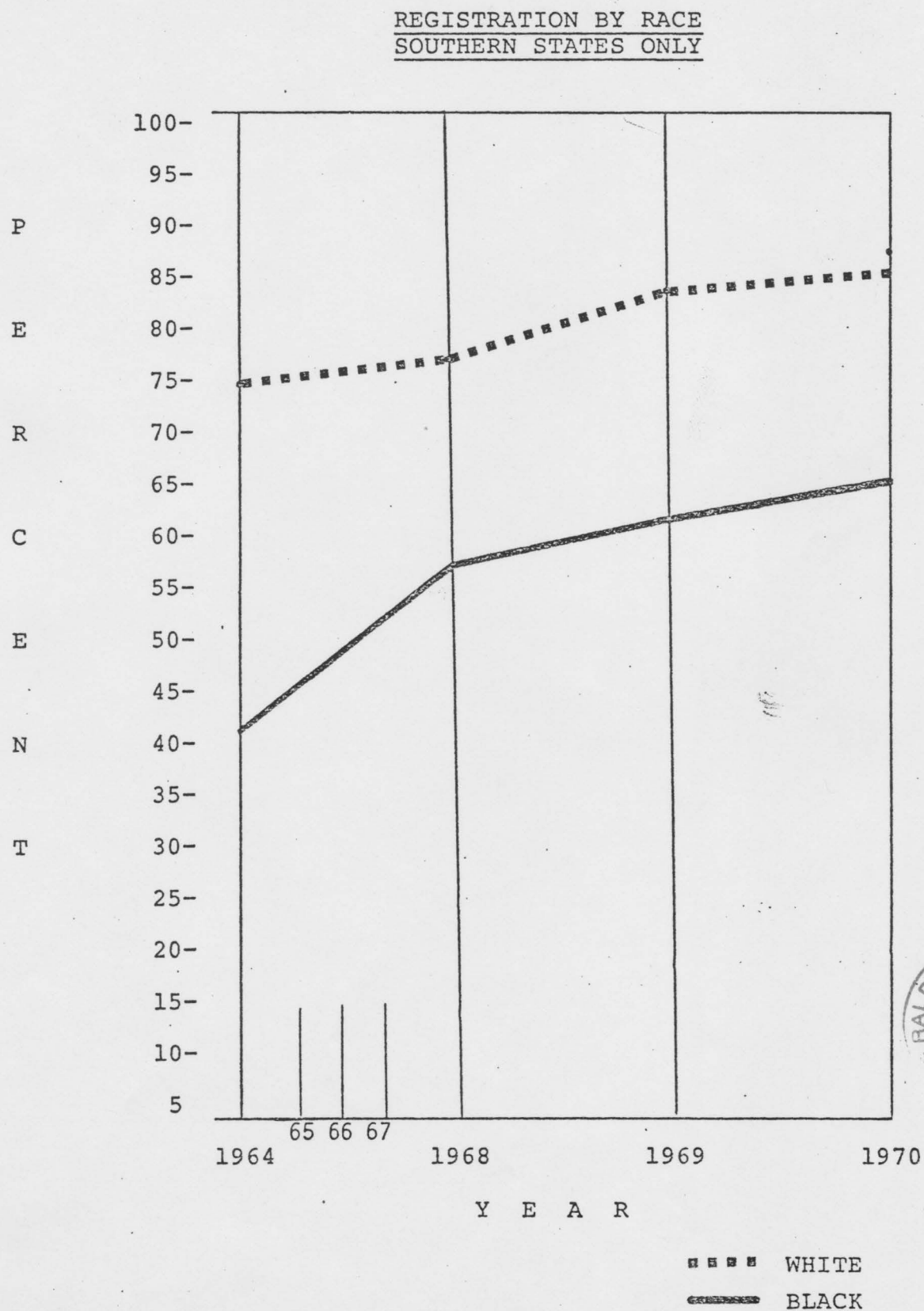
^c The statistics for Alabama are as of Oct. 31, 1967; for Georgia, Aug. 31, 1967; for Louisiana, October 1967; for Mississippi, Sept. 30, 1967; and for South Carolina, July 31, 1967, and were obtained from the Department of Justice. The statistics for the other States are estimates of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council contained in Voter Registration in the South, Summer 1966. The VEP accumulated its statistics during the summer of 1966. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources—public and private, official and unofficial. In this report the term "Post-Act Registration" is intended to refer to the total number of persons registered before and after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, and not only to persons registered since the passage of the Act. In addition to the persons listed there were 14,297 registered voters in Alabama, 33,694 in Florida, and 22,776 in Georgia whose race was unknown.

^d Mississippi statistics have been adjusted to include those registrants whose race was unknown by dividing persons according to the following formula: 75 percent of the pre-Act registrants whose race was unknown were considered white; 75 percent of the post-Act registrants whose race was unknown were considered Negroes. The unadjusted 1967 percentages were 41.1 percent Negro and 78.7 percent white. The unadjusted totals were 181,233 Negro, 571,598 white, and 176,099 unknown.

^e Percentages and totals by race are not available.



More recently, however, white registration has increased at the same rate as black registration. The following chart compares recent registration by race:



TURNOUT

Southern black electoral participation has also increased. The following shows voting turnout by race in this region.

SOUTHERN VOTER TURNOUT BY RACE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

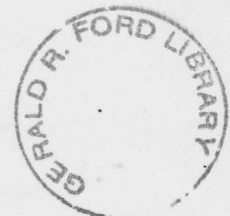
YEAR	1970	1968	1966	1964
TOTAL	44.7%	60.1%	43.0%	56.8%
WHITE	46.4	61.9	45.2	59.6
BLACK	36.8	51.9	32.9	44.2*

* All non-white

However, national participation rates have not changed from 1964-1970, remembering elections in non-presidential years usually elicit a smaller turnout.

NATIONAL VOTER TURNOUT BY RACE
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

YEAR	1970	1968	1966	1964
TOTAL	54.6%	67.8%	54.4%	69.4%
WHITE	56.0	69.1	57.1	70.7
BLACK	43.5	57.6	41.8	58.5



PARTISAN
IDENTIFICATION

The latest Gallup poll reports the following black partisan identification:

PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION OF BLACKS
SEPTEMBER, 1971
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

REPUBLICAN 9%
DEMOCRAT 72
INDEPENDENT. 19

Statistics show that blacks are the only segment of the population to show a decline in the number of Independents during the last decade.

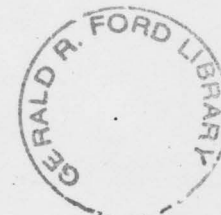
PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION OF BLACKS
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

YEAR	<u>1960</u>	<u>1971</u>
REPUBLICAN	23%	9%
DEMOCRAT	54	72
INDEPENDENT.	23	19

Michigan Survey Research Center tested the intensity of black party identification. In the 1970 survey it finds almost a majority of blacks were strongly Democratic.

INTENSITY OF PARTISAN
IDENTIFICATION BY BLACKS
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

STRONG DEMOCRAT.	48.8%	82.7%
DEMOCRAT.	28.1	
INDEPENDENT -- CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT.	5.8	



INDEPENDENT. 10.4%

INDEPENDENT --

CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN. 1.2

REPUBLICAN. 3.1

STRONG REPUBLICAN. 1.5

APOLITICAL. 1.2

5.8%

Few blacks consider themselves Republican and strong Republicans are barely negligible. Yet, almost 3/4 of the blacks see themselves as members of a political party.

VOTING
BEHAVIOR

Gallup reported in 1968, that nationally, blacks gave 12% to Nixon, 85% to Humphrey and 3% to Wallace. The metropolitan vote was even more dramatically Democratic. The following chart displays the vote in 1968 in key black wards.

BLACK VOTE IN KEY CITIES
IN 1968 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



CITY	# OF PRECINCTS OR WARDS	% NIXON	% HHH	% WALLACE
Atlanta	17	1.7%	98.1%	*
Chicago	8	6.0	93.3	*
Philadelphia	10	8.6	91.3	1.6
St. Louis	8	5.3	94.6	*
San Francisco	7	7.9	92.0	*
Houston	41	1.4	97.8	*

* Not Available

CITY	# OF PRECINCTS OR WARDS	% NIXON	% HHH	* WALLACE
Cleveland	10	7.7%	85.5%	3.6%
Baltimore	166	4.0	93.3	*
Los Angeles	Watts	6.6	91.4	1.9
Richmond	3	1.2	94.0	3.8
New York City	15	10.4	70.0	*
	MEAN SCORES	5.53	91.03	2.72

Source: Minorities Division, RNC
January, 1969

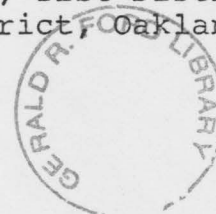
* Not Available

At the congressional or State level, when a black Republican runs against a black Democrat, the Democrat has won by approximately 60%. The mean of such races is Republican: 20.45%; Democrat: 79.55%*. Where a black Republican opposes a white Democrat, blacks still have a propensity to vote Democratic. Although there have been two examples of black Republicans winning the black wards (Brooke, Wards 9 and 12 Boston; Fletcher-Seattle, Precinct 37) the mean for all such races is Republican: 40.24%; Democrat 58.22%**.

The fact that blacks are still more likely to vote for a Democrat even when faced with a black Republican testifies to the importance of party identification as a behavioral variable. The saliency of party identification is not unlike its importance for the community at large.

* The races were: 1968: California, 21st District; Illinois, 1st District; Michigan, 13th District; Missouri, 1st District; Ohio, 21st District; 1970: California, 21st District; Illinois, 1st District; Ohio, 21st District; Pennsylvania, 2nd District.

** The races were: 1966: Massachusetts Senate Boston Wards 9 and 12; 1968: Lt. Governor Seattle, 37; Pennsylvania 14th District, Wards 5, 13, 21; Massachusetts, 9th District; 1970: California Secretary of State; Los Angeles, 21st District; Compton City (in 17th District), 31st District, Oakland City.



Electoral behavior for blacks is similar to other groups in other regards. Socio-economic status, indicated by occupation, education and income, correlates positively and strongly with all forms of social and political participation. Thus, the poorer and the less educated groups are less likely to participate in elections. The income of blacks who reported voting is described in the following chart:

PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS WHO VOTED
IN 1968 BY INCOME LEVELS

Under \$3,000.	.45.3%
\$3,000-4,999.	.55.9
\$5,000-7,499.	.65.3
\$7,500-9,999.	.70.8
\$10,000-14,999.	.80.9
15,000 and over.	.76.4
Income not reported.	.54.0

Voting is also related to age; electoral participation increases from ages 35 to 65, and then falls again. The following chart describes the age and sex of black participants.

PERCENT OF BLACKS WITHIN EACH AGE CATEGORY
WHO REPORTED VOTING FOR PRESIDENT IN 1968

AGE	MALE	FEMALE
21-24 years	35.5%	41.5%
25-34 years	55.6	56.8
35-44 years	64.5	64.7
45-54 years	66.0	66.4
55-64 years	64.8	60.0
65-74 years	59.9	53.6
75 & over	51.1	31.8



The striking difference between black and white participation is the high degree of black involvement in associations. Studies show that in the past, more Southern blacks have participated in political organizations than their white peers. More blacks also contributed money for political activity and more participated in actual campaigning.

Even when socio-economic status is controlled, blacks at any given SES level tend to be more active than whites with similar status. Furthermore, more blacks are active participants as opposed to nominal members.

Thus, "assuming the civil rights movement will continue in the future, it would seem fairly safe to predict that the tendency for blacks to become increasingly active can only expand." (p.696, ASR*)

BLACK
POLITICAL
TACTICS

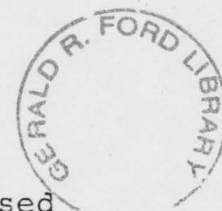
While black politics of the 60's can be summarized as "coalition politics," the 1970's have so far exemplified a new black politique. The Black Caucus and the Joint Center for the Study of Politics are functioning to identify and solidify the black vote and most importantly, to make visible the black leaders and black demands. The recent tactic of using the "black bloc" as an independent power reaches a national scale with the black leaders suggesting a black Presidential bid in 1972.

Independent political tactics should increase during this decade and many of the movement's failings at this point can be explained by its youthfulness. Furthermore, the current vacuum of leadership appears to be in the process of being filled by the Black Caucus members.

Studies show that a large turnout of blacks can lead to a margin of victory in: California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. But to attain this margin, three prerequisites must be filled:

- 1) The level of registration must be high
- 2) The level of participation at the polls must increase
- 3) The level of support and intensity of support for the candidate must be increased

* Marvin Olsen, "Social and Political Participation of Blacks" American Sociological Review. p. 696



These factors are in the process of being actuated, but much of this relies on the cohesiveness of blacks and their agreement on identifiable goals.

Whether this agreement can be achieved is questionable. In 1970, the Survey Research Center asked a national sampling of blacks, if they should form their own party. Of the respondents, 67.7% feel blacks should only work through the major parties. When asked if they would support an Independent black political party, 41.2% say "no" and another 34.6% say "it would depend" or "didn't know."

The tactic of "black bloc" voting is an overstatement of black ethnocentricity and the recent elections do not lend credibility to the concept of a monolithic black vote.

In Boston, attitude surveys suggest that blacks prefer to aid a probable white winner rather than vote for a black Independent. In the primary election, 40% of the black ward returns were given to Mayor Kevin White.

In the Philadelphia election, only one-third of the blacks voted for the black candidate. Frank Rizzo received 12 percent. In Mississippi, in spite of intensive campaigning, the black vote was below its potential with approximately 51% of eligible blacks voting for Charles Evers.

Thus the concept of the monolithic vote is based on a false assumption. Whether to be used in coalition formation or as an independent maneuver, it does not necessarily succeed on a national level.

This is not to say the effect would be negligible, rather that one body of ideas and one behavioral manifestation, does not exist for black Americans. That many find the Democratic Party inadequate for their own goals is evident, but there must be some option available. If the independent maneuvers are to continue through this decade, they would give the Republican Party opportunity to provide adequate options.



SUMMARY

Black Americans comprise a large block in America's electorate. There has been a significant increase in the number of blacks registering and voting. Although they generally identify with the Democratic Party and vote predominantly Democratic, blacks are attempting to assume an Independent stance. This position offers them a fluidity of movement and a potential for influence. Yet blacks, although sharing some background variables and certain "racial-ethnic" perspectives, do not cohesively profess one goal. The fact that blacks are often split on means to political power offers the Republican Party an opportunity in the black communities.

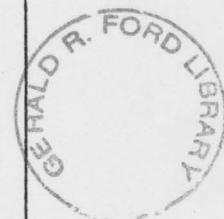


APPENDIX

ESTIMATE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE
BY RACE 1972

STATE	WHITE POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK
California	14,428,643	911,257	5.39%
Connecticut	2,177,970	112,267	4.45
Delaware	333,532	49,190	12.85
Florida	4,376,872	659,932	15.08
Georgia	2,455,998	759,563	23.62
Illinois	7,943,746	905,815	9.33
Indiana	3,434,358	228,708	6.24
Kentucky	2,295,561	162,116	5.56
Maryland	2,763,491	452,587	12.88
Michigan	5,521,067	646,470	10.48
Missouri	3,057,458	310,607	9.22
New Jersey	4,683,099	492,782	9.52
New York	11,878,214	1,443,643	10.83
Nevada	344,682	16,652	4.18
North Carolina	2,890,149	737,215	20.32
Ohio	6,903,981	640,347	8.49
Oklahoma	1,869,474	114,183	5.22
Pennsylvania	7,935,610	680,803	7.91
South Carolina	1,309,025	493,582	27.38
Tennessee	2,824,867	410,384	10.80
Texas	7,865,462	918,744	8.87
Virginia	2,790,601	533,461	16.05
West Virginia	1,218,298	51,085	4.02

* These figures are somewhat inflated; they represent all those 15 years and over since no other breakdown is available for the blacks. However, most birthdays occur before November, usually from April to September, so the differential should not be extreme.





ADDENDUM II

Report On The Polls:

Blacks



RNC Research Division

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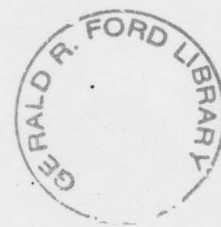
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The Poll Report on Blacks analyzes the attitudes of blacks in recent years. It focuses on blacks' political affiliation, political philosophy, rating of President Nixon's performance in office, Presidential trial heat choices, and opinions on major issues, particularly civil rights.

This report is based on Harris Surveys 1968-1971, Gallup Polls 1969-1971, and the 1970 Post-Election Study of the Center for Political Studies of the University of Michigan.

Included in this report are the opinions of high school and college blacks as well as their parents. Their opinions are compared with national opinions.



HARRIS
SURVEYS

An analysis of the Harris Surveys indicates that although a large majority of blacks are registered as Democrats, a small portion of this group actually considers itself Republican. In the past four years, Republican affiliation has increased 10 percent, whereas Democratic affiliation decreased 7 percent. Black youth also identify themselves as Democrats, but they are more liberal than their parents.

The job performance rating of President Nixon by blacks is quite low, both among the youth and the adults. Moreover, blacks also give Congress and the United Nations a poor rating for job performance.

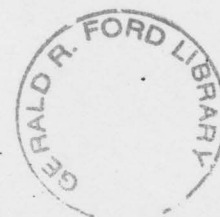
Of the Democratic candidates for the Presidency in 1972, Senator Edward Kennedy is the favorite among blacks, while Senator Muskie has the poorest showing.

Although the blacks believe that President Nixon is using a different approach than former-President Johnson in the war in Indochina, they also feel that his withdrawal of troops is much too slow. Blacks, furthermore, do not believe that President Nixon has been truthful about the war situation.

Although the majority of blacks oppose segregation, they only favor busing to achieve integration by a small percentage. Economically, blacks are pessimistic; however, Harris has not polled them in regard to the affects of the wage and price freeze. Even though blacks in general would not be willing to pay more in taxes to clean up the environment, black collegians feel it is the Administration which is not willing to clean up the environment.

In comparing the federal government under the last three Presidents, the Harris survey finds that blacks believe that the government under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson helped their race a great deal, but under President Nixon help was not received.

All in all, blacks believe that their life is improving and that they should continue to achieve their goal of complete equality in the United States.

POLITICAL
AFFILIATION
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "Regardless of how you may actually vote, what do you

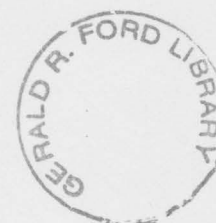
usually consider yourself -- a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?"

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
1970			
National	33%	48%	19%
Total Blacks	17	76	7
1968			
National	31	52	17
Total Blacks	7	83	10

Question: "Are you registered as a Republican, Democrat, or what?"

	May, 1970	
	Nationwide	Total Blacks
Republican	32%	5%
Democrat	52	87
Independent	7	5
Other	3	3
Not sure	6	-

POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY
TOTAL BLACKS



Question: "As far as you are personally concerned, in the past few years, have you become more conservative in your political outlook, less conservative, or have you not changed much?"

	November, 1970	
	National	Total Blacks
more conservative	31%	24%

(continued)

less conservative
not much change
not sure

November, 1970	
National	Total Blacks
16%	17%
45	42
8	17

POLITICAL
AFFILIATION
BLACK
UNDERGRADUATES

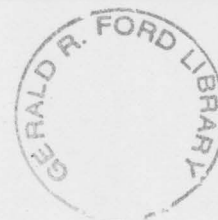
Question: "Whether or not you are old enough to vote and regardless of how you may vote or register, if you have, do you usually consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?"

Republican
Democrat
Independent
Other
Not sure

June, 1970	
National Undergraduate College Students	Black Undergraduate College Students
16%	5%
31	74
47	20
3	-
3	1

POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY
BLACK
UNDERGRADUATES

Question: "On most issues do you consider yourself far right, conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal or far left?"

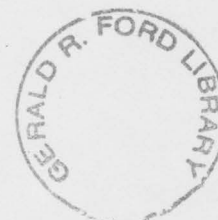


(continued)

	June, 1970	
	National Undergraduate College Students	Black Undergraduate College Students
Far right	2%	5%
Conservative	15	10
Middle-of-the-road	27	34
Liberal	41	33
Far left	11	8
Not sure	4	10

Question: "At the time you entered college, did you consider yourself far right, conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal, or far left?"

	June, 1970	
	National Undergraduate College Students	Black Undergraduate College Students
Far right	1%	3%
Conservative	35	20
Middle-of-the-road	31	45
Liberal	26	23
Far left	4	1
Not sure	3	8



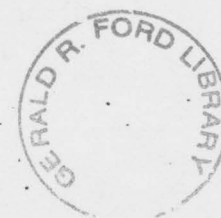
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AFFILIATION
BLACK YOUTH
AGES 15-21

Question: "How do you intend to vote in the next election, or the next one you would be eligible to vote in -- Republican, Democratic, the Wallace Party, some other party, or will you refuse to vote at all?"

	November, 1970	
	National Youth	Black Youth
Republican	18%	11%
Democratic	35	59
Wallace Party	4	3
Other	15	6
Refuse to vote	3	7
Not sure	25	14

POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY
BLACK YOUTH

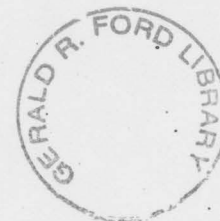
Question: "Do you consider your own political opinions to be



generally conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal or radical?"

	November, 1970	
	National Youth	Black Youth
conservative	20%	19%
middle-of-the-road	39	23
liberal	23	29
radical	5	12
other	1	-
not sure	12	17

ELECTION
1970



Question: (If election for U. S. Senator in state in 1970)
"If you had to make up your mind right now, in the race for U. S.
Senator here in (state) would you vote for (Republican candidate)
or for (Democratic candidate)?"

	September, 1970			
	Republican	Democrat	Other	Not Sure
National	31%	49%	2%	18%
Total Blacks	6	77	1	16

Question: (If election for Governor in state in 1970) "If you
had to make up your mind right now, in the race for Governor here
in (state), would you vote for (Republican candidate) or for
(Democratic candidate)?"

	September, 1970			
	Republican	Democrat	Other	Not Sure
National	33%	48%	2%	17%
Total Blacks	11	72	1	16

Question: "Do you intend to participate in any campaign to nominate and elect 'peace' candidates to the Congress and other public offices this year?"

June, 1970

	National Undergraduate College Students	Black Undergraduate College Students
Intend to	39%	39%
Don't intend to	43	31
Not sure	18	30

Question: "Do you think that the needed changes in this country can be achieved through the existing political parties, or not?"

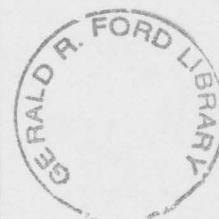
November, 1970

	Yes	No	Not sure
National Youth (ages 15 - 21)	49%	38%	13%
Black Youth (ages 15 - 21)	45	40	15

RATING OF
PRESIDENT NIXON
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "How would you rate the job President Nixon is doing as President?"

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Not Sure
November, 1970 National	47%	50%	3%
Total Blacks	23	72	5
November, 1969 National	61	36	3
Total Blacks	46	50	4



RATING OF THE
PRESIDENT
BLACK
UNDERGRADUATES

Question: "How would you rate the job President Nixon is doing as President?"

June, 1970

Excellent
Pretty Good
Only Fair
Poor
Not Sure

National Undergraduate College Students	Black Undergraduate College Students
5%	3%
24	16
32	30
39	50
-	1

RATING OF
CONGRESS
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "How would you rate the job Congress has been doing?"

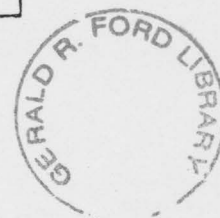
August, 1970

National
Total Blacks

Favorable	Unfavorable	Not Sure
32%	59%	9%
35	43	22

RATING OF THE
UNITED NATIONS
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "How would you rate the job the United Nations is doing

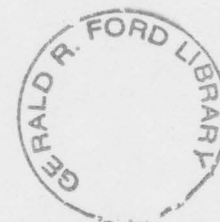


in working for peace in the world?"

September, 1970		
	National	Total Blacks
Excellent	6%	5%
Pretty Good	29	29
Only Fair	36	36
Poor	20	9
Not Sure	9	21

Question: "How would you rate the job done by law enforcement officials on the federal/state/local level?"

October, 1970		
	National	Total Blacks
Federal		
Favorable	60%	52%
Unfavorable	30	33
Not sure	10	15
State		
Favorable	63	49
Unfavorable	30	42
Not sure	7	9
Local		
Favorable	64	43
Unfavorable	33	50
Not sure	3	7



TRIAL
HEATS

Question: "If the election for President in 1972 were being held today, would you vote for . . .?"

". . .Nixon, Muskie, or Wallace?"

January, 1971

	National	Total Blacks
Nixon	40%	13%
Muskie	43	73
Wallace	11	2
Not sure	6	12

February, 1970

	National	Total Blacks
Nixon	49	18
Muskie	35	69
Wallace	9	2
Not sure	7	11

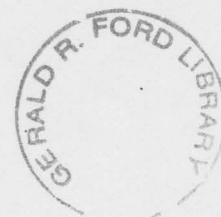
". . .Nixon, Kennedy, or Wallace?"

September, 1971

	National	Total Blacks
Nixon	45%	3%
Kennedy	38	93
Wallace	11	1
Not sure	6	3

November, 1970

	National	Total Blacks
Nixon	37	3
Kennedy	44	89
Wallace	11	-
Not sure	8	8



". . .Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?"

November, 1970	
National	Total Blacks
Nixon	41%
Humphrey	39
Wallace	12
Not sure	8
	9%
	80
	1
	10

". . .Nixon, Lindsay, or Wallace?"

November, 1970	
National	Total Blacks
Nixon	40%
Lindsay	37
Wallace	13
Not sure	10
	12%
	75
	1
	12

". . .Nixon, Muskie, Lindsay, or Wallace?"

May, 1971	
National	Total Blacks
Nixon	36%
Muskie	40
Lindsay	11
Wallace	10
Not sure	3
	16%
	55
	16
	3
	10



DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTIAL
PREFERENCE
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "For the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972, whom do you prefer: Senator Edmund Muskie, Senator Edward Kennedy, or Senator Hubert Humphrey?"

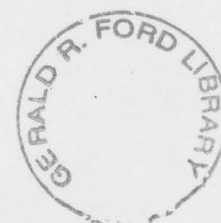
May, 1971

	National	Total Blacks
Muskie	35%	10%
Kennedy	27	50
Humphrey	22	21
Not sure	16	19

WAR IN
INDOCHINA
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "In general, do you feel the pace at which the President is withdrawing troops from Vietnam is too fast, too slow, or about right?"

	Too Fast	Too Slow	About Right	Not Sure
July, 1970				
National	8%	32%	48%	12%
Total Blacks	2	56	25	17
October, 1969				
National	6	29	49	16
Total Blacks	4	33	54	9



Question: "In his policy on the Vietnam War, do you feel President Nixon is following the policies of the Johnson Administration, or do you feel he is taking a different approach?"

May, 1970

	Following Johnson	Different Approach	Not Sure
National	26%	63%	11%
Total Blacks	25	61	14

Question: "As you know, bombings of North Vietnam ended in November, 1968. Would you favor or oppose our resuming full-scale bombings of North Vietnam?"

May, 1970

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
National	56%	32%	12%
Total Blacks	36	50	14

Question: "As far as the war in Indochina is concerned, do you think President Nixon has been frank and straight-forward about the war, or do you think he has not told the American people the real truth about the situation there?"

August, 1970

	Frank and Straight-forward	Not told People real truth	Not sure
National	39%	49%	12%
Total Blacks	17	59	24

WAR IN INDOCHINA
BLACK UNDERGRADUATES



Question: "Do you think President Nixon has been frank and straight-

forward about the situation in the Vietnam war?"

June, 1970

National under-
graduate college
students

Black under-
graduate college
students

Yes	No	Not sure
25%	67%	9% *
16	79	5

DOMESTIC ISSUES
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "In general, do you think that de jure segregation as practiced in the South is right or wrong?"

September, 1970

National

Total Blacks

Right	Wrong	Depends	Not Sure
18%	61%	13%	8%
10	65	12	13

Question: "In general, do you think that de facto segregation as practiced in the North is right or wrong?"

March, 1970

National

Total Blacks

Right	Wrong	Depends	Not Sure
60%	19%	12%	9%
32	40	16	12



*Adds to 101 percent; these figures are reported in The Harris Survey Yearbook of Public Opinion 1970.

Question: Would you favor or oppose using busing to achieve integration?"

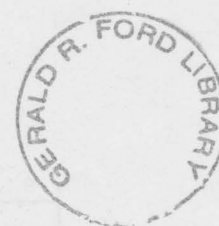
	March, 1970		
	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
National	19%	73%	8%
Total Blacks	47	40	13

Question: "Do you feel the country is in a recession now or not?"

	Is	Is Not	Not Sure
November, 1970			
Nationwide	62%	24%	14%
Total Blacks	62	13	25

Question: "Next year at this time, do you think the country will be in a recession or not?"

	Will be	Will not be	Not sure
November, 1970			
National	47%	25%	28%
Total Blacks	46	15	39
July, 1969			
National	28	43	29
Total Blacks	24	22	54



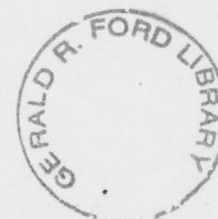
Question: "Do you feel that the standard of living of most people such as yourself is better than it was a year ago, almost the

same, or worse?"

	Better	Almost Same	Worse	Not Sure
November, 1970				
National	21%	43%	35%	1%
Total Blacks	26	34	39	1
July, 1969				
National	21	41	37	1
Total Blacks	31	30	34	5

Question: "How do you feel about the right to strike? In general, do you favor or oppose workers having the right to strike?"

	April, 1970		
	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
National	65%	25%	10%
Total Blacks	68	16	16



Question: "In general, do you feel unions are more helpful or more harmful to the country?"

	April, 1970		
	more helpful	more harmful	not sure
National	56%	27%	17%
Total Blacks	59	8	33

Question: "For the most part, do you feel unions mainly represent the wishes of their memberships or the wishes of a few labor

leaders running them?"

April, 1970

	Memberships	Leaders	Not Sure
National	37%	44%	19%
Total Blacks	47	18	35

Question: "Do you feel that most candidates running for important offices spend too much money, too little, or about the right amount of money?"

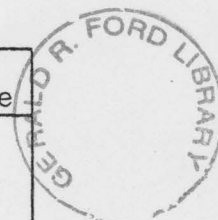
September, 1970

	Too much	Too little	About right amount	Not sure
National	71%	1%	13%	15%
Total Blacks	58	4	13	25

Question: "Do you support the idea of an all-volunteer army, or would you rather see the present combination of a draft and volunteers continue?"

September, 1970

	Volunteer Army	Present System	Other	Not Sure
National	46.5%	45%	2.5%	6%
Total Blacks	49.5	39	1.5	10



Question: "Would you be willing or unwilling to pay \$15 a year more in taxes to finance a federal program to control air and water pollution?"

February, 1970

	Willing	Unwilling	Not Sure
National	54%	34%	12%
Total Blacks	33	52	15

DOMESTIC ISSUES
BLACK
UNDERGRADUATES

Question: "Do you feel the administration is willing to devote the necessary resources to see that the environment really gets cleaned up or not?"

June, 1970

Willing	Not Willing	Not Sure
37%	51%	12%
35	44	22

National undergraduate college students

Black undergraduate college students

CIVIL RIGHTS
TOTAL BLACKS

Question: "Thinking back over the past 10 years, do you feel that when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House, the federal government could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much?" and "How about today under the Nixon Administration -- do you think the federal government can be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much?" and "And how about the next five years -- do you think the federal government can be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much?"

Nationwide Blacks

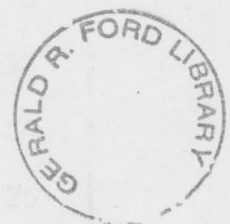
Under JFK and LBJ

A great deal
Some, not a lot
Not much
Not sure

Under Nixon

A great deal
Some, not a lot
Not much
Not sure

1971	1970
72%	63%
24	30
3	4
1	3
3	3
26	21
65	66
6	10



(continued)

In Next 5 Years

A great deal

Some, not a lot

Not much

Not sure

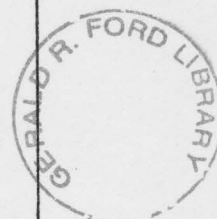
1971	1970
14%	17%
22	26
22	24
42	33

"How much interest do you feel the following have in seeing blacks achieve full equality -- do you feel they really care, are indifferent, or have tried to prevent blacks from achieving racial equality?"

August, 1971

Nationwide Blacks

	Really care	Indifferent	Tried to prevent	Not sure
Television	47%	26%	13%	14%
U. S. Sup. Court	39	23	12	26
U. S. Congress	30	28	14	28
Newspapers	27	33	17	23
Local government	23	30	27	20
Large corporations	22	32	18	28
Local police	21	28	35	16
State government	20	35	22	23
Nixon administration	20	31	29	20
Small local companies	17	31	26	26
White churches	16	31	29	24
Local real estate companies	14	28	31	27



Question: "Compared to four or five years ago, do you feel that things for most black people like yourself are getting better lately,

worse, or remaining the same?"

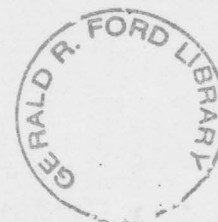
	Getting Better	Getting Worse	About Same	Not Sure
March, 1970				
Nationwide Blacks	64%	13%	19%	4%

Question: "Compared with the way most white people around here live, do you feel most black people like yourself live better than whites, worse, or about the same?"

	Better	Worse	Same	Not Sure
March, 1970				
Nationwide Blacks	13%	31%	44%	12%

Question: "Do you feel that blacks in America are trying to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace?"

	Too Fast	Too Slow	About Right	Not Sure
September, 1970				
National	55%	9%	28.5%	7.5%
Total Blacks	12	37	45	6
October, 1969				
National	58	7	27	8
Total Blacks	22	17	51	10



Question: "Do you think blacks are justified in their demands?"

September, 1970

National

Total Blacks

October, 1969

National

Total Blacks

Yes	No	Depends	Not Sure
41 %	27 %	28.5%	3.5%
73.5	9.5	11.5	5.5
38	30	28	4
54	14	21	11

Question: "Do you tend to agree or disagree with Daniel Moynihan that the Negro question should be treated with 'benign neglect?'"

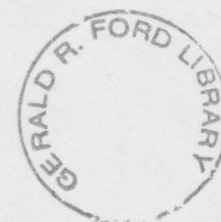
March, 1970

National

Total Blacks

Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
35%	39%	26%
4	52	44

CIVIL RIGHTS
BLACK
UNDERGRADUATES



Question: "Do you feel the Justice Department, under Attorney General Mitchell, is sincerely interested in protecting the civil rights of citizens, or not?"

June, 1970

National Undergraduate
College Students

Black Undergraduate
College Students

Interested	Not Interested	Not Sure
34%	42%	24%
10	73	17

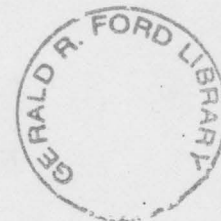
CIVIL RIGHTS
BLACK YOUTH

Question: "What do you personally feel are the most serious problems facing young black people like yourself today?"

March, 1970 -- Black Youth, Ages 14 -- 21

	<u>Total</u>
Getting a job.	35%
Getting a good education	30
Discrimination	24
Drugs.	12
Draft.	3
All Other.	21
Don't Know; no serious problems.	7
	<u>132%*</u>

GALLUP
POLLS



Not much data can be obtained from the Gallup Polls as to the attitudes of blacks. This organization breaks down race only between whites and non-whites. Non-whites, in this instance, include all minority groups, with the black population usually contributing 8 percent to the total figure. The Gallup Polls discussed in this report are of the black population except for one section dealing with black politicians.

The findings of the Gallup Polls 1969 - 1971 are that blacks by a large majority are registered as Democrats. There are few blacks registered as independents. In fact, the figure has declined since 1960 rather than increased as it has with the rest of the population.

* Total comes to more than 100% as some respondents volunteered more than one answer.

Blacks, as also reported by the Harris Surveys, disapprove of President Nixon's job performance but are split as to his handling of the Vietnam situation. They believe that integration is not being pushed fast enough by the Nixon Administration. In contrast to the Harris Survey, which found blacks favoring busing by a small majority, a Gallup Poll finds that blacks oppose busing by a slight majority. Although the total population lists the economy as the number one domestic issue, housing and racial discrimination head the list of blacks. Blacks appear to be satisfied with their work and to some extent their housing but are completely dissatisfied with their family income.

Since Senator Muskie's statement that a black vice presidential candidate could hurt a Muskie presidential ticket, the Gallup Poll conducted two surveys among the white electorate as to the feasibility of electing black candidates to the office of the Presidency and Vice Presidency. The findings contradict Senator Muskie's statement.

Question: "There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion and the like. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for President and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him?"

Here is the trend:

	Yes %	No %	No Opinion %
1958.....	38	53	9
1963.....	47	45	8
1965.....	59	34	7
1967.....	54	40	6
1969.....	67	23	10
1971.....	70	23	7



Views on voting for a Negro for President follow the same pattern as in the case of the earlier question, with younger persons, the college-trained and those who live outside the South most inclined to hold a liberal viewpoint.

Question: "Suppose the presidential candidate of your choice next year picks a Negro as his vice presidential running mate - would this make you more likely to vote for this ticket or less likely?"

October 1971

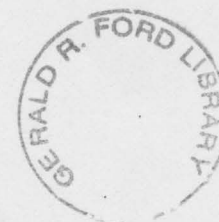
	More %	Less %	No Difference %	No Opinion %
NATIONAL	13	24	57	6
College.....	13	17	66	4
High School.....	14	24	56	6
Grade School.....	12	33	48	7
Under 30 yrs.....	20	15	60	5
30-49 yrs.....	14	23	58	5
50 yrs. & older.....	9	30	54	7
South. whites.....	5	42	48	5
North. whites.....	13	20	62	5
Republicans.....	10	26	59	5
Democrats.....	16	22	56	6
Independents.....	13	25	56	6

POLITICAL
AFFILIATION

Question: "In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or independent?"

October 1971

	1971 %	1960 %
Republican	9%	23%
Democrat	72	54
Independent	19	23



RATING OF
PRESIDENT
NIXON

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?"

	Nationwide Blacks		
	Approve %	Disapprove %	No Opinion %
July 1970	26	55	19
September 1969	38	31	31

VIETNAM
WAR

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the situation in Vietnam?"

September 1969

Approve
Disapprove
No Opinion

Nationwide
Blacks

40%
36
24

INTEGRATION

Question: "In your opinion, do you think racial integration of schools in the United States is going too fast or not fast enough?"

August 1969

	Too Fast	Not Fast Enough	About Right	No Opinion
Nationwide blacks	20%	45%	27%	8%

Question: "In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of black and white school children from one school district to another?"

November 1971

	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Nationwide blacks	45%	47%	8%

May 1970 - Nationwide Blacks Top Domestic Priorities

1. Improving housing, clearing slums.
2. Helping people in poor areas.
3. Reducing racial discrimination.
4. Improving public education.
5. Reducing unemployment.
6. Reducing pollution of air and water.
7. Reducing amount of crime.
8. Conquering "killer" diseases.
9. Improving highway safety.
10. Beautifying America.



Question: "On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with: The work you do? Your family income? Your housing situation?"

The Work You Do - Nationwide Blacks

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion
1949	55%	33%	12%
1963	54	33	13
1966	69	18	13
1969	76	18	6
1971	63	25	12

Your Family Income

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
1949	34%	56%	10%
1963	38	62	-
1966	45	49	6
1969	44	54	2
1971	41	57	2

Your Housing Situation

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
1949	59	32	9
1963	43	54	3
1966	51	44	5
1969	50	48	2
1971	51	46	3

CENTER FOR
POLITICAL
STUDIES

Results from the Center for Political Studies indicate, as shown by previous Harris and Gallup surveys, that blacks, by a large majority, consider themselves Democrats. In the 1968 Presidential election, they voted for Senator Hubert Humphrey. Blacks also believe that the Democratic Party has done the most to further civil rights.

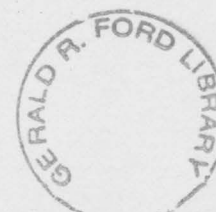
The 1970 congressional elections appear to have concerned blacks, but their vote turnout was not large. Blacks also believe that they should work within the present two - party system rather than form their own political party.

Blacks consider the issues of Vietnam, health insurance, pollution, inflation, and student and urban unrest as being important to them.

ELECTIONS

Question: "In the Presidential election in 1968 for whom did you vote?"

Nixon	3.8%
Humphrey	58.8
Wallace	0.1
Don't know/	37.3
other answers	.9



Question: "In reference to the 1970 Congressional elections, how much did you personally care about their outcome?"

Very much	22.3%
Pretty much	37.7
Not very much	28.5
Not at all	8.8
Don't know/	2.7
other answers	

Question: "Were you interested in following the political campaigns this year?" (1970)

Very much interested	30.4%
Somewhat interested	43.8
Not much interested	25.8

Question: "In 1970, did you vote for a Senate candidate?"

Yes	29.2%
No.	2.3
Don't Know.	4.6
No Senate Race in this state/ other answers.	63.9

Question: "In 1970, did you vote for a Congressman?"

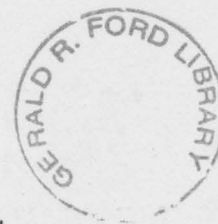
Yes	35.0%
No.	6.2
Don't Know/ Other answers	58.8

Question: "In 1970, did you vote for a candidate for governor?"

Yes	33.1%
No.	1.2
Don't Know.	3.1
No Governor's Race/Other answers.	62.6

Question: "How much do you think having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think?"

A good deal	40.4%
Some.	39.6
Not much.	16.9
Don't Know/Other answers.	3.1



Question: "Since you have been old enough to vote, have you voted in all the elections, most, some or none of them."

Some.	33.1%
Most.	25.8
All	23.1
None.	15.0
Don't Know.	3.0

POLITICAL
AFFILIATION

Question: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent or what?

Republican 4.6%
Democrat 76.9
Independent 17.4
Other 1.1

POLITICAL
PARTIES

Question: "Do you think blacks should form their own political party and work mainly through it or do you think blacks should concentrate on making changes through the two major parties?"

Work in own party 6.9%
Both 5.8
Work in two major parties . 67.7
Don't Know/
Other Answers 19.6

Question: "Would you support an independent black political party?"

Yes 21.5%
Depends 34.6
No 41.2
Don't Know 2.7



CIVIL
RIGHTS

Question: Do you think the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children are allowed to go to the same schools or stay out of this area as it is not its business?"

	See That Children Attend Same School	Stay Out of This Area	Depends	Don't Know
Nationwide Blacks	83.1%	6.2%	1.5%	9.2%

Question: "Which party do you think is more likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?"

Democrats. 63.5%
Republicans. 3.5
No Difference. 18.5
Don't Know/Other Answers . 14.5

Question: "Do you think civil rights has been pushed too fast, too slowly or about right?"

Too Fast	About Right	Too Slowly	Don't Know/ Other Answers
6.2%	53.5%	38.1%	2.2%

NATIONAL
ISSUES

Question: "How important would you say the issue of urban unrest is to you?"

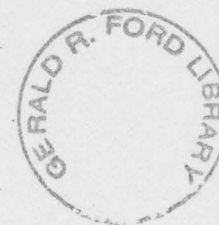
Very important. 75.8%
Somewhat important. 18.5
Not Very important. 3.5
Not important 0.8
Don't Know/
Other Answers 1.4

Question: "How important would you say the issue of student disturbances is to you?"

Very important. 57.3%
Somewhat important. 23.8
Not very important. 3.8
Not important 0.4
Don't Know/
Other Answers 14.7

Question: "How important is the issue of government action against inflation to you?"

Very important. 75.0%
Somewhat important. 13.1
Not very important. 1.9
Not important0
Don't Know/
Other Answers 10.0



Question: "How important is the issue of pollution from private industry to you?"

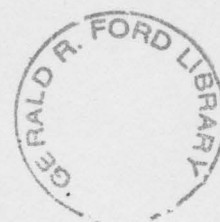
Very important. 50.4%
Somewhat important. 23.5
Not very important. 3.8
Not important 0.4
Don't Know/Other Answers. . 21.9

Question: "How important is a health insurance plan to you?"

Very important.	66.9%
Somewhat important.	15.8
Not very important.	4.2
Not important	0.4
Don't Know/	
Other Answers	12.7

Question: "How important would you say the issue of handling the Vietnam war is to you?"

Very important.	68.1%
Somewhat important.	22.3
Not very important.	5.8
Not important	1.5
Don't Know/	
Other Answers	2.3





	MAR	APR	MAY	June	July	AUG	SEPT.	OCT	NOV
CHAIRMAN		X							
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT	X								
DEPUTY DIRECTOR		X							
SECRETARY (2)	X	X							
REGIONAL FIELD CO-ORDINATOR		X							
REGIONAL FIELD CO-ORDINATOR			X						
REGIONAL FIELD CO-ORDINATOR				X					
RETREAT (Organizational/Planning)	X								
COMMITTEES									
1. Black Young Business Executives			X						
2. Black Educators			X						
3. Black Churchmen		X							
4. Black Professional Athletes		X							
Brochure		X							
DINNER HONORING APPOINTEES				X					
NEWS LETTER		X							
STATE Chairmen ORIENTATION				X					

