

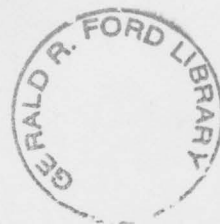
The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “Black Vote in 1972 - Campaign Plan (3)” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Bettye L. Scott donated to the United States of America her copyrights in all of her husband's unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

BLACK VOTE IN 1972



PREFACE

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 was 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.

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 an 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%. The necessity of returning to at least the 1960 level should be readily apparent.

The ideas that follow emanated from three assumptions. If properly implemented, these assumptions may well serve as the basis for obtaining a significant bloc of votes for the Republican Party. Essentially, these assumptions are:



1. That Blacks, throughout the nation, are acquiring a voter sophistication that lends itself to national appeal. Blacks are listening discriminately and making decisions less on emotion or traditional voting habits than on an assessment of those issues which will affect the quality of their lives.

2. That the traditional Democratic hold on the Black vote is no longer assured. Black allegiance to the Democratic Party is now being questioned at every level in the Black community. This leaves the Black vote an open, negotiable issue.

3. That the anti-Republican attitude among Blacks has been the result of a negative image. Republicans have been viewed by Blacks as "white, rich, old, and conservative." This image must be modified, so that greater pluralism may be promoted in party membership.

These assumptions, then, became the guidelines for the proposed strategy. They suggest a sequence of activities which call for a more effective coordination of resources already at hand. It was felt that any grandiose, radical scheme to attract fresh Black votes would surely be held suspect by the Black community. For this reason, we agreed that the judicious use of traditional political approaches would be more appropriate and effective.



It was also agreed that these efforts should be geared to a strong offensive approach, rather than an apologetic or defensive one. Concerted efforts should be made to obtain maximum involvement from every facet of the Black community (educators, church leaders, entertainers, businessmen, etc.) While we do not expect long term voting habits to completely alter in the next election, it is fairly certain that a neutralizing phenomena will occur -- i.e. a defusing of an anti-Republican attitude that will subsequently make a great difference in the disposition of the Black vote and a flood of democratic candidates and conflicting strategies.

As the series of White House briefings have indicated, there are many Blacks who want to work with the Administration and effect whatever change is needed from within. Because of this, it was felt that a direct appeal -- an offensive approach -- to this segment of the Black community is advisable. The following strategy reflects such an approach, which presumably, will have a spin-off effect within every strata of the Black community. One of the basic recommendations of this strategy call for the formation of Citizens Committees with a central staff whose primary objective would be to achieve the maximum participation of the Black community. It would also serve to channel various factionalized groups through a centralized body.



THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

A prime factor in aiding the re-election of the President

Current evidence indicates that the Black vote may prove to be a decisive factor in several key states.

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

1. It is evident that current Democratic leadership is willing to make whatever promises necessary to secure the Black vote.
2. There is every reason to believe that there will be a Black candidate for President fielded in 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;
 - B. Crime in the Black community;
 - C. Heroin traffic in the Black community;
 - D. Inadequate housing;



E. Quality of educational opportunities.

6. It is reasonable to assume that a goal of 20-30% of the Black vote is obtainable. (The President received 32% in the 1960 election).

7. Many Blacks have expressed a desire to participate in the campaign.

8. As much as possible, we should avoid dealing with splinter organizations which will serve to dilute the effectiveness of the overall program.

9. A strong effort should be made to build communications between local supporters and Federal officials.

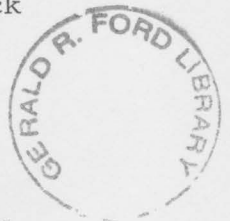
10. There should be several key events planned in the Black community for recommended Presidential participation.

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

1. Administration appointments of Blacks must be properly marketed. For example, where appropriate, the President might include Black appointees on his trips to their home areas.

2. Black political operatives must be identified in each region and where they are not identified they should be so placed.

3. There should be greater visibility of non-Black top level officials in the Black community more grass roots communication. This can be done in several ways. For example, participation in social events, speaking engagements and cultural activities.



RECOMMENDATION

There should be a working committee formed including top level staff persons of the White House, Republican National Committee and key supporters meeting frequently to carry out and coordinate the above aims. A Citizens Committee staff person should be assigned to this group.

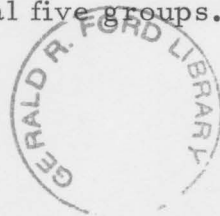
_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

BLACK CITIZEN COMMITTEES

Black citizen committees should be established nationwide to build solid grass roots backing for the President.

Votes for the President in the Black community will most likely come from Blacks who are making it within the system. Much of our attention should be directed to them, inasmuch as their opinions have substantial influence on the Black masses. Many individuals from this segment of the Black community have indicated to us a strong interest in working toward the President's re-election.

The following five groups should be immediately set up and budgeted in order to begin operations by the turn of the year. Other groups of Black professionals and special interests groups would be established later following the basic pattern set forth by the initial five 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. All of these men are all strong supporters of the President. A budget of \$2000 should be appropriated for this group to begin operation at a very early date.

2. Black Real Estate Brokers for the Re-election of the President

This group could be set up with the cooperation and coordination of Willis Carson of Los Angeles, who is President of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers (a Black organization) and a very strong Republican. We have had close relations with him in the past and have assisted his organization in matters relating to housing. A budget of \$1500 should be sufficient to launch this group.

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

This group should 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 a 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 \$2500 to begin operations.

4. 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. We have close relations with a number of Black clergymen who support the President and are strong Republicans. Among them are Dr. William Holmes Borders, Pastor, Wheat Street Baptist Church in Atlanta (he is well known nationwide); Dr. L. V. Booth of Cincinnati; Bishop William M. Smith of the AME Zion Church, who is also member of the Alabama Republican Executive Committee; Dr. J. H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention (National Baptist is the largest Black church group in the nation); Reverend Arthur Marshall of St. Louis; Reverend Roland Smith of Atlanta who is one of the founders of the SCLC. In light of the high priority role that this group will play, a budget of \$5000 is recommended to begin operations.



5. 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 \$2000. These budget recommendations should carry these groups through the first few weeks of actual operation.

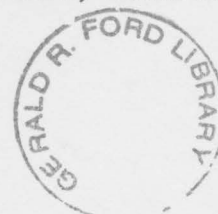
RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the concept of actively involving noted Black Republicans, in the re-election of the President by formation of Black citizen groups as described above. Also, that an immediate budget of \$15,000 and a six month budget of \$150,000 be provided for the establishment of these and other groups already described. The first five groups should be operable before the beginning of 1972.

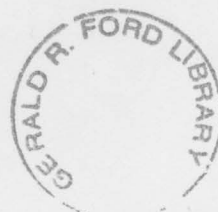
_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

Other Black citizen committees that might also be formed are as follows:

1. Black Financial Executives -- (Savings & Loan, Insurance) for the Re-election of the President;



2. Black Bank Officials for the Re-election of the President;
3. Black Lawyers for the Re-election of the President;
4. Black Physicians for the Re-election of the President;
5. Minority Contractors for the Re-election of the President;
6. Black Senior Citizens for the Re-election of the President;
7. Blacks for Safe Communities, organized for the Re-election
of the President;
8. Black Consulting Firms for the Re-election of the President;
9. Black Entertainers for the Re-election of the President;
10. Black Barbers and Beauticians for the Re-election of the
President;
11. Black Morticians for the Re-election of the President;
12. Black Dentists for the Re-election of the President;
13. Black Farmers for the Re-election of the President;
14. Black Manufacturers for the Re-election of the President;
15. Black Elected Officials for the Re-election of the President;
16. Black Law Enforcement Officers Committee for the Re-election
of the President; and
17. Black Newspaper Publishers for the Re-election of the President.



BLACK REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

For the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an opportunity to field Black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election. Given the proper monetary support, capable Black candidates who can attract national attention will reap dividends for the Party.

RECOMMENDATION

An immediate search be begun to identify likely Black candidates in as many districts as possible.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

SPEAKERS BUREAU

A Speakers Bureau should be established. Black appointees should be sent to speak in support of Administration programs. These engagements should include white as well as Black groups.

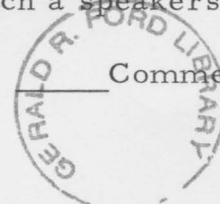
The State Republican Committees should be encouraged to engage these appointees as speakers.

Special material on what this Administration is doing in assisting minorities should be provided to every speaker.

RECOMMENDATION

A member of the special staff dealing with the minority vote should work full time in assembling and coordinating such a speakers bureau.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. Blacks should work on convention planning committees to insure minority input in all key areas.
2. Various states should be encouraged to have at least one Black delegate from every district in which there is a sizeable Black population.
3. Special social events should be planned involving Blacks.
4. Someone should be assigned the special task of making certain that Black contractors, consultants and other Black businessmen receive a maximum of opportunities at the Convention. Efforts should be made to publicize this.

RECOMMENDATION

That someone be specifically authorized to work with the Convention Committee and any other officials toward assuring Black business a substantial and visible piece of the convention business. We have a person on the West Coast who is knowledgeable of minority business and is willing to assume this duty immediately at least on a part time basis: namely Richard Allen, President of a Los Angeles electronics firm.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

_____ Comment



RURAL AND SOUTHERN BLACK VOTE

The President has a great opportunity to win Black votes in rural and Southern communities -- these votes could spell the difference in all of these states. This group has benefited from Administration programs in the past three years, particularly in the area of housing and much more is expected in the next few months in other areas. Administration task force groups can assist in highlighting this progress.

RECOMMENDATION

A minority Citizens Committee staffer should be assigned to work in this area, keep tabs on and highlight all progress. A professional poll should also be taken in this area at a very early date.

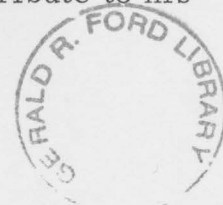
_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

SPECIAL EVENTS

The Black appointed officials have committed themselves to raising a minimum of \$100,000 for the re-election of the President.

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

Major entertainment will be solicited. It is hoped that the President could be the featured speaker at this national Black tribute to his accomplishments.



Attention will be focused on the fact that the Black political appointees are sponsoring the dinner.

DINNER COMMITTEE

Berkeley Burrell -- Chairman

Ed Sexton -- Coordinator

James E. Johnson

Robert J. Brown

Stanley Scott

Frank Kent

Colston Lewis

George Haley

John Wilks

Other special events should be planned throughout the country. Black entertainers for the re-election of the President will contribute to the events.

RECOMMENDATION

The initial minority staff persons on the Black citizen committees be assigned to this effort to assist in its development and implementation.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

_____ Comment



COMMUNICATIONS

It is important to advertise the major programs of the Administration which are of particular interest to the Black community.

RECOMMENDATION

A "Facts for Blacks" truth squad, which will be responsible for disseminating information about Republican achievements to the Black community. Suggested head of this group: Elaine Jenkins.

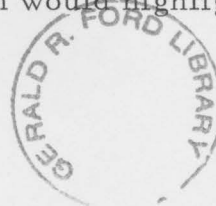
_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

There are many other areas of communications, such as radio, TV, printed word, information forums, all geared to addressing the Black "man-in-the-street." These tools can be used effectively to get the message across and secure additional votes for the President.

With respect to brochures, posters, leaflets, newsletters and other printed materials, it is essential that publication and dissemination be under the auspices of one of the committees already recommended for the re-election of the President. Unless done in this manner, these will lack the necessary credibility to accomplish the basic purpose of the effort and that is influence the Black vote.

RECOMMENDATION

A monthly newsletter should be prepared which would highlight each



month Black involvement in Federal and other programs. This newsletter would be distributed by mail and also be used as an information handout.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

YOUTH VOTE

In this regard, it is recommended that an ad hoc youth committee be established to work with the overall group.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

CHURCHES

One of the most effective ways of reaching the Black community is through the churches.

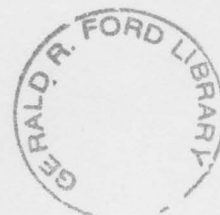
The Black minister plays an important role in influencing his congregation.

Many of these churches have received assistance for their programs through the efforts of the Administration. This is a group which must be cultivated.

RECOMMENDATION

As noted earlier, Black Clergymen for the Re-election of the President.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment



BLACK CONVENTIONS

Every effort should be expended by Black appointees to attend and to speak at the major Black conventions in 1972. Approximately 100,000 Blacks in positions of leadership can be reached through this means of communication.

RECOMMENDATION

There should be a planned strategy for each of these conventions to assure maximum mileage. This should be staffed out at the earliest convenience.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment

LOCAL REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS

We must depend on the new Citizens Committees for the greatest assistance. However, the traditional local Black Republican organizations should be given every opportunity for maximum participation. They should be actively pursued.

RECOMMENDATION

A working committee be established between the top Black staffers of the Republican National Committee, the Campaign Congressional Committee, and Citizens Committee for the Re-election of President for this purpose.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment



THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

A prime factor in aiding the re-election of the President

Current evidence indicates that the black vote may prove to be a decisive factor in several key states.

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

1. It is evident that current democratic leadership is willing to make whatever promises necessary to secure the black vote.
2. There is every reason to believe that there will be a black candidate for President fielded in 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. Civil Rights is still the major issue of the black community. However, there are a number of other issues which are of major concern to blacks.

These issues include:

- A. Crime in the black community;
 - B. Heroin traffic in the black community;
 - C. The high rate of unemployment among blacks.
6. It is reasonable to assume that a goal of 20-30% of the black vote is obtainable.
 7. Many blacks have expressed a desire to participate in the campaign.



8. As much as possible, we should avoid dealing with splinter organizations which will serve to dilute the effectiveness of the overall program.
9. A strong effort should be made to build communications between local supporters and Federal officials.
10. There should be several key events planned in the black community for recommended Presidential participation.

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

1. Administration appointments of blacks must be properly marketed. For example, where appropriate, the President might include black appointees on his trips to their home areas.
2. Black political operatives must be identified in each region and where they are not identified they should be so placed.
3. There should be greater visibility of non-black top level officials in the black community more grass roots communication. This can be done in several ways. For example, participation in social events, speaking engagements and cultural activities.

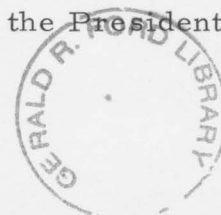
BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

Black citizens groups should be established nationwide to build solid grass roots backing for the President.

Votes for the President in the black community will most likely come from blacks who are making it within the system. Our attention should be directed to them, inasmuch as their opinions have substantial influence on the black masses.

The following groups should be established beginning in early 1972. The individuals heading each group should be invited to Washington for a kick-off luncheon with top black appointed officials.

1. Black Young Business Executives for the re-election of the President;
2. Black Real Estate Brokers for the re-election of the President;



3. Black Financial Executives -- (Savings & Loan, Insurance) for the re-election of the President;
4. Black Bank Officials for the re-election of the President;
5. Black Lawyers for the re-election of the President;
6. Black Doctor's for the re-election of the President;
7. Black Educator's for the re-election of the President;
8. Minority Contractors for the re-election of the President;
9. Black Churchmen for the re-election of the President;
10. Black Senior Citizens for the re-election of the President;
11. Black Professional Athletes for the re-election of the President;
12. Blacks for Safe Communities, organized for the re-election of the President;
13. Black Consulting Firms for the re-election of the President;
14. Black Entertainers for the re-election of the President;
15. Black Barbers and Beauticians for the re-election of the President;
16. Black Morticians for the re-election of the President;
17. Black Dentists for the re-election of the President;
18. Black Farmers for the re-election of the President;
19. Black Manufacturers for the re-election of the President;
20. Black Elected Officials for the re-election of the President;
21. Black Law Enforcement Officers Committee for the re-election of the President; and



22. Black Newspaper Publishers for the re-election of the President.

BLACK REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

For the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an opportunity to field black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election. Given the proper monetary support, capable black candidates who can attract national attention will reap dividends for the Party.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

A **Speakers** Bureau should be established. Black appointees should be sent to speak in support of Administration programs. These engagements should include white as well as black groups.

The State Republican Committees should be encouraged to engage these appointees as speakers.

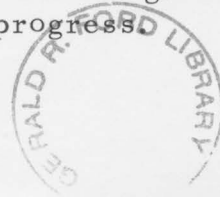
Special material on what this Administration is doing in assisting minorities should be provided to every speaker.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. Blacks should work on convention planning committees to insure minority input in all key areas.
2. Various states should be encouraged to have at least one black delegate from every district in which there is a sizeable black population.
3. Special social events should be planned involving blacks.
4. Black contractors should be provided with maximum opportunities at the Convention. Efforts should be made to publicize this matter.

RURAL AND SOUTHERN BLACK VOTE

The President has a great opportunity to win black votes in rural and Southern communities -- these votes could spell the difference in several states. This group has greatly benefited from Administration programs in the past three years, particularly in the area of housing. Administration task force groups can assist in highlighting this progress.



SPECIAL EVENTS

The black appointed officials have committed themselves to raising a minimum of \$100,000 for the re-election of the President.

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

Major entertainment will be solicited. It is hoped that the President could be the featured speaker at this national black tribute to his accomplishments.

Attention will be focused on the fact that the black political appointees are sponsoring the dinner.

DINNER COMMITTEE

Berkeley Burrell -- Chairman
Ed Sexton -- Coordinator
James E. Johnson
Robert J. Brown
Stanley Scott
Frank Kent
Colston Lewis
George Haley
John Wilks

Other special events should be planned throughout the country. Black entertainers for the re-election of the President will contribute to the events.

COMMUNICATIONS

It is important to advertise the major programs of the Administration which are of particular interest to the black community.

We also recommend a "Facts for Blacks" truth squad, which will be responsible for disseminating information about Republican achievements to the black community. Suggested head of this group: Elaine Jenkins.



There are many other areas of communications, such as radio, TV, printed word, information forums, all geared to addressing the black "man-in-the-street." These tools can be used effectively to get the message across and secure additional votes for the President.

With respect to brochures, posters, leaflets, newsletters and other printed materials, it is essential that publication and dissemination be under the auspices of one of the committees already recommended for the re-election of the President. Unless done in this manner, these will lack the necessary credibility to accomplish the basic purpose of the effort and that is influence the black vote.

YOUTH VOTE

In this regard, it is recommended that a youth committee be established.

CHURCHES

One of the most effective ways of reaching the black community is through the churches.

The black minister plays an important role in influencing his congregation.

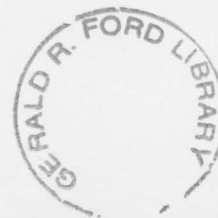
Many of these churches have received assistance for their programs through the efforts of the Administration. This is a group which must be cultivated.

CONVENTIONS

Every effort should be expended by black appointees to attend and to speak at the major black conventions in 1972. Approximately 100,000 blacks in positions of leadership can be reached through this means of communication. There should be a planned strategy for each of these conventions to assure maximum mileage.

LOCAL REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS

We must depend on the new Citizens Committees for the greatest assistance. However, the traditional local black Republican organizations should be given every opportunity for maximum participation. They should be actively pursued.



THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

A ^{prime} ~~crucial~~ factor in aiding the re-election
of the President

Current evidence indicates that the black vote may prove to be a very crucial factor in the re-election of President Nixon.

a
the decisive factor
in several key states,
especially Southern
states.

Although there is considerable rethoric from some leaders in the black community which could lead the politically unsophisticated to determine that the black vote is a lost cause as far as the Republican Party is concerned, the following facts should be considered: *given careful consideration!*

In assessing
Campaign
Strategies,

1. The black Democrat leadership in seeking to establish a power-base within the policy-making arena of the Party is and will continue to make demands on the Party which cannot be acceptable to the established Party machinery.

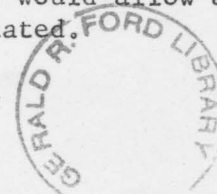
one
voice
develop
larger
splitter
groups

Round I - The defeat of Harold Hughes who had near-solid black support against a black woman, Patricia Roberts Harris, who has refused to align with the majority of the black leadership.

Round II - Representative Shirley Chisholm is one of the main forces for reform within the black Democrat group. This group encompasses most of the young black Congressman and the young leadership of the major civil rights organizations. It is clear that she intends the same kind of role at the National convention that she played in 1970 at the New York State Democrat convention, which resulted in a statewide ticket of political purists, but no realists. There was no way the New York State Democrat ticket could win.

It is clear that Chairman O'Brien cannot allow the reform groups to take-over. It is equally clear that Chairman O'Brien is in full command of the Party machinery.

- Effect -
- A. Blacks will denounce the party bosses and be passive in the campaign if Muskie, Jackson or a similar candidate is nominated.
 - B. The nomination of a reform candidate will severely split the Deomocrat Party, insuring the re-election of President Nixon. It is inconceivable that the Party pros would allow a reform candidate to be nominated.



STAFFING

1. A person to head the entire black voter program. Must be someone who can deal with the very top campaign personnel. Must know the present black appointees.
2. Communications man
3. Research person (Citizens Committee)
4. Someone to run the Women's Program
5. The Youth Program
6. Field personnel (need approximately 12 to 14 persons for the last 6 months of the campaign.)

It was recommended that Helen Edmonds be Chairwoman of the Womens Program.

The person choosen for the top position must have the trust and confidence of the Citizens Committee. This person will need an Assistant, Consultants, and a Field person. Also this person must have the full confidence of the President.

We need input from black political scientists who can identify issues, and who help develop strategies.

BUDGET

The budget for this program will depend on the importance to the Citizens Committee of getting 20 - 30 percent of the black vote. The budget should be ascertained at \$2 million for every 10 percent of the black vote needed.

If this program is to sell, the budget must reflect its importance to the re-election of the President.



YOUTH VOTE

There is a sizeable segment of black youth who can be influenced to vote for the President. He (she) is identified by: - Has a job often as a Junior manager. Married, raising a family. Newly moving into the mainstream of American life and wants to protect position. Not a college intellectual, but probably has a high school diploma, often some college, *and many are college graduates*

CHURCHES

Perhaps the most effective way of reaching the black community is through the churches.

The black minister can play an important role in persuading his congregation and others in the community that the President is on the right track and should be re-elected.

Most of these ministers are conservatives. Many have received assistance for their church programs through the efforts of the present Administration. This is a must group to cultivate.

CONVENTIONS

Every effort should be expended by black appointees to attend and to speak at the major black conventions in 1972. Approximately 100,000 blacks can be reached through this means of communication. They will be able to identify with the black appointees.

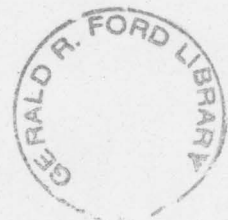
Waters Primarily the attendees at these conventions are people who are quietly working in the system and achieving. They have not closed their minds on voting for the President.

VOTER REGISTRATION

Voter Education should be our special emphasis. We should cultivate the already registered. Sell our message, and make sure he knows how to vote and votes.

LOCAL REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS

We must depend on the new Citizens Committees for the greatest assistance. But the traditional local black Republican organizations must not be neglected.



SPECIAL EVENTS

The black appointed officials have committed themselves to raising a minimum of \$100,000 for the re-election of the President.

A black-tie dinner is planned for Negro History Week (February 1972). Suggested theme: "Moving Into The Mainstream". Cost will be \$100.00 per plate, \$1,000 per table.

Major entertainment will be solicited. The President would be the featured speaker at this National black tribute to his accomplishments.

Attention will be focused on the fact that the black political appointees are sponsoring the dinner.

DINNER COMMITTEE

Berkeley Burrell - Chairman
Ed Sexton - Coordinator
John Johnson
Robert Brown
Stan Scott
Frank Kent
Colston Lewis
George Haley
John Wilkes

Initial meeting Tuesday, October 19, 1971.

Other special events should be held throughout 1972 around the country. Black entertainers for the re-election of the President will contribute to the events. Black appointees will make appearances.

COMMUNICATIONS

It is important to advertise the major black programs of the Administration.

We also recommend a "Facts for Blacks" truth squad, which will be responsible for disseminating information about Republican achievements to the black community. Suggested head of this group: Elaine Jenkins.

There are many other areas of communications, such as radio, TV, printed word, information forums, all geared to addressing the black "man-in-the-street." These tools can be used effectively to get the message across and secure additional votes for the President.



3. Blacks presently serving in the Administration should be highlighted and promoted.

The President should include black appointees on his trips to their home areas. An intense effort should be made to make as many black appointees as possible highly visible. This is the first Administration which has had so many competent blacks in powerful administrative positions. Proper utilization of these resources will insure that this fact is not lost on the voting black public.

4. The Administration should immediately require each agency to set goals for the delivery of services to minorities and a black political operative must be placed in strategic positions in Washington and in the regions to assure that the agencies reach their goals.

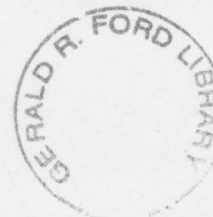
BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

It is important to create an atmosphere of broad support for the re-election of the President within the black community.

Black citizens groups should be established nationwide to build solid grass roots backing for the President. The Presidents' votes in the black community will most likely come from blacks who are making it within the system. Our attention should be directed to them.

The following groups should be established beginning in January 1972 - The individuals heading each group should be invited to Washington for a kick-off luncheon with top black appointed officials.

1. Black Young Business Executives for the re-election of the President;
2. Black Real Estate Brokers for the re-election of the President;
3. Black Financial Executives-(Savings & Loan Insurance) for the re-election of the President;
4. Black Bank Officials for the re-election of the President;
5. Black Lawyers for the re-election of the President;
6. Black Doctor's for the re-election of the President;
7. Black Educator's for the re-election of the President;
8. Minority Contractors for the re-election of the President;
9. Black Churchmen for the re-election of the President;
10. Black Senior Citizens for the re-election of the President;
11. Black athlete Professionals for the re-election of the President;



12. Blacks for Safe Communities, organized for the re-election of the President;
13. Black Consulting Firms for the re-election of the President;
14. Black Entertainers for the re-election of the President;
15. Black Barbers and Beauticians for the re-election of the President;
16. Black Morticians for the re-election of the President;
17. Black Dentist for the re-election of the President;
18. Black Farmers for the re-election of the President;
19. Black Manufacturers for the re-election of the President;
20. Black elected officials for the re-election of the President;
21. Black Law enforcement officers committee for the re-election of the President; and
22. Black newspaper publishers for the re-election of the President.



BLACK REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

For the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an opportunity to field black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election, due to their visibility as appointees in this Administration.

It should be recognized that a black candidate running in an all-black or near all-black district against a black Democrat has almost no chance of being elected.

A black Democrat running in a largely mixed district cannot expect to win in most cases because of the failure of rank and file labor to provide the support needed.

However, an endorsed black Republican candidate running against a white candidate in a mixed district can win through a coalition of white Republicans and black Democrats.

Example: St. Paul, Minnesota in 1966 - Black Republican Steve Maxwell almost defeated white entrenched Democrat Joseph Karth in a district where black voter registration is only one percent of the total voting population. Senator Ed Brooke is the only national black elected official who was elected by a white

(INCUMBENT)

We should begin to groom black candidates to run in the South in districts which are beginning to change. Blacks who have been kept out of Democrat party politics will welcome the opportunity to have options.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

A Speakers Bureau should be established. Black appointees should be sent to speak in support of the President's progress, not only to black groups, but to white groups as well. *Programs*

The State Republican Committees should be encouraged to engage these appointees as speakers and to hold receptions for them - again for high visibility purposes.

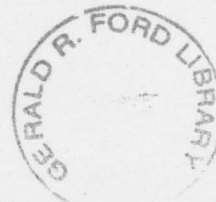
The National Speakers Bureau should insure that blacks are sent on speaking engagements of high visibility. Special material on what this Administration is doing in assisting minorities to move into the mainstream of American life should be developed to provide to every speaker on behalf of the President. *the Circuit and*

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. *Sent* Key Committee assignments and other visible spots should go to blacks. Blacks should work on convention planning committees to insure minority input.
2. There should be at least one black delegate from every district in the Nation which has a sizeable black population.
3. Since blacks compose 11 percent of the population, a like percentage of the convention assignments should go to blacks.
4. The Citizens Committee should insure that a planned demonstration on behalf of the President include a significant number of blacks.
5. Special social events should be planned honoring black appointees, endorsed black candidates and elected black Republican officials.

RURAL AND SOUTHERN BLACK VOTE

The President has a great opportunity to win black votes in rural and Southern communities - these votes could spell the difference in whether a state ends up in the win or loss column. The Democrats often forget the Southern rural vote or at least take it for granted. This group has greatly benefited from Administration programs in the past three years, particularly in the area of housing. We can capture significant votes here.



2. Although a sizeable segment of the black community, expresses negative feelings about the President on some issues, i.e. the belief that he is not moving fast enough on civil rights issues. It is clear that most have not closed their minds on the issue of voting for his re-election. They want, however, to be woo'd.
3. Civil Rights is still the major concern of the black community. There are a number of other issues, however, which are of concern to the degree that civil rights notwithstanding many blacks could be persuaded to vote for the President.

Those issues include:

- A. Crime by blacks against blacks in the black community;
- B. Heroin traffic in the black community, affecting black children; and
- C. The economy.

There is no evidence that the Viet Nam war is the kind of issue which will determine votes in the majority of the black community.

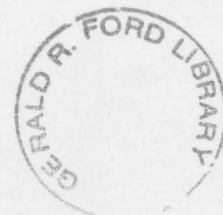
4. It obviously is not realistic to believe that the President can capture a majority of the black vote. However, a target of 20 - 30 percent of the black vote for the President is obtainable and could well spell the difference between victory and defeat.

This paper is premised on the belief that 20 - 30 percent of the black vote is needed to insure victory. The President received 12 percent of the black vote in 1968 with no diserable effort to win black votes. That kind of risk may prove to be too expensive in 1972 and should be avoided.

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

The incumbent President has certain advantages in the utilization of available resources which should be exploited to the fullest advantage.

1. Beginning immediately every administration appointment which would have special significance to the black community must be properly marketed for full exploitive value.
2. A list of all key vacancies should be made available and blacks actively recruited from within and without the Administration



THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

A prime factor in aiding the re-election of the President

Current evidence indicates that the black vote may prove to be a decisive factor in several key states.

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

1. It is evident that current democratic leadership is willing to make whatever promises necessary to secure the black vote.
2. There is every reason to believe that there will be a black candidate for President fielded in 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. Civil Rights is still the major issue of the black community. However, there are a number of other issues which are of major concern to blacks.

These issues include:

- A. Crime in the black community;
 - B. Heroin traffic in the black community;
 - C. The high rate of unemployment among blacks.
6. It is reasonable to assume that a goal of 20-30% of the black vote is obtainable. *(AN received 32% in '60)*
 7. Many blacks have expressed a desire to participate in the campaign.



8. As much as possible, we should avoid dealing with splinter organizations which will serve to dilute the effectiveness of the overall program.
9. A strong effort should be made to build communications between local supporters and Federal officials.
10. There should be several key events planned in the black community for recommended Presidential participation.

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

1. Administration appointments of blacks must be properly marketed. For example, where appropriate, the President might include black appointees on his trips to their home areas.
2. Black political operatives must be identified in each region and where they are not identified they should be so placed.
3. There should be greater visibility of non-black top level officials in the black community more grass roots communication. This can be done in several ways. For example, participation in social events, speaking engagements and cultural activities.

get them together
* NBA *

BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

Black citizens groups should be established nationwide to build solid grass roots backing for the President.

Votes for the President in the black community will most likely come from blacks who are making it within the system. Our attention should be directed to them, inasmuch as their opinions have substantial influence on the black masses.

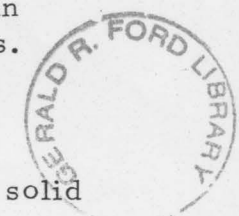
The following groups should be ^{immediately} established beginning in early 1972. The individuals heading each group should be invited to Washington for a kick-off luncheon with top black appointed officials.

1. * ^{Anthony Lewis, asst. U.S. - Woodworth former all Amer. football at Notre Dame}
^{John Simms, Dir. of Minority Affairs - U.S. Ply. Champion / James Mack / Al Venable / Ron Evans}
Black Young Business Executives for the re-election of the President;
2. * Black Real Estate Brokers for the re-election of the President;

^{Willis Carson - Los Angeles - strong Rep.}
^{had had close relations with & helped in housing etc. (groups)}

^{we need to have these started by first of year - with small budget & carry on activities}

indicate who when what will they do how will they relate to state organ. local group



3. Black Financial Executives -- (Savings & Loan, Insurance) for the re-election of the President;
4. Black Bank Officials for the re-election of the President;
5. Black Lawyers for the re-election of the President;
6. Black ^{Physicians} ~~Doctors~~ for the re-election of the President;
7. * ^{Dr. Helen Edmonds} Black Educator's for the re-election of the President;
8. Minority Contractors for the re-election of the President;
9. * ^{Dr. Wm. H. Borders} Black Churchmen for the re-election of the President;
10. Black Senior Citizens for the re-election of the President;
11. * ^{Bennie McCrae - Buddy Young - Roger Brown} Black Professional Athletes for the re-election of the President;
12. Blacks for Safe Communities, organized for the re-election of the President;
13. Black Consulting Firms for the re-election of the President;
14. Black Entertainers for the re-election of the President;
15. Black Barbers and Beauticians for the re-election of the President;
16. Black Morticians for the re-election of the President;
17. Black Dentists for the re-election of the President;
18. Black Farmers for the re-election of the President;
19. Black Manufacturers for the re-election of the President;
20. Black Elected Officials for the re-election of the President;
21. Black Law Enforcement Officers Committee for the re-election of the President; and



22. Black Newspaper Publishers for the re-election of the President.

BLACK REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

For the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an opportunity to field black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election. Given the proper monetary support, capable black candidates who can attract national attention will reap dividends for the Party.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

A Speakers Bureau should be established. Black appointees should be sent to speak in support of Administration programs. These engagements should include white as well as black groups.

The State Republican Committees should be encouraged to engage these appointees as speakers.

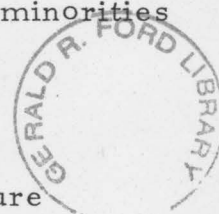
Special material on what this Administration is doing in assisting minorities should be provided to every speaker.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. Blacks should work on convention planning committees to insure minority input in all key areas.
2. Various states should be encouraged to have at least one black delegate from every district in which there is a sizeable black population.
3. Special social events should be planned involving blacks.
4. Black contractors should be provided with maximum opportunities at the Convention. Efforts should be made to publicize this matter.

RURAL AND SOUTHERN BLACK VOTE

The President has a great opportunity to win black votes in rural and Southern communities -- these votes could spell the difference in several states. This group has greatly benefited from Administration programs in the past three years, particularly in the area of housing. Administration task force groups can assist in highlighting this progress.



SPECIAL EVENTS

The black appointed officials have committed themselves to raising a minimum of \$100,000 for the re-election of the President.

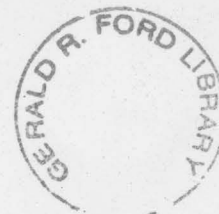
A black-tie dinner is being planned for the Washington, D.C. area. Suggested theme: "Moving Into The Mainstream." Cost will be \$100.00 per plate, \$1,000 per table.

Major entertainment will be solicited. It is hoped that the President could be the featured speaker at this national black tribute to his accomplishments.

Attention will be focused on the fact that the black political appointees are sponsoring the dinner.

DINNER COMMITTEE

Berkeley Burrell -- Chairman
Ed Sexton -- Coordinator
James E. Johnson
Robert J. Brown
Stanley Scott
Frank Kent
Colston Lewis
George Haley
John Wilks



Other special events should be planned throughout the country. Black entertainers for the re-election of the President will contribute to the events.

COMMUNICATIONS

It is important to advertise the major programs of the Administration which are of particular interest to the black community.

We also recommend a "Facts for Blacks" truth squad, which will be responsible for disseminating information about Republican achievements to the black community. Suggested head of this group: Elaine Jenkins.

There are many other areas of communications, such as radio, TV, printed word, information forums, all geared to addressing the black "man-in-the-street." These tools can be used effectively to get the message across and secure additional votes for the President.

With respect to brochures, posters, leaflets, newsletters and other printed materials, it is essential that publication and dissemination be under the auspices of one of the committees already recommended for the re-election of the President. Unless done in this manner, these will lack the necessary credibility to accomplish the basic purpose of the effort and that is influence the black vote.

YOUTH VOTE

In this regard, it is recommended that a youth committee be established.

CHURCHES

One of the most effective ways of reaching the black community is through the churches.

The black minister plays an important role in influencing his congregation.

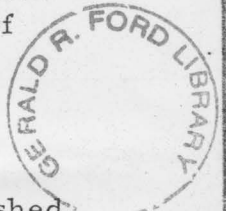
Many of these churches have received assistance for their programs through the efforts of the Administration. This is a group which must be cultivated.

CONVENTIONS

Every effort should be expended by black appointees to attend and to speak at the major black conventions in 1972. Approximately 100,000 blacks in positions of leadership can be reached through this means of communication. There should be a planned strategy for each of these conventions to assure maximum mileage.

LOCAL REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS

We must depend on the new Citizens Committees for the greatest assistance. However, the traditional local black Republican organizations should be given every opportunity for maximum participation. They should be actively pursued.



STAFFING

1. A person to head the entire black voter program. Must be someone who can deal with the very top campaign personnel. Must know the present black appointees.
2. Communications man
3. Research person (Citizens Committee)
4. Someone to run the Women's Program
5. The Youth Program
6. Field personnel (need approximately 12 to 14 persons for the last 6 months of the campaign.)

duties of each

It was recommended that Helen Edmonds be Chairwoman of the Womens Program.

The person choosen for the top position must have the trust and confidence of the Citizens Committee. This person will need an Assistant, Consultants, and a Field person. Also this person must have the full confidence of the President.

We need input from black political scientists who can identify issues, and who help develop strategies.

BUDGET

The budget for this program will depend on the importance to the Citizens Committee of getting 20 - 30 percent of the black vote. The budget should be ascertained at \$2 million for every 10 percent of the black vote needed.

If this program is to sell, the budget must reflect its importance to the re-election of the President.

4-month periods

3

