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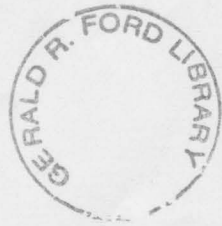
ALTERNATIVE FOR CHANGE:

SECURING THE BLACK VOTE FOR NIXON IN 1972

Submitted by:

Joseph L. Searles, III

Willie L. Leftwich



PROBLEM

Until George Meany recently declared that "labor" would be anti-Nixon, no major political pressure group other than the Blacks of this country had categorically repudiated and repulsed the current Administration so vehemently. From every environ of the Black community, the Nixon administration has been castigated for what it has not done and for what it has allegedly done, half-heartedly. The out-cry has come from every sector, public and private, and only recently from within the ranks of the Administration itself. The present negative sentiment has reached such proportions that subconsciously seventy-five (75%) of the Blacks in this country feel that the Republican Party and Richard Nixon, as its titular head, are hell-bent on the subjugation of the Black race. Although, this particular point has spasmodically been manifested overtly, the true danger of this proposition is that the violence so frequently accompanying these thoughts lie perilously close to the motor responses of the Black mind.

The so-called southern strategy, benign neglect, the Supreme Court nominations, hesitancy on securing stronger voting rights legislation, and most recently the rather pointer statements attributable to a high administration official have all but nullified the less than fully positive affects of the Philadelphia Plan, Black Capitalism, guaranteed minimum income, food-stamps and revenue-sharing. Even when consider-



ing the less than positive efforts of the Administration, it is still underscored because the general consensus among Blacks is that a sincere and truly affirmative posture with regard to these programs has never been established. Black Capitalism is still a dream, the Philadelphia Plan is tenaciously time consuming, food stamps are merely an enlargement of a "Great Society" program, and the other two are bound up in the machinations of Congress. Undoubtedly the conclusion which could be drawn from so dismal a picture would most easily lend itself to the proposition that the Republican Party and Richard Nixon in particular, should write-off the Black community in 1972. Frankly, that thesis is a wrong one, but it is a right one if the Administration fails to pursue any plan or strategy in a dramatic fashion or with anything less than intensive fanfare, for without these they will surely fail to illicit from the Black community a belief in their sincerity of effort and the commitment of this Administration to remedy their plight and recognize the true aspirations of all Black citizens.

STRATEGY

The basic strategy of any re-election campaign must spring forth from the actions, endeavors, and accomplishments (delivered political promises) of the candidate's first term in office. In the current area of Black programs we are



definitely at a handicap. But, fortunately we are not totally without one program capable of providing us with fair creditability and even the strong possibility of creating an organ of maximum political leverage, --- "Black Capitalism." To date both politically and programmatically, it has been under-utilized and poorly directed in terms of producing goodwill and favorable political response from the Black community. There is no program with greater potential to reach all strata of the Black community. The capability is there to interface with the upper and middle class black in terms of owners, entrepreneur, [independent and self-sufficient], thereby participating in the slicing of the "pie"; for the blue-collar or average working guy there is the opportunity to see locally the creation of businesses to ease some of the unemployment problems for his own kind, thereby mitigating some of the employment prejudices (fears) he meets downtown, and finally, a realization that his dollars are staying in the community helping to make it a better and sounder place to live.

To obtain the maximum in terms of establishing creditability and commitment while achieving significant political advantage demands a two-phased program. One phase would be a pre-election strategy which would be implemented totally within the governmental structure relying heavily on the functions maintained by various Departments and Agencies in the executive branch. It should be commenced immediately. The second phase would be the election strategy which would be implemented by a campaign staff



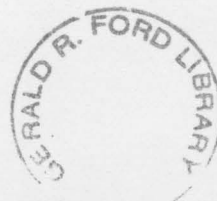
outside of formal governmental structures. It too, would be initiated immediately with strong interface with the pre-election strategy during the spring of 1972.

IMPLEMENTATION:
Pre-Election Strategy

To create an air of the utmost urgency, coupled with total commitment on the part of the Administration, the President should appoint a new Black, White House assistant whose duties and responsibilities would be to c-ordinate and expedite the establishment of a centrally controlled government - wide "Black Capitalism" program. This person should be described as a "Czar". His mandate would come directly from the President with the authority to cut across agency and departmental lines of responsibility. The President would naturally have to convey the Czar-like quality of this position to the various agency and departmental heads (HEW, OEO, Labor, SBA, GSA, Commerce and HUD) so as to facilitate the efficiency of this political and functional operation. Through his efforts the Czar would bring the full impact of the government's funding apparatus to bear on as many economically feasible projects as possible between the time of his appointment and election day.

The Czar must be young, Black, articulate, and with a national image of some sort to bolster his credentials as a doer and activist in Black business circles. By appointing a younger

person the President impliedly uses the creditability of youth and also zealous vigor to accomplish things -- now!! To further establish the creditability of this position, it should be located within the White House to suggest to the Black populace that the position is one of great importance to the President and that that person has the ear of the President on all occasions. The staffing of this operation would come principally from the various agencies and departments concerned with community development on temporary assignments. The staff would consist of the best people from the agencies and departments who are pro-administrative. This staff would function primarily as specialists in certain defined areas, usually along the scope of their respective department or agency. However, in many instances a project or venture will require funding from more than one governmental source, when this occurs, the department with the predominate money interest, will be responsible for its progress through the maze of program areas. Within each agency or department there should be a team leader who would be responsible for coordination of projects within the department and this person would report daily and directly to the Czar on the status of projects carried in the departmental portfolio. Most of the staff would remain quartered at their respective agencies to insure communication, and the necessary follow-up within the agency.



The concept of the proposed organization is similar to that of a conglomerate with the president of each subsidiary reporting to the president of the parent or holding company.

National and local media should be totally exploited, particularly ethnic programs and shows. Through a predictable time scheme each project should attain locally two or three prime time exposures on TV newscasts. Through the good offices of the White House the Czar should get as much national time as possible on late night talk shows, national newscasts, and media forums. However, this should come only after one or two projects have been announced. The major areas of concern for any interview, are the number of jobs created, the total cost of the project, and the total of new capital which shall be generated in the community both directly and indirectly. In some instances the Czar can affirmatively seek-out meaningful (political) minority ventures.

Note: There is one large problem peculiar to the development of Black businesses; the lack of equity capital which could possibly impair our efforts. Although there are MESBICS which I am sure can be called upon, in my judgment there is the need to establish a large fund outside of government which we can call upon when a problem of this type arises. This could be handled through a conduit corporation. It could be established in such a way that large white benefactors could put money in and receive some type of return. For the most part the corporation would be a Black one and would make investments all over the country.



An added sidelight in the development of the various ventures is the subtle establishment of a cadre for the election-phase of the two part strategy. It would not be entirely unthinkable that some of the Black entrepreneurs who are established by our efforts would feel the need to work for the Presidents re-election. It is hoped that this cadre of entrepreneurs would eventually evolve into a strong Nixon re-election effort.

ELECTION STRATEGY



Implementation of the election strategy shall be accomplished through existing Federal Programs, such as the Small Business Administration §406 contracts.

The programs direction would be through the usual procedures followed in awarding §406 contracts. The contractor would receive a §406 contract from SBA to provide technical assistance for existing Black contractors. The company would initiate a program of assistance by teaching Black contractors the fundamentals of Federal procurement, contract management and administration. The course would be highly politicized, lasting for two hours per meeting, and meeting once per week for twelve weeks.

The students at these training sessions would not exceed twenty-five (25) businessmen per class for the first hour of the two hour session.

Note: The second hour would be attended by Black political types referred through the local party structure for in-depth political orientation and for mobilization of a strong urban field organization.

Preferably these would be young Blacks who made some gains under the Nixon Administrations' programs fostering Black economic development. Each businessman will receive a workbook of course materials directly related to Government Contracts, containing no reference to politics and the Administrations position, (see attached outline). The political portion of each lecture shall be delivered continually, and interwoven by the instructor throughout the training sessions.

In order for the instructor to be fully effective, both as instructor and organizer, he will under go an intensive ten (10) day training seminar at Sterling Institute (2600 Virginia Avenue, N. W.). Instructors will be recommended by the local Republican Party or local legislation, however the final choice will be made from Washington. Once chosen these men will ostensibly be employed by the SBA §406 Contractor, they should wherever possible, be young, Black attorneys or politicians. Concurrently with locating and training instructors, the Administration will, through Mr. Flemmings' office, and without the knowlege of the various Departments, secure and compile by cities the names and any available pertinent information on all black businessmen.



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The businessmen will be invited to attend this free technical assistance course by either an appropriate committee of the local Republican Party (Minority Business Assistance Committee), by the Small Business Administration, and/or the local bar association. (Use both black and white bar associations).

Once the instructors have received their training and the courses established, each instructor would begin an intensive course program as both lecturer and organizer. During the first period of instruction, each businessman would be required to complete what would ostensibly appear to be an instrument for gathering background data. This document would, however, be used by our psychologists to assist in ascertaining the "centers of influence," that is those men who are leaders and amenable through whatever acceptable motives and drives to lead our citizens for the Re-election of Nixon effort. All men in the course would, based on an evaluation of the background instrument and if necessary one visit to a lecture by the psychologist, have been placed in order of leadership value, etc.



Joseph L. Searles, III

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Willie L. Leftwich

Willie L. Leftwich

1 September 1971

Determined to be Administrative Marking

Date 5/30/01 By W H M

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT MEMORANDUM

FROM: ROBERT J. BROWN

SUBJECT: Proposed Strategy with Reference to White
House Relations with the Black Community
(Game Plan)

It is my basic belief that any Administration strategy dealing with the black community should be based on that segment which we feel is most likely to be responsive to the Administration. There are and will be exceptions to this, however, we must assume a role which/assist us in developing new leadership and more importantly a constituency for the President.

Undoubtedly, a large percentage of black people can be described as political moderate^s. They share the same concerns on most of the major issues, such as crime, drugs, etc., as other Americans. In many instances, even more so. Generally speaking, they have not been heard from. Among these groups would be the following:

*The National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., Dr. J. H. Jackson, President;

Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., Dr. E. R. Searcy, President;

The ELKS, Hobson Reynolds, Grand Exalted Ruler;

National Business League, Berkeley Burrell, President;

National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Myrtle Ollison, President;

*Black Elected Republican Officials Organization, John Kellogg, Chairman;



The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Dr. J. Rupert Picott, President;

The United Mortgage Bankers Association, Dempsey J. Travis, President;

The National Bankers Association, Edward Tillmon, President;

✓ *The National Bar Association, Judge Edward Bell, President;

✓ The National Association of Real Estate Brokers, William J. Hamilton, President;

The National Dental Association, James Holley, President;

The American Savings and Loan League, John S. Stewart, President;

Frontiers International, Reverend Phale D. Hall, President;

✓ The LINKS, Dr. Helen Edmonds, President;

The National Beauty Culturist League, Katie Wickham, President;

✓ *National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education,
Dr. Herman Branson, President, (Black College Presidents);

*National Insurance Association, Jesse Hill, President;

*National Newspaper Publishers Association, John Sengstacke, President;

*National Medical Association, Dr. W. T. Armstrong, President

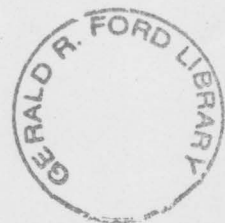
This is not to say we should not meet with other groups. I am simply pointing out what I feel is the area where we can achieve positive results in terms of support for the Administration. For instance, I believe periodic



visits by Counsellor Finch, Leonard Garment and myself should be made to various conventions such as the SCLC, NAACP and Urban League, and also hold meetings with these officials in their offices. This serves to put the Administration in a positive and aggressive stance while at the same time developing and utilizing the potential support from the groups that we are most likely to get it from.

Among the other items which should be incorporated in our overall strategy plan are:

1. Periodic sessions with top blacks in the Administration;
2. Hold a number of casual sessions with selected black leaders on the Sequoia;
3. Hold meetings with top black Republican officials on a regular basis;
4. Hold periodic background sessions with selected black press and general media people;
5. The recognition of special weeks by the President with appropriate ceremonies involved. Example: Negro History Week
6. Mailings should be made to top selected black leaders on Administration policy positions with respect to minority groups;



7. Brochures with appropriate pictures should be developed, with White House assistance and guidance, by the appropriate Republican committee on: blacks in the White House; blacks working in agencies; blacks working in positions never before held by minorities; successes in minority enterprise and black college programs; task force on disadvantaged communities;

8. Periodic meetings of a group which would consist of Robert Finch, John Ehrlichman, Leonard Garment, Herb Klein, Ron Ziegler, Dwight Chapin and myself should be held on strategy plans, current events and crises which have already developed or have the potential of developing.

9. The involvement of top blacks in the Administration in Speakers Bureau activities and television talk shows is a vital ingredient in projecting and selling "believability." Additionally, it is essential that the President be seen accompanied by blacks at meetings; on trips; at athletic events and just chatting with friends and advisors.

10. White House invitations; major appointments; advisory boards and commissions and work with the Republican National Committee and similar actions should be focused at one central point. In order to be effective this has to be adhered to very rigidly to make this plan work and this task manageable.



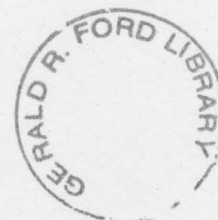
The Southern Rural Black Vote

Most southern states are controlled by the white rural vote, which for the most part is conservative.

The black rural vote in the south is basically the same as the white because of the close personal ties--a common bond which in most instances include consanguinity. However, the whites, in spite of their close relationship to blacks, do not advocate nor advise them to use the ballot and where necessary have used intimidation as a preventive measure. Hence, the rural blacks in most instances have counted but very little in most elections.

The black politicians for the most part run in the cities and therefore have no personal need for rural vote. The rural blacks do not have instant access to national "Big City" ideology, and because they are completely ignored by urban black politicians, develop a "neutral-negative" attitude which should demand the attention of vote seekers.

In a close election the black rural vote could clearly make the difference.



1. Church -

They have what they call the Association or Big Meeting each year where the county people come from all over for a feast.

2. Each county has a civic league which meets each month except at harvest time, unless called.



Determined to be Administrative Marking

Date 5/30/01 By W H MThe Black Vote

The purpose of this memorandum is to analyze the impact which the Black voters are likely to have in the 1972 election, to describe some current attitudes of the Black voter toward the Nixon Administration, and to indicate several strategies that will be evaluated during the planning phase of the campaign.

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Black voters comprise about 11% of the total population. Their population density varies by states as shown in Tab A. Nearly half of the Black population is concentrated in 50 cities and one-third of the total is in 15 cities (Tab B). *South*

In 1968, an estimated total of 79 million persons participated in the general election. Of that total approximately 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% Blacks tend to vote in somewhat lower proportion than Whites in all areas of the country (Tab C). In all regions, but particularly outside the South, the Black voter had the greatest impact in cities of 50,000 or more population.

In the South, he also is a factor outside of the metropolitan areas (Tabs D and E). There are, then, three important broad demographic groups: Northern-Western urban, Southern urban, and Southern small-town and rural.

In 1960, the Republican presidential ticket received an estimated 32% of the Black vote, which was consistent with the support the party had received in the 50's. In 1964, with the Goldwater candidacy, that figure dropped to 6%, and in 1968, the President was able only to recover to a level of 12% (Tab F).

Currently, the President has a nation-wide approval rating of 28% among Blacks, according to the Gallup Poll (Tab G). The greatest support comes from the South, where he is approved by a 42% - 38% margin, with 20% undecided.



THE BLACK VOTE---2

In Tab H, a state-by-state analysis is shown of the plurality of Black votes which would accrue to the Democratic Party in 1972, assuming a 95% - 5% split in the Northern and Western states, and an 80% - 20% split in the South, averaging out to approximately the 12% reported nationwide by Gallup for 1968. This is intended only to provide a rough comparison between Black plurality and the 1968 total vote plurality in each state, to point out those states where the Black vote is most critical.

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

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

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

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

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

When the largest states are taken in order of electoral votes, the concentration of Black voters in strategic points becomes particularly evident (Tab H-1).



AREAS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

The Black voters support the proposed Family Assistance Plan, largely because it is the first proposal which includes some form of a guaranteed annual income. There seems to be some question among them, however, as to whether the President is strongly behind the program. They support revenue sharing to the degree that it appears to provide new money to the central cities which are suffering from an awesome burden of social problems and approaching bankruptcy. They are concerned that adequate provisions be attached to that legislation to assure that an equitable share of the funds be available to Black communities and that the funds not be allowed to support discriminatory practices. As indicated by the President's response to the recent recommendations of the Black Caucus, significant achievements have been made by this Administration in many areas of concern to Blacks, although they have been unacknowledged.

NEGATIVE FACTORS

A major problem is that accurate information regarding Administration accomplishments does not reach the Black community. For example, the highly publicized reaction of the Black caucus to the Presidential response was totally negative (Tab I), even though some more moderate members of the Black Community perceived it to be deserving of less scorn. (Tab J). Many Blacks have a strong feeling that the President is not concerned with them as members of society. (Tab K). This is partly a result of the feeling that since the passing of Whitney Young, no influential Black has the President's ear, and since the departure of Daniel Moynihan, no liberal has a strong influence in shaping administration policy. Finally, the increased unemployment during the last two years has had a particularly severe effect on Blacks.



CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

There are several areas which should be considered in attempting to maximize the Black vote for the President in 1972, while recognizing the limitations of resources which can productively be allocated to that endeavor:

Understanding the Black Attitudes. Within the next several months, a comprehensive nationwide attitude poll should be taken and the sample of Blacks should be sufficiently large to allow valid statistical conclusions on their attitudes. The poll would seek to determine the issues which are fundamentally important in shaping voting decisions for 1972, and what the President might do to most effectively win the confidence of more black voters.

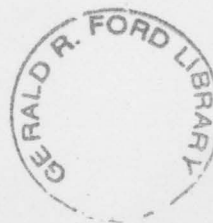
Communication of Administration Accomplishments. As was mentioned earlier, very little objective reporting reaches the Black Community. We can approach that problem in several ways. Ed Sexton of the RNC has mailing lists of Black leaders in several professions, which can be very useful in getting the facts to opinion molders. Two of the most effective mass media are the 172 Black-oriented weekly newspapers with a combined circulation of 3.5 million and a total readership of about 8 million, and the "soul" radio stations in most cities. We should make an effort where possible to build relationships with these enterprises, so that our press releases receive at least objective coverage. One existing problem is that our releases have often been too lengthy to be printed verbatim, and the Black newspapers have been unable or unwilling to devote their limited staff time to editing the material. Consequently, those releases have not received maximum exposure. The Republican National Committee is currently reviewing representative newspapers of the Black Press and publishing a bi-weekly summary of major articles.



Ticket-Splitting. We cannot expect any significant shift in voter registration to the Republican Party by 1972. However, the emerging Black pride and awareness is leading to a desire to assert political independence. On several occasions, Black spokesmen have stated that Blacks should not be captives of the Democratic Party, but should be willing to support candidates of either party who back programs of benefit to them. (Tabs L & M). We should consider campaign strategies which effectively communicate meaningful administration accomplishments to Black voters, and back that up with a call for them to show their independence by being responsive on election day to these accomplishments. One very helpful technique would be intensive voter education on how to split the the ticket.

Local Organization. Substantial organization work should be undertaken in Black communities, including identifying influential leaders on the basis of Black standards rather than the standards of middle class white Republicans. Today there is no effective Republican organization in most Black communities. To be effective, this organization effort must be given maximum lead time before the election. Activities in those communities should be integrated as much as possible with other facets of the campaign in each state. To that end, it would be desirable to appoint Black representatives on more state party staffs.

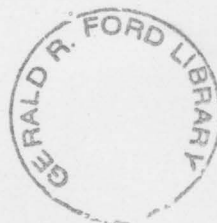
Black Candidates. Another effective strategy might be to run attractive Black candidates for local offices on the Republican ticket in heavily Black areas. There may be some reverse coattail effect for the President as the result of improved local interest in the Party.



THE BLACK VOTE---6

SUBSEQUENT PLANNING ACTIVITIES

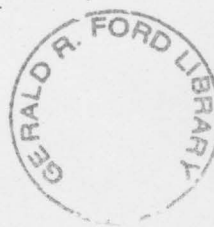
Planning efforts will concentrate on quantifying estimates of what resources will be required to execute various alternative strategies for pursuing the Black vote, and what realistic returns might be expected for those efforts. Where appropriate, we will attempt to identify opportunities for testing and measuring effectiveness of certain techniques prior to the campaign. Throughout this period, major emphasis will be placed on identifying and becoming acquainted with Black leaders who would be willing to actively participate in the campaign.



PERCENT OF BLACK POPULATION BY STATE

(1970 CENSUS)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>PERCENT BLACKS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF BLACKS</u> (thousands)
Total U. S.	11.2	22,673
District of Columbia	71.1	538
Mississippi	36.8	816
South Carolina	30.5	789
Louisiana	29.9	1089
Alabama	26.4	908
Georgia	26.0	1191
North Carolina	22.4	1138
Virginia	18.6	865
Arkansas	18.6	357
Maryland	17.9	701
Tennessee	16.1	632
Florida	15.5	1050
Delaware	14.2	78
Illinois	12.8	1426
Texas	12.7	1420
New York	11.9	2167
Michigan	11.2	991
New Jersey	10.7	770
Missouri	10.3	480
Ohio	9.1	970
Pennsylvania	8.6	1017
Kentucky	7.5	241
Oklahoma	7.0	178
California	7.0	1400
Indiana	6.9	357
Connecticut	6.0	181
Nevada	5.7	28
Kansas	4.8	107
West Virginia	4.2	74
Massachusetts	3.1	176
Arizona	3.0	53
Alaska	3.0	9
Colorado	2.9	66
Wisconsin	2.9	128
Nebraska	2.7	40
Rhode Island	2.7	25
Washington	2.1	71
New Mexico	1.9	20
Oregon	1.3	26
Iowa	1.2	33
Hawaii	1.0	8
Minnesota	1.0	35
Wyoming	0.8	3
Utah	0.6	7
North Dakota	0.4	2
Idaho	0.5	2
Maine	0.3	3
Montana	0.3	2
New Hampshire	0.3	3
South Dakota	0.2	2
Vermont	0.2	2



One-Third of Blacks Found in 15 Cities

By JACK ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18

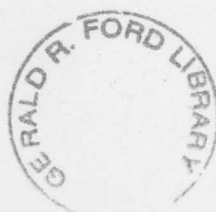
— Nearly half the nation's black population is now con-

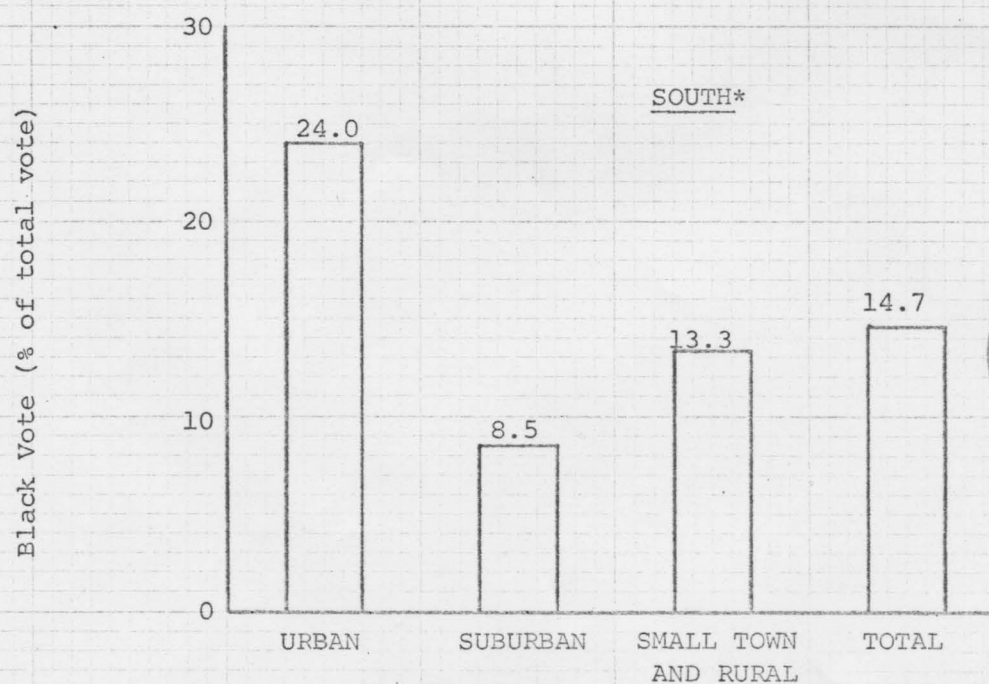
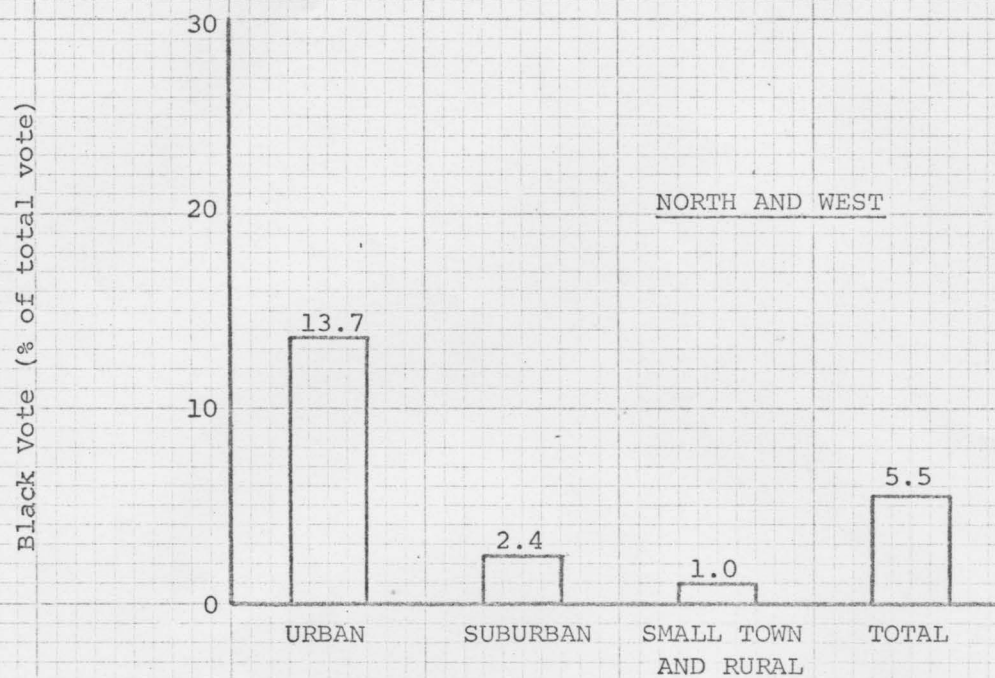
centrated in 50 cities, and blacks of all cities occurred in Washington and Compton, Calif., with about 71 per cent. Eat St. Louis, Ill., Newark, Gary, Ind., and Atlanta also have more than 50 per cent

Blacks in Cities

Special to The New York Times

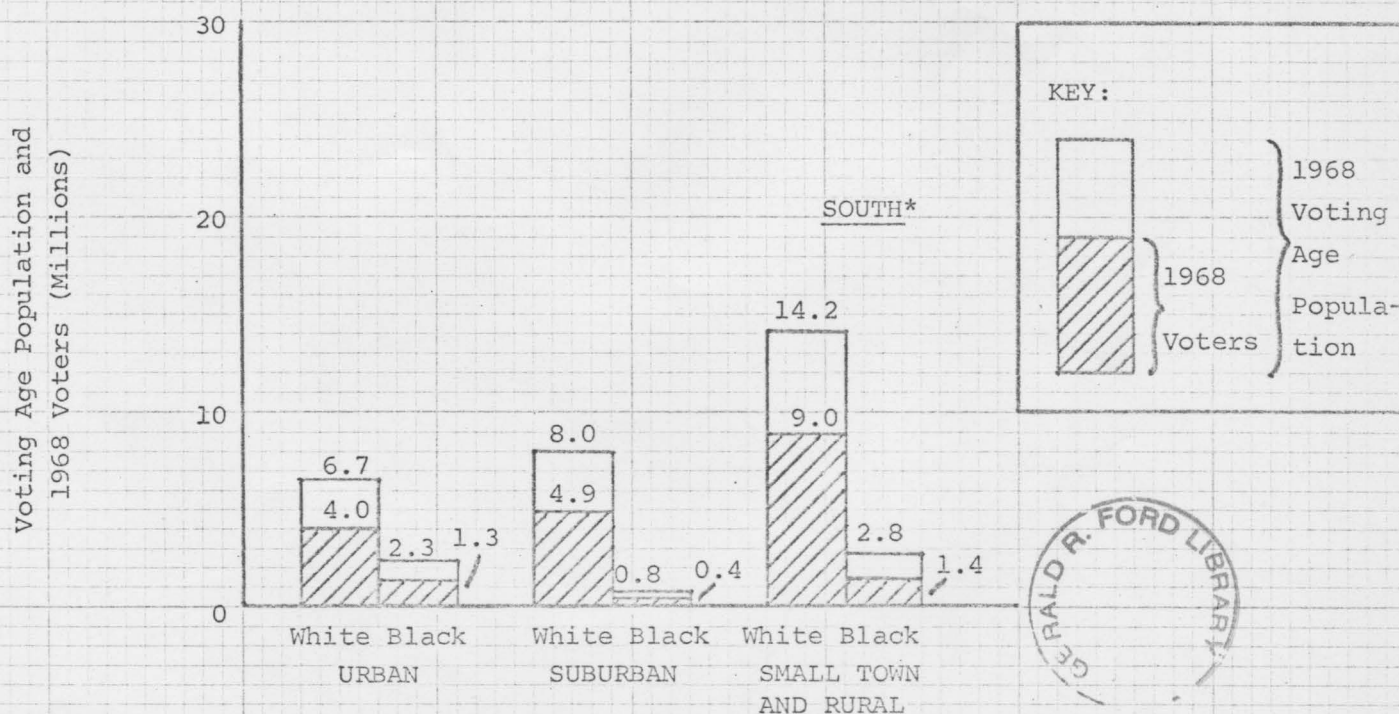
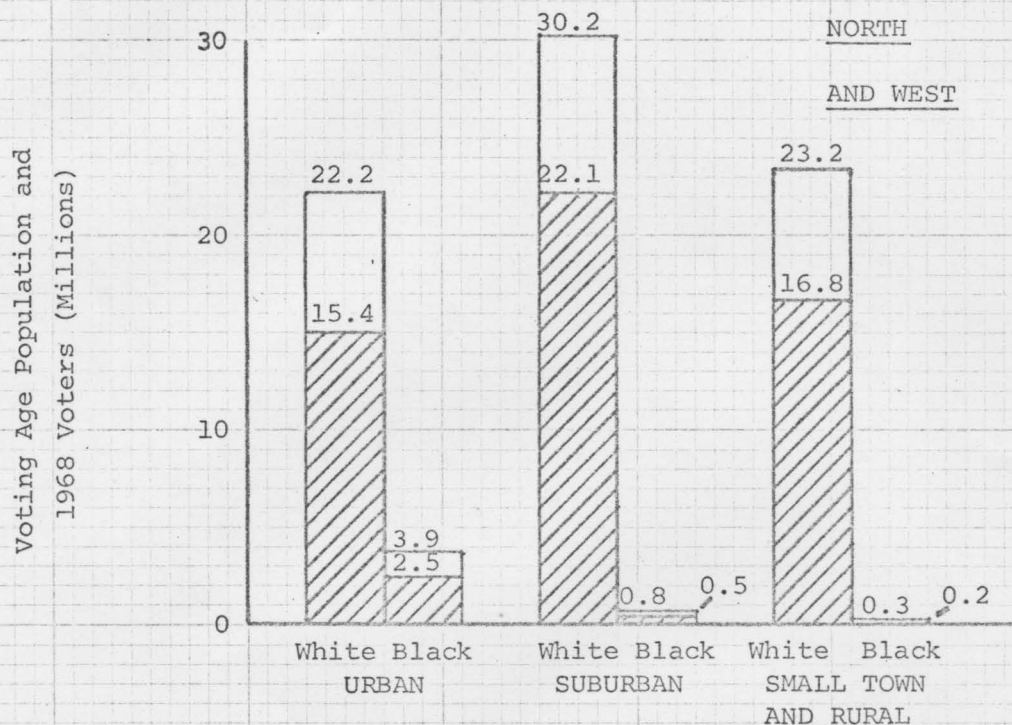
WASHINGTON, May 18—Following is a Census Bureau list of 50 cities with the largest



BLACK VOTE AS PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTE
BY REGION AND BY POPULATION DENSITY

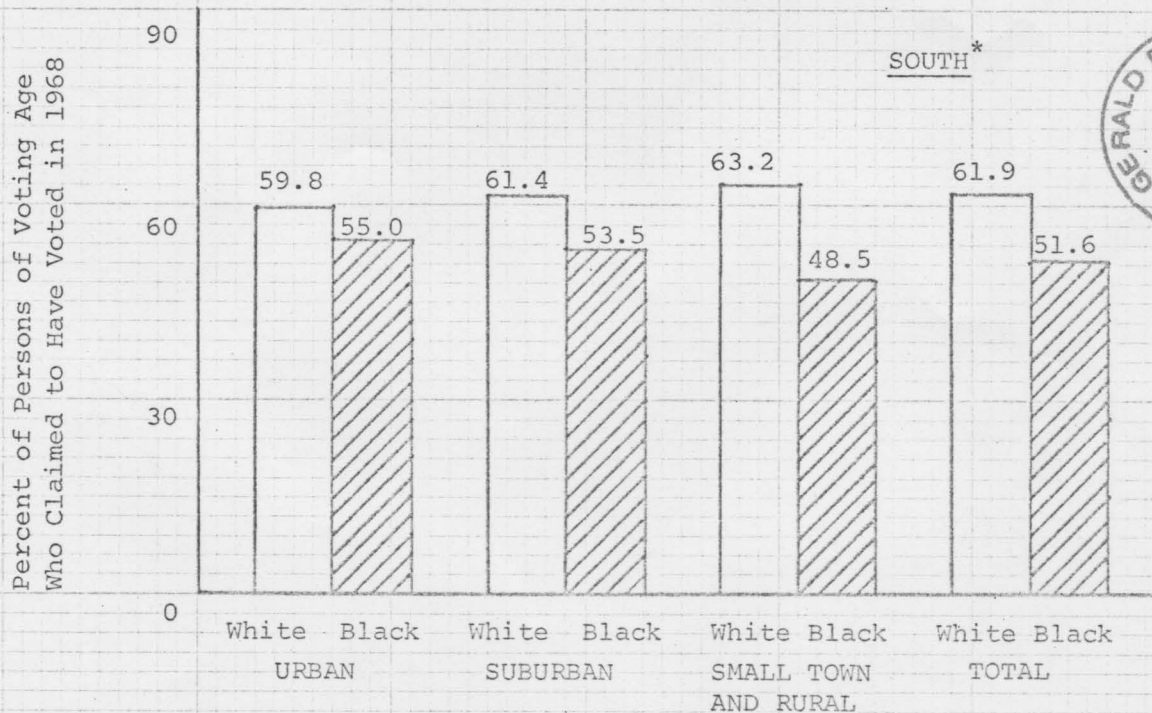
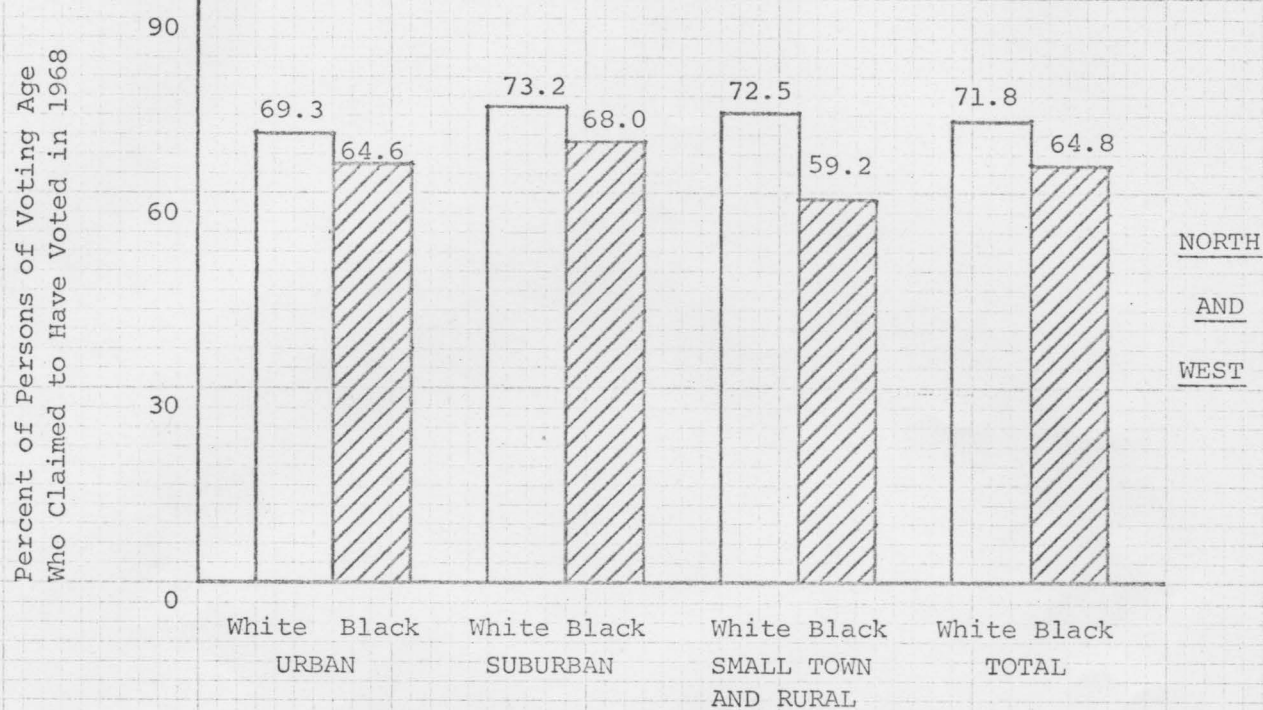
*Del, Md, DC, Va, W.Va, NC, SC, Ga, Fla, Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, Ark, La, Okla, Texas

DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING AGE POPULATION
AND THOSE WHO CLAIMED THEY VOTED IN 1968 - BY RACE,
REGION AND POPULATION DENSITY



*Del, Md, DC, W.Va, Va, NC, SC, Ga, Fla, Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, Ark, La, Okla, Texas

Percent of Persons of Voting Age
Who Claimed to Have Voted in 1968 -
By Race, Region and Population Density



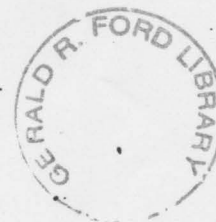
* Del, Md, D.C., W. Va, Va, N.C., S.C., G A, Fla, Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, Ark, La, Okla, Texas

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGES AMONG THE NON-WHITE VOTE

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

(Source: Gallup Poll)

+++++



GALLUP - Nixon Popularity - Views of Blacks

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

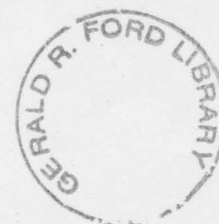
The following table shows how blacks and whites rate President Nixon at three points in time - when he took office, at a mid-point during his administration and at present. Results are based on combined surveys.

Views of Blacks

	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>No Opinion</u> %
Jan.-May 1969	40	17	43
Mar. - June 1970	26	55	19
Sept. '70 - Jan. '71	28	53	19

Views of Whites

	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>No Opinion</u> %
Jan.-May 1969	64	9	27
Mar.-June 1970	59	29	12
Sept. '70 - Jan. '71	57	29	14



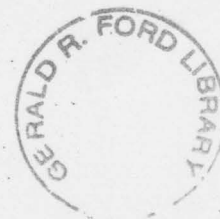
The following table shows how various sub-groups in the Negro population rate President Nixon:

	<u>Views of Blacks</u> <u>By Sub-Groups</u>		
	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>No Opinion</u> %
National	28	53	19
College & high school	22	62	16
Grade school	36	41	23
21-29 years	19	65	16
30-49 years	24	64	12
50 & older	36	41	23
South	42	38	20
Non-South	19	62	19
Men	29	55	16
Women	27	51	22

GALLUP - Political Affiliation of Blacks

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

Republican	8%
Democrat	74
Independent	15
Other party/no opinion	3



ELECTORAL IMPACT OF BLACK VOTERS BY STATES AND REGIONS

State	Electoral Votes	% Blacks In Total Pop.	Number of Voting Age '70	Estimated Proportion Voting '72	Estimated # Voting '72	Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere	1968 Repub Plurality
		(1)	(2) (Thousands)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
<u>DEEP SOUTH</u>							
Miss.	7	36.8	490	42	206	124	265 -AIP
La.	10	29.9	650	45	292	175	273 -AIP
Ala.	9	26.4	550	42	231	139	542 -AIP
Georgia	12	26.0	715	36	257	154	155 -AIP
Arkansas	6	18.6	215	43	92	55	47 -AIP
	44						
<u>BORDER STATES</u>							
Maryland	10	17.9	420	47	197	178	20
Virginia	12	18.6	520	42	218	130	148
W. Virginia	6	4.2	45	58	26	16	66
D. C.	3	71.1	320	36	115	100	109
N. Car.	13	22.4	680	45	306	124	163
S. Car.	8	30.5	475	38	180	108	57
Kent.	9	7.5	145	43	62	37	65
Flo.	17	15.5	630	48	302	181	210
Tenn.	10	16.1	380	44	167	100	121
Mo.	12	10.3	290	58	168	151	20
Okl.	8	7.0	110	52	57	51	148
Texas	26	12.7	860	40	344	206	39
	134						
<u>INDUSTRIAL NORTHEAST</u>							
N.Y.	41	11.9	1300	52	676	608	370
N.J.	17	10.7	460	59	271	244	61
Pa.	27	8.6	610	59	360	324	169
Del.	3	14.2	47	63	30	27	8
Ohio	25	9.1	580	57	331	298	90
Indiana	13	6.9	215	65	140	126	261
Mich.	21	11.2	600	60	360	324	222
Illinois	26	12.8	860	63	542	488	135



TAB H, Continued

State	Electoral Votes	% Blacks In Total Pop.	Number of Voting Age '70	Estimated Proportion Voting '72	Estimated # Voting '72	Repub. Deficit if	
						20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere	1968 Repub. Plurality
		(1)	(2) (Thousands)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
<u>UPPER NEW ENGLAND</u>							
Mass	14	3.1	105	63	66	59	702
Conn.	8	6.0	110	62	68	61	65
R. I.	4	2.7	15	62	68	61	65
Vermont	3	0.2	1	59	1	1	15
N. H.	4	0.3	2	63	1	1	24
Maine	4	0.3	2	62	1	1	48
	<u>11</u>						
<u>UPPER MIDWEST</u>							
Wisconsin	11	2.9	75	62	46	41	61
Minnesota	10	1.0	21	68	14	13	222
Iowa	8	1.2	20	64	13	12	142
N. D.	3	0.4	1	61	1	1	44
S. D.	4	0.2	1	66	1	1	31
Nebraska	5	2.7	24	56	13	12	150
Kansas	7	4.8	65	57	37	33	176
	<u>48</u>						
<u>MOUNTAIN STATES</u>							
Montana	4	0.3	1	61	1	1	25
Idaho	4	0.3	1	65	1	1	76
Wyoming	3	0.8	2	61	1	1	61
Utah	4	0.6	4	69	3	2	82
Colorado	7	2.9	40	62	25	22	78
Nevada	3	5.7	17	49	8	7	13
Arizona	6	3.0	30	46	14	13	96
N. Mexico	4	1.9	12	56	7	6	40
	<u>35</u>						



TAB H, Continued

TAB H, Continued							Repub. Deficit if
<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>% Blacks</u>	<u>Number of</u>	<u>Estimated</u>	<u>Estimated #</u>	<u>20% Support in</u>	<u>1968 Repub.</u>
		<u>In Total Pop.</u>	<u>Voting Age '70</u>	<u>Proportion Voting '72</u>	<u>Voting '72</u>	<u>South-5% Elsewhere</u>	<u>Plurality</u>
		(1)	(2) (Thousands)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
<u>PACIFIC STATES</u>							
California	45	7.0	840	55	462	416	223
Oregon	6	1.3	16	60	10	9	50
Washington	9	2.1	45	64	29	26	27
Alaska	3	3.0	5	49	2	2	2
Hawaii	4	1.0	5	50	2	1	50



NOTES ON TAB "H"

- 1) U. S. Census Bureau
- 2) Taken as 60% of total Black population (approximate average for total U. S.
- 3) For D. C. - average of 1964 and 1968 results for total D.C. population. For South & Border States - For total region, Black participation was 5/6 of average for total population in 1968. That proportion was taken of actual 1968 voter turnout in each state. For remaining states, Black participation averaged 90% of total population figure. For each state, 90% of total vote percentage was taken.

Data on vote participation by state:

U. S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.177, "Voter Participation in November 1968 (Advanced Statistics)," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1968.

- 4) Proportion multiplied by Number of Voting Age.
- 5) The Black support regionally is an assumption for illustrative purposes only and based on fragmentary data. It does average out to the 12% nationwide support determined by Gallup.



Importance of Black Vote in States

With Large Electoral Votes

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Anticipated Number of Black Voters in 1972 (Thousands)</u>	<u>Percent Blacks in Total Population</u>
California	45	462	7.0
New York	41	676	11.9
Pennsylvania	27	360	8.6
Texas	26	344	12.7
Illinois	26	542	12.8
Ohio	25	331	9.1
Michigan	21	360	11.2
New Jersey	17	271	10.7
Florida	17	302	15.5



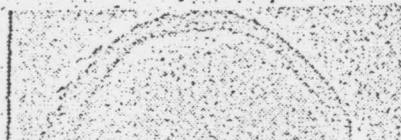
Raps reply

Caucus heads

Assail Nixon

DETROIT COURIER 5/29/71

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Three members of the all-Democratic Congressional Black Caucus complained Sunday that President Nixon did little but defend his current domestic policies in replying to the group's 60 recommendations for change.



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CHARLES BARTLETT

Col. WASHINGTON STAR

Nixon and the Black Congressmen

5/27/71
The extent of the gap between President Nixon and the 13 black congressmen will not be diminished by their sharp derogation of his most positive statement to date on the sub-

the first time he related his goals as President to the direct needs of the urban poor and conveyed a spirit of eagerness to translate "rhetorical promise into concrete results."

ize issues to serve private political ends.

Their denunciation of the Nixon response bore a political ring because they neglected to concede any merit to what the administration has been doing.

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7-6-1971 - Gallup Poll Copy
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The Gallup Poll

Nixon, GOP Not Gaining Among Blacks

By GEORGE GALLUP

(), 1971, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J. — Since last spring, President Nixon has had little success in attracting support among the nation's Negroes, judging by recent Gallup surveys. Not only has the President made little headway among

them among blacks.

Reasons for disapproval among blacks tend to parallel reasons given by whites — the Vietnam war and the economy. Added to this is the feeling among some blacks that Nixon is "not interested in us."

decades, and based on the latest survey evidence, there has been little change in this situation.

Three in every four blacks (74 per cent) classify themselves as Democrats, compared to 3 per cent who say they are Republicans, and 15 who label themselves Independents. Another 3

VIEWS OF BLACKS

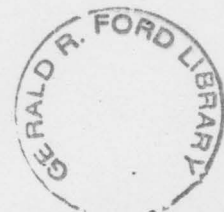
	Ap- prove	Disap- prove	No Opin.
	%	%	%
Jan.-May, '69	40	17	43
Mar.-June, '70	25	55	19
Sept., '70-Jan., '71	23	53	19

VIEWS OF WHITES

Ap- Disap- No

JACKSON ADVOCATE 5/22/71
Needed A New Assessment Of
The Nation's Negro Voters *ED - Miss.*
Nixon *Support*

The critic of the Nixon Administration, especially those of the Democrat Party leadership, in attacking the Nixon Administration, and President Nixon himself on being insensitive to the plight and needs of the Negroes of the country seems to us to be getting very near to the point of over-playing their hand, and may in fact be causing the Negro voter everywhere in the country to



The Danger Of A One Party System

R. S. ^{SECRET} FROM: The New York Volco, Jamaica, N. Y. F.D. Miss
JACKSON ADVOCATE 5/22/71

There is much talk these days about whether or not to work "within" the system. Whatever choice an individual makes, it is undeniable that more and more Blacks are choosing to work within the political process by registering to vote, joining parties, and becoming candidates. One trend, however, which we deplore is the fact that the Democratic Party is being identified with

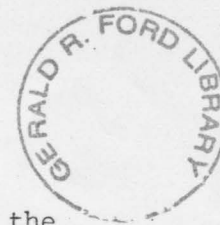


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Determined to be Administrative Marking

Date 5/30/01 By WJM

THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972



The purpose of this memorandum is to analyze the impact which the Black voters are likely to have in the 1972 election, to describe some current attitudes of the Black voter toward the Nixon Administration, and to indicate several strategies that will be evaluated during the planning phase of the campaign.

It represents the thinking of the Black leadership within the Administration and was prepared in consultation with Sam Jackson, HUD, Bob Brown and Stan Scott of the White House Staff, Art Fletcher and John Wilks of the Department of Labor, Ed Sexton of the RNC, and Harvey Russell from the Business Community.

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Black voters comprise about 11% of the total population. Their population density varies by states (Tab A). Nearly half of the Black population is concentrated in 50 cities and one-third of the total is in 15 cities (Tab B).

In 1968, an estimated total of 79 million persons participated in the general election. Of that total approximately 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%. Blacks tend to vote in somewhat lower proportion than Whites in all areas of the country (Tab C). In all regions, but particularly outside the South, the Black voter had the greatest impact in cities of 50,000 or more population.

In the South, he also is a factor outside of the metropolitan areas (Tabs D and E). There are, then, three important broad demographic groups: Northern-Western urban, Southern urban, and Southern small-town and rural.

In 1960, the Republican presidential ticket received an estimated 32% of the Black vote, which was consistent with the support the party had received in the 50's. In 1964, with the Goldwater candidacy, that figure dropped to 6%, and in 1968, the President was able only to recover to a level of 12% (Tab F).

Currently, the President has a nation-wide approval rating of 28% among Blacks, according to the Gallup Poll (Tab G). The greatest support comes from the South, where he is approved by a 42% - 38% margin, with 20% undecided.

In Tab H, a state-by-state analysis is shown of the plurality of Black votes which would accrue to the Democratic Party in 1972, assuming a 95% - 5% split in the Northern and Western states, and an 80% - 20% split in the South, averaging out to approximately the 12%

reported nationwide by Gallup for 1968. This is intended only to provide a rough comparison between Black plurality and the 1968 total vote plurality in each state, to point out those states where the Black vote is most critical.

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

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

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

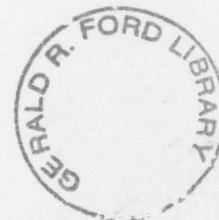
New England is mixed. Massachusetts and Connecticut tend to resemble the Industrial Northeast. The remaining states have a low Black population which would not be a factor in most elections.

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

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

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

When the largest states, such as California, New York, etc., are taken in order of electoral votes, the concentration of Black voters in strategic points becomes particularly evident. (Tab I).



AREAS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

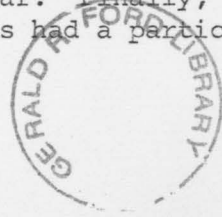
There are several Administration programs which have received strong support (particularly among the rank and file) in the Black community: school desegregation enforcement activities; major initiatives in the area of drug abuse; implementation of the Philadelphia Plan for increasing the proportion of minority workers in Federally-sponsored construction projects; substantial increase in the support of Black colleges; the non-profit sponsors' housing program in HUD, in which 40% of the participation is by Black organizations; and many programs to support the development of Black businesses, including those under SBA, OMBE, EDA and HUD.

The Black voters give substantial support to the proposed Family Assistance Plan, largely because it is the first proposal which includes some form of a guaranteed annual income. There seems to be some question, however, as to whether the President is strongly behind the program. Blacks support revenue sharing to the degree that it appears to provide new money to the central cities. They are concerned that adequate provisions be attached to that legislation to assure that an equitable share of the funds be available to Black communities and that the funds not be allowed to support discriminatory practices. As indicated by the President's response to the recent recommendations of the Black Caucus, significant achievements have been made by this Administration in many areas of concern to Blacks, although they have been unacknowledged.

There is a great deal of interest in Administration programs for Africa. The recent extension to Africa of the Housing Guarantee Program under AID, formerly limited to South American Countries, has been well received.

AREAS OF NEGATIVE FEELING TOWARD THE ADMINISTRATION

Accurate information regarding Administration accomplishments does not reach the Black community. For example, the media coverage of the Black Caucus reaction to the Administration response focused almost entirely on the negative. (Tab J) It is doubtful that favorable media comments such as those by Charles Bartlett (Tab K) reached an appreciable number of Blacks. Many Blacks have a strong feeling that the President is not concerned with them as members of society (Tab G). This is partly a result of the feeling that since the passing of Whitney Young, no influential Black has the President's ear. Finally, the increased unemployment during the last two years has had a particularly severe effect on Blacks.



CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Several areas should be considered in attempting to maximize the Black vote for the President in 1972, while recognizing the limitations of resources which can productively be allocated to that endeavor:

Understanding the Black Attitudes. Within the next several months, a comprehensive nationwide attitude poll should be taken and the sample of Blacks should be sufficiently large to allow valid statistical conclusions on their attitudes. The poll would seek to determine the issues which are fundamentally important in shaping voting decisions for 1972, and what the President might do to most effectively win the confidence of more Black voters.

The poll should also measure the attitudes of Whites, across the political spectrum, on what types of Federal programs for Blacks are supported and which ones tend to polarize the electorate.

Communication of Administration Accomplishments. As was mentioned earlier, very little objective reporting reaches the Black community. We can approach that problem in several ways.

The White House has organized and is conducting monthly Administration briefings for prominent Black citizens who are or tend to be favorable to the President. Top Administration officials brief on programs and progress in the Black sector.

Substantial effort is being directed toward cultivating relationships with Black publishers and members of the Black press. Meetings are planned with groups of publishers, as well as briefings in which top Administration officials would participate.

The 172 Black-oriented weekly newspapers, with a combined circulation of 3.5 million and a total readership of about 8 million, and the "soul" radio stations in most cities represent a very effective mass media system. One problem has been that our releases have often been too lengthy to be printed verbatim, and the Black newspapers have been unable or unwilling to devote their limited staff time to editing the material. Consequently, those releases have not received maximum exposure.

The Republican National Committee is currently reviewing representative newspapers of the Black Press and publishing a bi-weekly summary of major articles.

Mailing lists are available of Black leaders in several professions which can be very useful in getting the facts to opinion molders.



Black Spokesmen. The President is not limited to building relationships with existing, highly publicized Black leaders. Many prominent Black citizens have achieved high visibility through programs or high positions in this Administration. By his actions, the President can raise others to positions of influence and respect in the same manner that the Democratic Presidents did in the '60's. Blacks who are asked to be campaign figures should be chosen on the basis of their willingness to speak and write openly and forcefully in public support of the President, not simply behind closed doors. Here again, the White House briefing activities are very pertinent.

Voter Education. Most Black voters do not normally split the ticket, but have shown that they will when attractive alternatives are presented. Some obvious examples are Black Republican officials who have been elected from heavily Democratic districts. We need to intensify our voter education so that more will be inclined to split the ticket in 1972.

We cannot expect any significant shift in voter registration to the Republican Party by 1972. Yet on several occasions, Black spokesmen have stated that Blacks should not be captives of the Democratic Party, that Blacks' best interest are served by a viable two party system, and that they should be willing to support candidates of either party who back programs of benefit to them.

We should consider campaign strategies which effectively communicate meaningful Administration accomplishments to Black voters, and back that up with a call for them to show their independence by being responsive on election day to these accomplishments.

Registration. While there is a valid opinion that registration drives in many urban Black communities will yield only more Democratic voters, we must be aware of the image of Republican non-concern that is projected by our failure to make such an effort. There may well be some selected cities where our visible involvement will have a positive effect on the outcome in November.

Running Black Candidates. Another effective strategy might be to run attractive, qualified Black candidates for local offices on the Republican ticket in heavily Black areas. There may be some reverse coattail effect for the President as the result of improved local interest in the Party.

Local Organization. Today, there is no effective Republican organization in most Black communities, but there are some notable exceptions. Substantial organization work should be undertaken where needed, including identifying influential leaders on the basis of Black standards rather than the standards of middle class White Republicans. To be effective, this organization effort must be given maximum lead time before the election. Activities in those communities should be integrated as much as possible with other facets of the campaign in each state. To that end, it would be desirable to appoint Black representatives on more state party staffs.



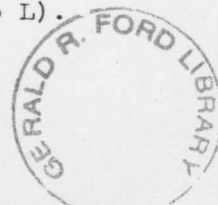
SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION

Relating to the earlier discussions on Black spokesmen and communication of Administration accomplishments, the President has a largely untapped resource at his disposal. Among the 40 high Black officials in the Administration are many experienced politicians who are extremely effective on the stump and with the press, and who are known at least in their own region of the country. They are loyal to the President and eager to help. What is lacking is a clear indication that their help is wanted and how it can be used.

It must be remembered that a Black Republican in the Nixon Administration is automatically news, even before he delivers his message. His presence almost guarantees press coverage, particularly by the Black media. The occasional image of a Black Republican as a less than forceful spokesman for his cause has no basis in fact and can easily be refuted by the image these men would project. They could conceivably become an effective counterweight to the Black Caucus in airing the other side of pertinent issues. The earlier they become visible, the more effective they can be between now and November, 1972.

The plan would be to assign each man one small region of the country (including, presumably, his home state). He would be responsible for establishing rapport with local Black leaders, in that region, such that he would be their channel of communication with the Administration on all matters. For some time, his activities would be issue-oriented, not political in nature. When the President traveled in that part of the country, he could assure that proper advance work was done where appropriate and perhaps be seen with the President during the trip.

In developing a concerted program for exposure of Black Administration officials, careful analysis would have to be made of which issues carry the most positive impact across all of the President's constituency. For example, Art Fletcher, in Labor, has given a speech on "Economic Parity in Job Opportunities in the 70's" and received standing ovations from White and Black audiences, north and south. There are other areas where the President's programs have been responsive to Black needs and yet would not polarize the White community. For example, a group of Black Doctors in Los Angeles has established a much-needed hospital in the inner city, using private funds. They are very interested in the President's health program, and have contacted Art Fletcher on the possibility of the President's office participating in a fund-raising luncheon in the fall (Tab L).



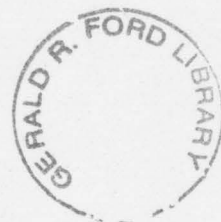
RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the concept of actively involving key Black Administration officials in a concerted program to communicate our accomplishments to the public, and that you authorize the Citizens Committee planning group to draw up a specific program for approval within the next few weeks.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comment _____



PERCENT OF BLACK POPULATION BY STATE

(1970 CENSUS)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>PERCENT BLACKS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF BLACKS</u> (thousands)
Total U. S.	11.2	22,673
District of Columbia	71.1	538
Mississippi	36.8	816
South Carolina	30.5	789
Louisiana	29.9	1,089
Alabama	26.4	908
Georgia	26.0	1,191
North Carolina	22.4	1,138
Virginia	18.6	865
Arkansas	18.6	357
Maryland	17.9	701
Tennessee	16.1	632
Florida	15.5	1,050
Delaware	14.2	78
Illinois	12.8	1,426
Texas	12.7	1,420
New York	11.9	2,167
Michigan	11.2	991
New Jersey	10.7	770
Missouri	10.3	480
Ohio	9.1	970
Pennsylvania	8.6	1,017
Kentucky	7.5	241
Oklahoma	7.0	178
California	7.0	1,400
Indiana	6.9	357
Connecticut	6.0	181
Nevada	5.7	28
Kansas	4.8	107
West Virginia	4.2	74
Massachusetts	3.1	176
Arizona	3.0	53
Alaska	3.0	9
Colorado	2.9	66
Wisconsin	2.9	128
Nebraska	2.7	40
Rhode Island	2.7	25
Washington	2.1	71
New Mexico	1.9	20
Oregon	1.3	26
Iowa	1.2	33
Hawaii	1.0	8
Minnesota	1.0	35
Wyoming	0.8	3
Utah	0.6	7
North Dakota	0.4	2
Idaho	0.5	2
Maine	0.3	3
Montana	0.3	2
New Hampshire	0.3	3
South Dakota	0.2	2
Vermont	0.2	2



One-Third of Blacks Found in 15 Cities

By JACK ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18 — Nearly half the nation's black population is now concentrated in 50 cities, and a third of the total is in 15 cities,

blacks of all cities occurred in Washington and Compton, Calif., with about 71 per cent. Eat St. Louis, Ill., Newark, Gary, Ind., and Atlanta also have more than 50 per cent black populations.

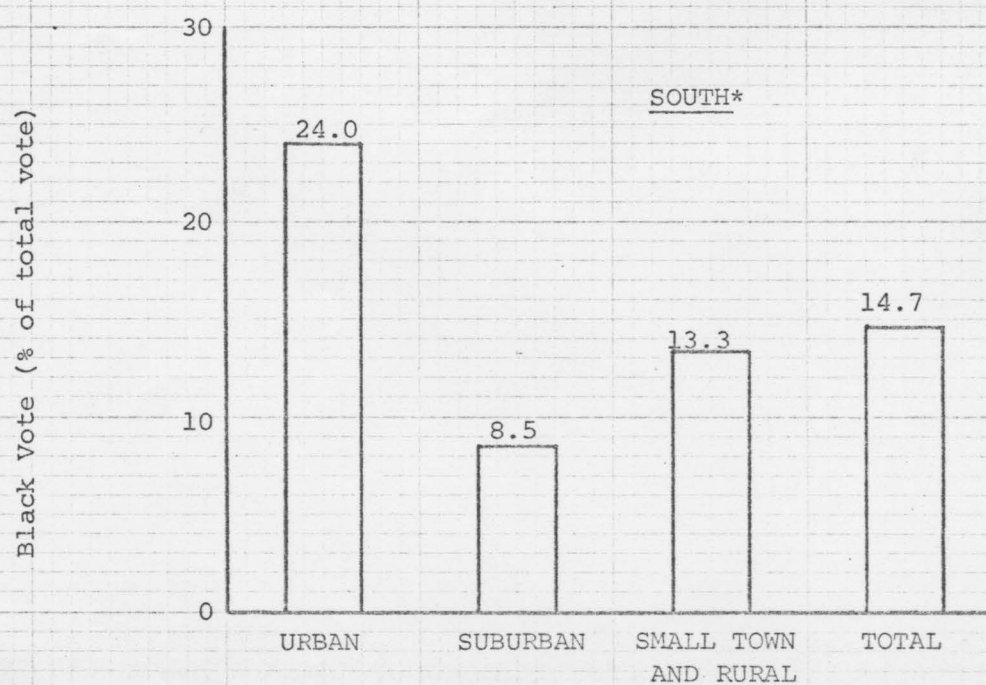
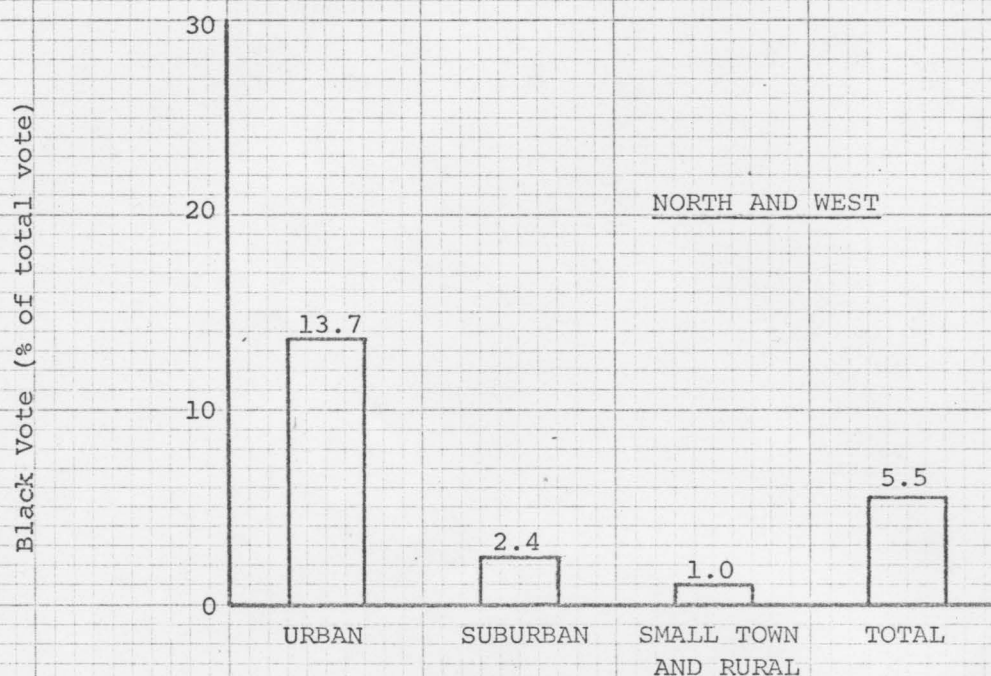
Blacks in Cities

Special to The New York Times

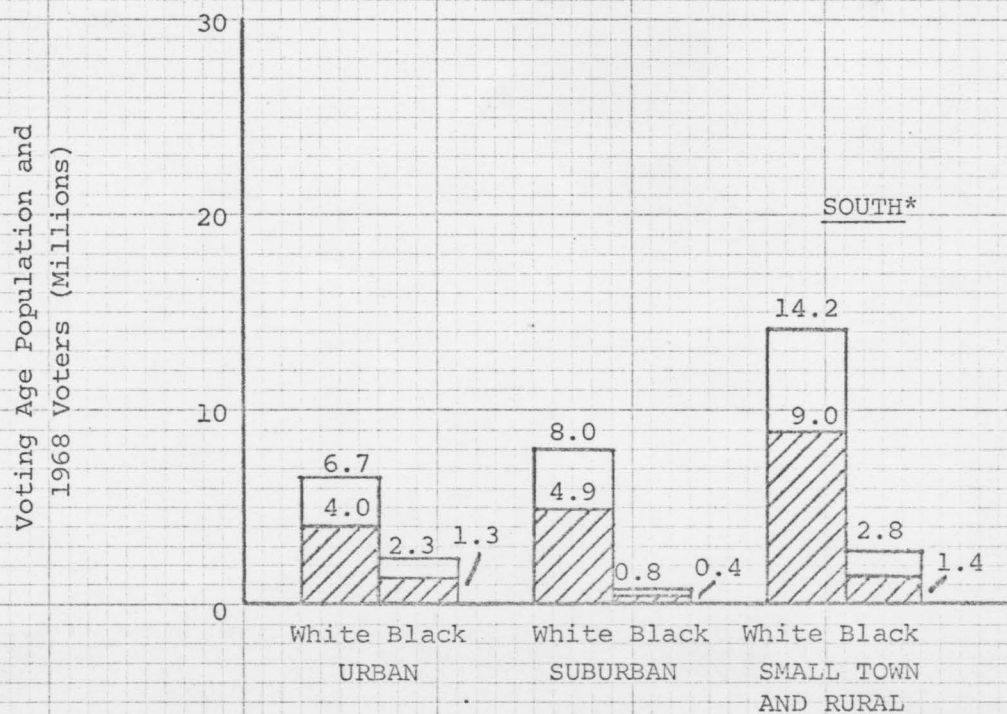
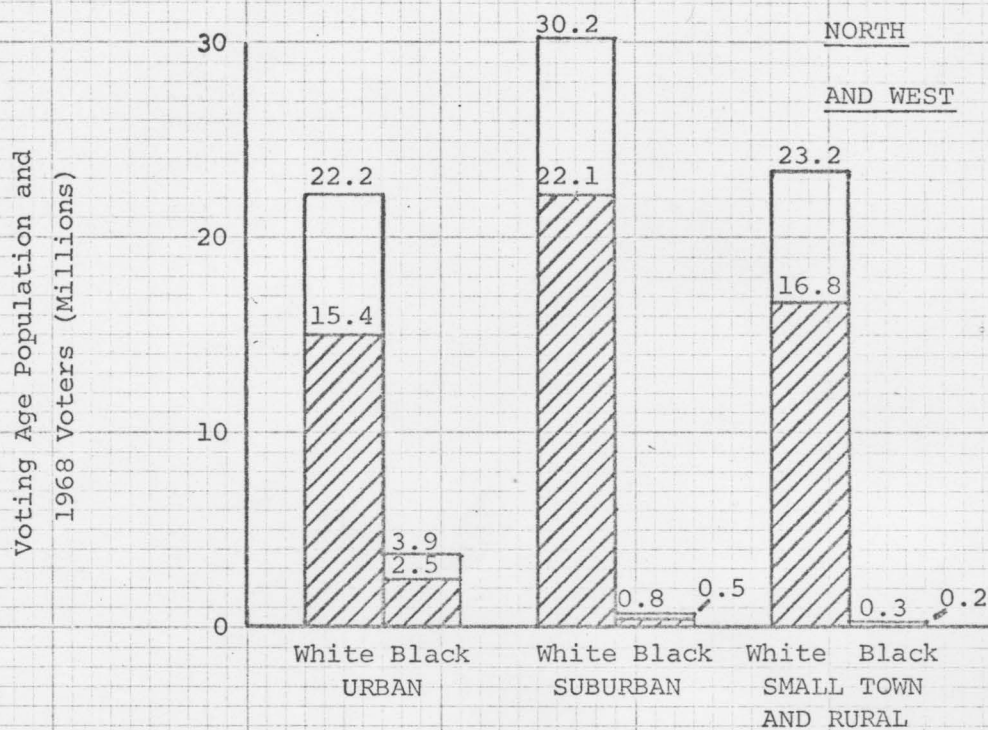
WASHINGTON, May 18—Following is a Census Bureau list of the 50 cities with the largest number of Negroes in the 1970



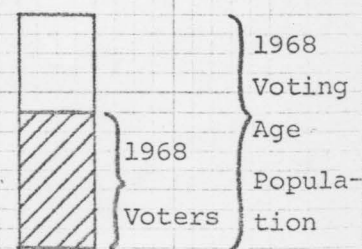
BLACK VOTE AS PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTE
BY REGION AND BY POPULATION DENSITY



DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING AGE POPULATION
AND THOSE WHO CLAIMED THEY VOTED IN 1968 - BY RACE,
REGION AND POPULATION DENSITY

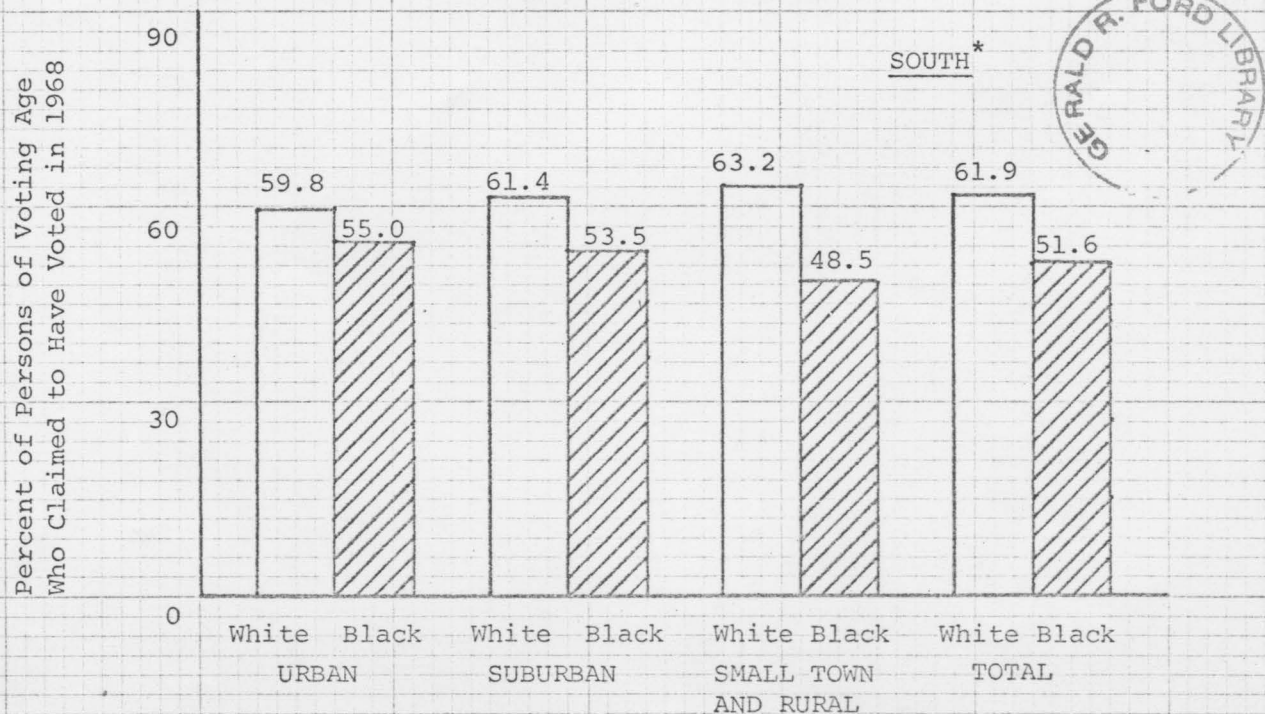
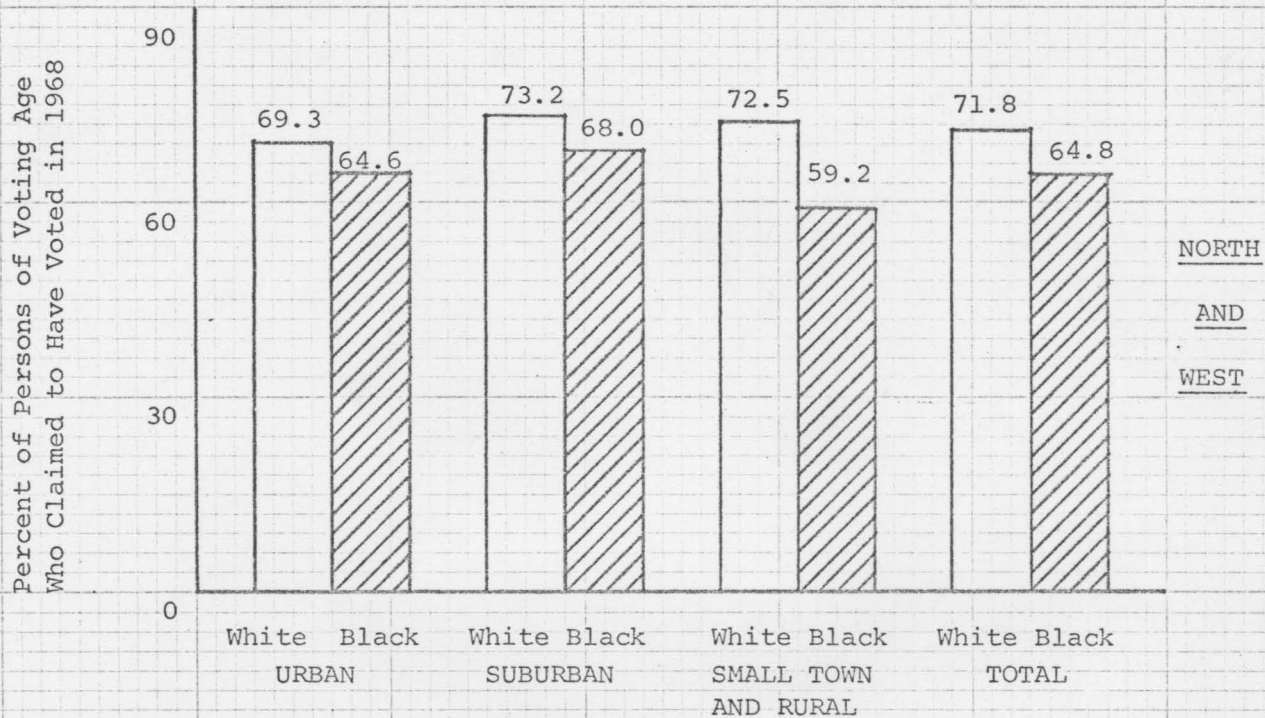


KEY:



Tab E

Percent of Persons of Voting Age
Who Claimed to Have Voted in 1968 -
By Race, Region and Population Density



* Del, Md, D.C., W. Va, Va, N.C., S.C., G.A, Fla, Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, Ark, La, Okla, Texas

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGES AMONG THE NON-WHITE VOTE

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

(Source: Gallup Poll)



Nixon and Republican Party Still Rejected by Nation's Blacks

By George Gallup

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of the copyright holders.

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 10 — Since
spring, President Nixon has had
success in attracting support

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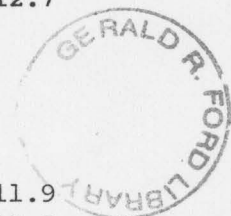
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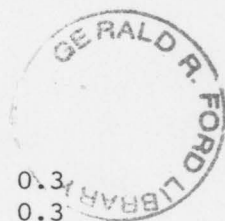
ELECTORAL IMPACT OF BLACK VOTERS BY STATES AND REGIONS

State	Electoral Votes	% Blacks In Total Pop.	Number of Voting Age '70 (2) (Thousands)	Estimated Proportion Voting '72 (3)	Estimated # Voting '72 (4)	Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere (5)	1968 Repub plurality
<u>DEEP SOUTH</u>							
Miss.	7	36.8	490	42	206	<124>	<265>-AIP
La.	10	29.9	650	45	292	<175>	<273>-AIP
Ala.	9	26.4	550	42	231	<139>	<542>-AIP
Georgia	12	26.0	715	36	257	<154>	<155>-AIP
Arkansas	6	18.6	215	43	92	<55>	<47>-AIP
	44						
<u>BORDER STATES</u>							
Maryland	10	17.9	420	47	197	<178>	<20>
Virginia	12	18.6	520	42	218	<130>	148
W. Virginia	6	4.2	45	58	26	<16>	<66>
D. C.	3	71.1	320	36	115	<100>	<109>
N. Car.	13	22.4	680	45	306	<124>	163
S. Car.	8	30.5	475	38	180	<108>	57
Kent.	9	7.5	145	43	62	<37>	65
Flo.	17	15.5	630	48	302	<181>	210
Tenn.	10	16.1	380	44	167	<100>	121
Mo.	12	10.3	290	58	168	<151>	20
Okl.	8	7.0	110	52	57	<51>	148
Texas	26	12.7	860	40	344	<206>	<39>
	134						
<u>INDUSTRIAL NORTHEAST</u>							
N.Y.	41	11.9	1300	52	676	<608>	<370>
N.J.	17	10.7	460	59	271	<244>	61
Pa.	27	8.6	610	59	360	<324>	<169>
Del.	3	14.2	47	63	30	<27>	8
Ohio	25	9.1	580	57	331	<298>	90
Indiana	13	6.9	215	65	140	<126>	261
Mich.	21	11.2	600	60	360	<324>	<222>
Illinois	26	12.8	860	63	542	<488>	135



TAB H, Continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>% Blacks In Total Pop.</u>	<u>Number of Voting Age '70</u>	<u>Estimated Proportion Voting '72</u>	<u>Estimated # Voting '72</u>	Repub. Deficit if <u>20% Support in</u> <u>South-5% Elsewhere</u>	<u>1968 Repub. Plurality</u>
		(1)	(2) (Thousands)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>							
Mass	14	3.1	105	63	66	<59>	<702>
Conn.	8	6.0	110	62	68	<61>	<65>
R. I.	4	2.7	15	62	9	<8>	<124>
Vermont	3	0.2	1	59	1	<1>	15
N. H.	4	0.3	2	63	1	<1>	24
Maine	4	0.3	2	62	1	<1>	<48>
	37						
<u>UPPER MIDWEST</u>							
Wisconsin	11	2.9	75	62	46	<41>	61
Minnesota	10	1.0	21	68	14	<13>	<222>
Iowa	8	1.2	20	64	13	<12>	142
N. D.	3	0.4	1	61	1	<1>	44
S. D.	4	0.2	1	66	1	<1>	31
Nebraska	5	2.7	24	56	13	<12>	150
Kansas	7	4.8	65	57	37	<33>	176
	48						
<u>MOUNTAIN STATES</u>							
Montana	4	0.3	1	61	1	<1>	25
Idaho	4	0.3	1	65	1	<1>	76
Wyoming	3	0.8	2	61	1	<1>	61
Utah	4	0.6	4	69	3	<2>	82
Colorado	7	2.9	40	62	25	<22>	78
Nevada	3	5.7	17	49	8	<7>	13
Arizona	6	3.0	30	46	14	<13>	96
N. Mexico	4	1.9	12	56	7	<6>	40
	35						



TAB H, Continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>% Blacks In Total Pop.</u>	<u>Number of Voting Age '70</u>	<u>Estimated Proportion Voting '72</u>	<u>Estimated # Voting '72</u>	Repub. Deficit if	
						20% Support in <u>South-5% Elsewhere</u>	1968 Repub. <u>Plurality</u>
		(1)	(2) (Thousands)	(3)	(4)	(5)	

PACIFIC STATES

California	45	7.0	840	55	462	<416>	223
Oregon	6	1.3	16	60	10	<9>	50
Washington	9	2.1	45	64	29	<26>	<27>
Alaska	3	3.0	5	49	2	<2>	2
Hawaii	4	1.0	5	50	2	<1>	<50>
	<u>67</u>						



NOTES ON TAB "H"

- 1) U. S. Census Bureau
- 2) Taken as 60% of total Black population (approximate average for total U. S.
- 3) For D. C. - average of 1964 and 1968 results for total D.C. population. For South & Border States - For total region, Black participation was 5/6 of average for total population in 1968. That proportion was taken of actual 1968 voter turnout in each state. For remaining states, Black participation averaged 90% of total population figure. For each state, 90% of total vote percentage was taken.

Data on vote participation by state:

U. S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.177, "Voter Participation in November 1968 (Advanced Statistics)," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1968.

- 4) Proportion multiplied by Number of Voting Age.
- 5) The Black support regionally is an assumption for illustrative purposes only and based on fragmentary data. It does average out to the 12% nationwide support determined by Gallup.



Importance of Black Vote in States

With Large Electoral Votes

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Anticipated Number of Black Voters in 1972 (Thousands)</u>	<u>Percent Blacks in Total Population</u>
California	45	462	7.0
New York	41	676	11.9
Pennsylvania	27	360	8.6
Texas	26	344	12.7
Illinois	26	542	12.8
Ohio	25	331	9.1
Michigan	21	360	11.2
New Jersey	17	271	10.7
Florida	17	302	15.5



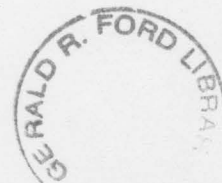
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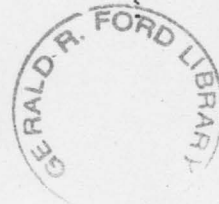
Caucus heads Assail Nixon

DETROIT COURIER 5/29/71

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Three members of the all-Democratic Congressional Black Caucus complained Sunday that President Nixon did little but defend his current domestic policies in replying to the group's 60 recommendations for change.

TAB J





CHARLES BARTLETT

Col. WASHINGTON STAR

Nixon and the Black Congressmen

5/27/71
The extent of the gap between President Nixon and the 13 black congressmen will not be diminished by their sharp derogation of his most positive

the first time he related his goals as President to the direct needs of the urban poor and conveyed a spirit of eagerness to translate "rhetorical promise into concrete re-

ize issues to serve private political ends. Their denunciation of the Nixon response bore a political ring because they neglected to concede any merit to what the





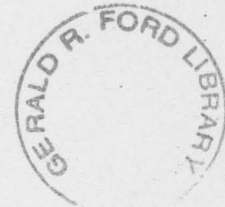
TAB L

WEST ADAMS COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

HOWARD S. KAATZ
ADMINISTRATOR

June 28, 1971

Mr. Arthur A. Fletcher,
Assistant Secretary of Labor
1400 Constitution Blvd.
Washington, D. C. 20210



Dear Mr. Fletcher:

Forgive the delay in communication, but due to so many pressing matters, I was unable to follow through during the time period I indicated to you when I was in Washington. I would just like to reiterate that the non-profit organization, West Adams Community Hospital, would like to have a large luncheon at \$200 per plate involving community members and industrial representatives of the Los Angeles area in September or October and we would hope to have the support and involvement of the President's Office.

Certainly, the time period could prove to be beneficial for both black people and the present Administration by way of demonstrating that President Nixon is not only sensitive to the needs of black people, but also gives recognition to their accomplishments at local levels.

It is our belief that, since this project was privately developed by a very distinguished group of black professionals with the unique idea of making it a non-profit organization to benefit a ghetto community, it is most certainly in keeping with the present Administration's theory of black entrepreneurship and can well serve as a national model in creating a new trend in the area of black economic development in this country.

We are hopeful that the President will give this most worthwhile project as much consideration as possible, and are eagerly awaiting to hear from you. Thank you for your assistance and support.

Sincerely yours,

L. Weekes, M.D.
Leroy Weekes, M.D., Chairman
Board of Trustees
WEST ADAMS COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

LW:ml

Enclosure: (2) WACH Brochures

cc: Howard Kaatz, WACH Administrator
Patricia Newman, Public Information & Development Director