

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

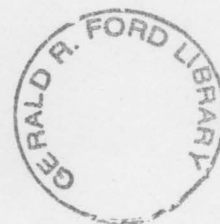
November 16, 1971

TO: Len Garment
FROM: Robert J. Brown

For your information.

Bob —
Absolutely
first-rate job. Let
me know how
you do on your
recommendation
Len

A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
BLACK VOTE IN 1972



Determined to be Administrative Marking
Date 5/30/01 By WHM

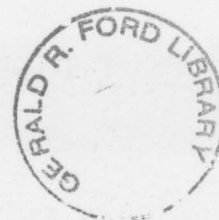
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PREFACE

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:

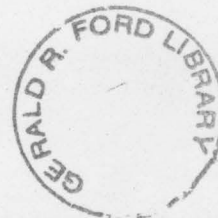


1. That Blacks, throughout the nation, are acquiring a voter sophistication that lends itself to national appeal. Blacks are listening discriminately and making decisions less on emotion or traditional voting habits than on an assessment of those issues which will affect the quality of their lives.

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.

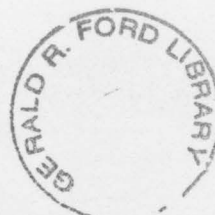
3. That the anti-Republican attitude among Blacks has been the result of a negative image. Republicans have been viewed by Blacks as "white, rich, old, and conservative." This image must be modified, so that greater pluralism may be promoted in party membership.

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.



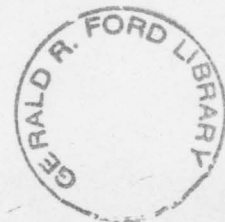
THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

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.

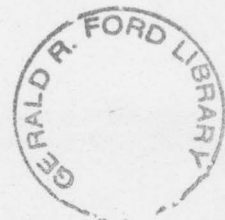
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BLACK CITIZEN COMMITTEES

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

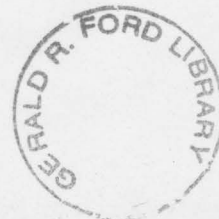
This group should be headed up by Dr. Helen Edmonds, former



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.

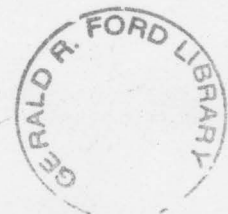
RECOMMENDATION

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.

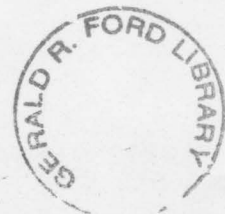
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Other Black citizen committees that might also be formed are as follows:

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.

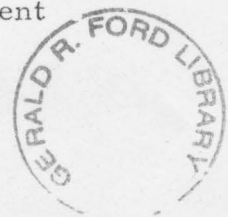
The State Republican Committees should be encouraged to engage these appointees as speakers.

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



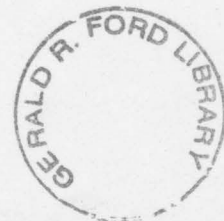
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

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.

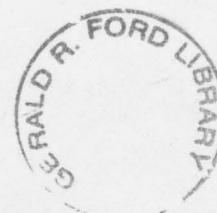
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SPECIAL EVENTS

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.

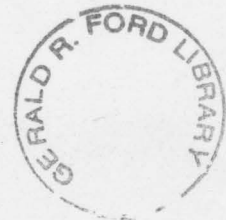
RECOMMENDATION

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.

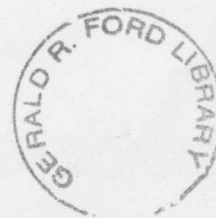
The Black minister plays an important role in influencing his congregation.

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

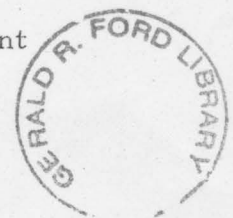
LOCAL REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS

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



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Approve Disapprove Comment

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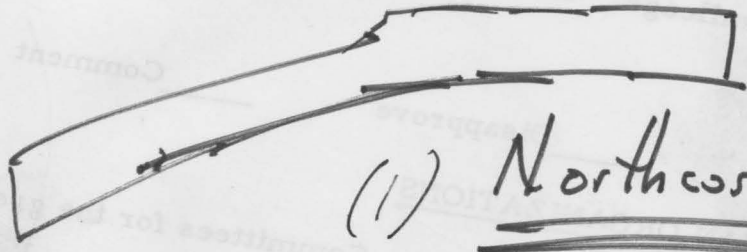
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Approve Disapprove Comment



In the South - S'west



(1) Northwest

(Field Men)

\$13,500 - \$16,500

(2) South

(3) South west -

(4) Mid west -

(5) Far West -

Media

Check on Ad costs

Radio Spots

Brochure Cost
Daly

Zebra - Raymond League

DRAFT

December 3, 1971


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

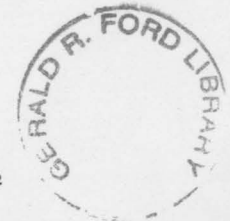
Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By HR NARA, Date 2/13/08

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

 In 1960 Richard Nixon received about 32% of the Black vote. However, with the subsequent dramatic expansion of Civil Rights under Democratic Presidents, and the conservative candidacy of Barry Goldwater in 1964, the support for Republican candidates steadily declined (Tab A). Only 6% supported Mr. Goldwater, and just 12% voted for the President in 1968. As pointed out in a preliminary memo, the resulting Democratic plurality is particularly large in key states with large electoral votes and frequent close election contests (Tab B).

The objective in 1972 can realistically be set at increasing the President's share of the Black vote by 50% -- from 12% in 1968 to at least 18% in 1972. In 1968, that increment would have given the

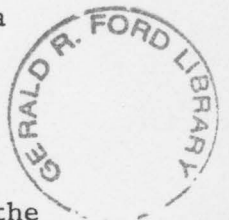


President victories in Maryland and Texas, and solidified the narrow margins of victory in Missouri, New Jersey and Ohio.

The plan set forth in this memorandum represents a consolidation of ideas suggested by a number of the top Black appointies in the Administration. It avoids any grandiose, radical scheme to attract fresh Black votes, which would surely be held suspect by the Black community; but rather proposes the judicious use of traditional political approaches. It contemplates a strong offensive approach, rather than a defensive or apologetic one. It calls for maximum involvement from every facet of the Black community, starting with the high officials in the Administration and including opinion leaders from all walks of life.

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



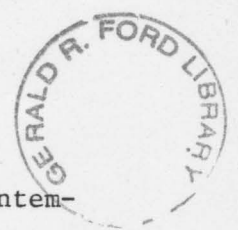
Berkeley

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. Many Blacks have expressed a desire to participate in the campaign.
- 7. As much as possible, we should avoid dealing with splinter organizations which will serve to dilute the effectiveness of the overall program.
- 8. A strong effort should be made to build communications between local supporters and Federal officials.
- 9. There should be several key events planned in the Black community for recommended Presidential participation.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION

Berkeley
Co-Chairman



As has been proposed for other specific voter groups, this plan contemplates an organization headed by a highly visible Chairman and an Executive Director who will be responsible for the day-to-day operations. The most critical appointment will be that of Executive Director, which should be made within a few weeks. The Chairman can be appointed shortly thereafter. The structure under the Executive Director will be discussed later in this memo.

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

ESTABLISHMENT OF VISIBLE SUPPORT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

In order for the President's campaign to be credible in the Black community, there must be highly visible members of the community actively supporting and campaigning for him. Several such groups can be identified.

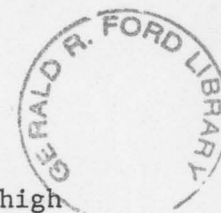
High Administration Appointees

It is not generally realized how many Blacks have been appointed to high positions by the President, nor how effective they have been in implementing important programs. Many of them are politically experienced and effective in public appearances.

Recommendations

That a sustained effort be started now to raise the profiles of high Black Administration appointees. Several approaches would be effective including:

- (1) An expanded schedule of well-publicized speaking engagements before important audiences, both Black and White. An increased effort has been going on over the past several months to identify appropriate forums and assure that Administration people are scheduled to appear. That effort should be transferred to the Re-election Committee during the campaign.



- (2) Dissemination of news and feature stories to the Black press. Stan Scott in Herb Klein's office, has made progress over the past several months in establishing better lines of communication between the Administration and influential newspapers across the country. These publications are read extensively and have great impact in the Black community.
- (3) Inclusion, where appropriate, of Black appointees on Presidential trips to their home areas.

That you approve the concept of higher visibility of Black political appointees during the campaign, and the implementation of the three approaches listed above, insofar as possible.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

That you approve of the establishment of the position of Communications Director, reporting to the Executive Director, to be responsible for the public relations outlined above. He would work closely with Stan Scott of the White House staff.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



Opinion Leaders of the Black Community

The series of White House briefings have shown that there are many Blacks who want to work with the Administration and effect whatever changes they seek from within. These individuals are generally those who are making it within the system, and whose opinions have substantial influence within the Black community. Many have indicated a strong interest in

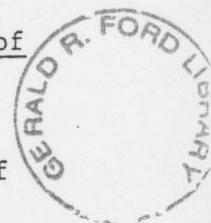
working toward the President's re-election.

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

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.

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priated 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. The Black minister plays an important role in influencing his congregation. We have close relations with a number of Black clergymen who support the President



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 a 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.

Other Black Citizens' Committees which might also be formed are listed in Tab C.



Recommendation

That you approve the concept of actively involving noted Black leaders in the re-election of the President by the formation of Black Citizen groups, and that you authorize the Executive Director (when he has been designated) to immediately form the five groups described in detail. The start-up budget would be \$15,000, to be expended as discussed above. If you approve of the concept, a detailed operating budget for the campaign will be submitted for each major group.

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

That the Executive Director of the Black Voters Division of the Re-election Committee be responsible for establishing a coordinating group, including the top Black staffers of the Republican National Committee and the Campaign Congressional Committee for this purpose.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



Black Republican Candidates

A Republican Presidential campaign has a great deal of difficulty in attaining visibility in many Black communities. The local politics,

including Congressional races in some instances, are heavily dominated by the Democratic Party. In 1972, however, for the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an opportunity to field Black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election. In particular, viable candidates should be identified to oppose the members of the Congressional Black Caucus. If strong Republican campaigns can be run, they will serve the multiple purposes of

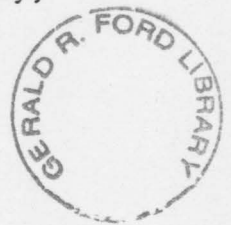
- (1) Keeping the Black Caucus members involved in their home districts, rather than campaigning across the country for the Democratic nominee.
- (2) Presenting the possibility of defeating Democratic incumbents in the House.
- (3) Establishing a method for publicizing the record of the Administration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

Two steps are needed to implement this strategy:

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

Recommendation

That you approve the strategy of fielding strong Black Republican candi-



dates in as many predominately Black districts as possible, and that you authorize an immediate search to be begun to identify appropriate persons to enter those races. This program would also assure some level of financial support to those candidates who are approved.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Convention offers an opportunity to demonstrate that the Party does relate to the minority community. It is particularly important that adequate planning go into this aspect of the Convention because of the attendant high publicity and because the Democratic Party will probably exhibit internal strife over their newly-instituted convention-reform rules. As stated at the outset of the memo, radical departures are not recommended, but reasonable judgment should be exercised.

Recommendations

1. That Blacks should work on convention planning committees to insure minority input in all key areas.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



2. That various states should be encouraged to have at least one Black delegate from every district in which there is a sizeable Black population.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

3. That special social events should be planned involving Blacks.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

4. That someone be specifically authorized to work with Convention Committee and any other officials toward assuring Black business a substantial and visible piece of the convention business. We have a person to assume this duty immediately at least on a part time basis: namely Richard Allen, President of a Los Angeles electronics firm. His resume is attached as Tab D.

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 recommended 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.

Proposed members of the Dinner Committee:

Berkeley Burrell -- Chairman

Ed Sexton -- Coordinator

James E. Johnson

Robert J. Brown

Stanley Scott

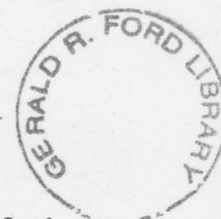
Frank Kent

Colston Lewis

George Haley

John Wilks

As the campaign progresses, other special events will be planned throughout the country. Black entertainers for the re-election of the President will contribute to the events.



Recommendation

That you approve the idea of a fund-raising dinner on behalf of the President's re-election, sponsored and arranged by the Black political appointees. A detailed plan will be presented for final approval before the event is announced.

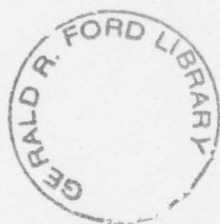
APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

COMMUNICATIONS

A major element of the strategy for capturing a larger share of the

Black vote in 1972 will be to inform the people of successful Administration programs. This will require effective use of all possible media, because it is inherently difficult to get the Republican message to these voters. The major elements of the Communications program, (some of which have been mentioned previously) are as follows:

1. The Black press. These newspapers are probably more influential than their counterparts in the White community. As noted before, Stan Scott has established improved lines of communication with the editors. As the campaign progresses, he may be less able to place Administration-oriented material in the news sections, because it may be seen as "too political" by unsympathetic editors. However, a combination of news releases plus advertising could be used effectively through the campaign. A detailed advertising plan, including timing and tone of ads, newspapers to be used and estimated costs, will be submitted at a later date.
2. Other mass media. Radio "soul" stations are very influential in many Black communities. Television has great impact, as it does with all American families. The Executive Director and his communications advisors will seek to work closely with the overall campaign advertising staff to obtain the greatest possible impact in the Black community with the resources available.
3. Printed materials. With respect to direct mail, brochures, posters, leaflets, newsletters and other printed materials, it will be essential that publication and dis-



semination be under the auspices of one of the Black Citizens' committees already recommended. Unless done in this manner, these will lack the necessary credibility to accomplish the basic purpose of the effort: to influence the Black vote. Specific recommendations of content and budget will be made at a later date. However, two ideas being seriously considered are a "Facts for Blacks" truth squad, to be responsible for disseminating information about Republican achievements; and a monthly newsletter highlighting Black involvement in Federal and other programs. One well-qualified person to lead the first effort is Mrs. Elaine Jenkins (Tab E).

4. Spokesmen. As mentioned earlier, expanded speaking schedules have been recommended for appointed Black officials. In addition, there should be greater visibility of non-Black top-level officials in the Black community, through participation in social events, speaking engagements and cultural activities.

FIELD OPERATIONS

In the last analysis, the effectiveness of a campaign strategy is measured by the votes produced. Nothing is more important than reaching the voter, and that requires good local organization. The proposed plan for 1972 contemplates grass-roots organizations in most major urban areas, as well as the rural South. They will be under the operational control of the Nixon State Chairman, but will be functionally coordinated by the Black Voters Executive Director in Washington. Coordination would be



accomplished by five regional field men, with the regions defined as Northeast, Southwest, South, Midwest, Far West.

The function of the field men can be described by the example of the South. In the rural and small-town sections of the South the President has a great opportunity to increase his Black support there, and possibly to win several of the states that went to Wallace in 1968. These people have benefitted 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. The regional field man must assure that local organizations are established, that communications reach the people, and that provisions are made to identify our voters and get them to the polls. A system of reporting and controls will be established so that realistic appraisal of progress can be made from Washington and corrective action taken if necessary.

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

Recommendation

That you approve the establishment of five regional field coordinators, to be appointed by the Executive Director and to report to him. These five would be appointed in January, so that there would be time to accomplish



the necessary organizational work by the time the campaign is in full swing in late summer. Their salary range would be \$1100--\$1400 per month plus travel expenses.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

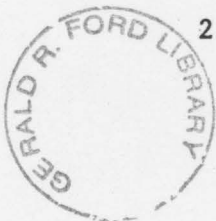
ORGANIZATION

The proposed organization chart is shown in Tab F, and the staffing plan and personnel budget is shown in Tab G. These positions are necessary to accomplish the program outlined in this memorandum. The Executive Director has not yet been identified, but will be targeted for selection before the end of January.

Recommendation

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

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



2. That you approve the hiring of Mr. Robert Maxwell as staff assistant to the Executive Director, to join the Re-election Committee as soon as possible. He would begin at once to implement the five recommended citizens' committees, and to work with persons from the White House, the RNC and the Re-election Committee to bring together the resources and detailed planning necessary to launch the campaign for the Black Vote in 1972. That would allow a more thorough search for the Executive Director without

causing costly delays in our early preparations.

Mr. Maxwell is a bright and aggressive young man who is currently in charge of minority personnel affairs for the Dayton Department Store chain in Minneapolis. His resume is attached at Tab H. He has visited Washington on one occasion and has had discussions with Bob Brown, Stan Scott and Bob Marik, all of whom endorse him for this position.

Hire Robert Maxwell as staff assistant to the Executive Director of Black Voter Activities (Salary--\$1400 per month).

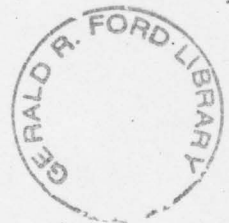
APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____



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)



ELECTORAL IMPACT OF BLACK VOTERS BY STATES AND REGIONS

| <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> | <u>Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere</u> | <u>1968 Repub Plurality</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| | | (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 |
| | <u>44</u> | | | | | | |
| <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> |
| | <u>134</u> | | | | | | |
| <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 B

| <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> | <u>Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in 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 B continued

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> | <u>% Blacks In Total Pop.</u> (1) | <u>Number of Voting Age '70</u> (2) (Thousands) | <u>Estimated Proportion Voting '72</u> (3) | <u>Estimated # Voting '72</u> (4) | <u>Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere</u> (5) | <u>1968 Repub Plurality</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|--|--|---|--|---|---------------------------------|
| <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> |
| | <u>67</u> | | | | | | |



NOTES ON TAB "B"

- 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:

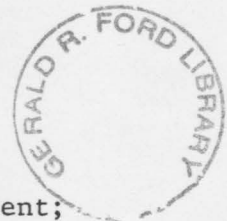
U. S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.177, "Voter Participation in November 1968 (Advanced Statistics)," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1968.

- 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.



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

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



MEMORANDUM

TAB D

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
ADMINISTRATIVE-CONFIDENTIAL

September 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB BROWN
LEN GARMENT
FRED MALEK
BOB MARIK
STAN SCOTT
ED SEXTON
GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

BILL (MO) MARUMOTO

SUBJECT:

Richard Allen

Dick is currently President of American Tape Duplicators, Los Angeles, California and is under consideration for a key position on the '72 campaign staff.

ATD is a firm founded by Dick and Warren Gray eight years ago that manufactures music tapes for home use; background music tapes for airlines and tapes for radio broadcasting. In addition, they produce educational tapes for schools and training tapes for industry. Their gross annual volume is approximately \$2.5 million this year.

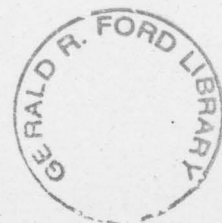
Dick is also board chairman of the Economic Resources Corporation also in Los Angeles, a non-profit organization of black and white businessmen that have launched a major program to find jobs for Watts residents. This is an Administration-sponsored "black capitalism" approach to solving urban ghetto problems.

Dick is 40 years old, married and a life-long Republican.

His ideas relative to changing the black voting pattern and articles on him are attached for your perusal.

Please complete the attached candidate rating sheet and return it to me by September 10th.

Attachments



RESUME

NAME: Alice Elaine Brown Jenkins Phone: 726-8395 (home)
1333 Tuckerman Street, N.W. 628-2216 (office)
Washington, D.C.

BIRTHPLACE: Butte, Montana

PARENTS:

Father: Rev. Russell S. Brown, Chicago, Illinois
General Secretary of African Methodist
Episcopal Church; pastorate in Butte, Memphis,
Atlanta, Cleveland, Denver, St. Louis, Chicago.
Served on City Planning Committees under
President Calvin Coolidge and the late Justice
Harold Burton (formerly Mayor of Cleveland);
and advisor to Governors and Mayors of Denver,
St. Louis; served on Urban League Boards in
each major city.

Mother: Floy Smith Brown (deceased)
Student at Oberlin Conservatory of Music

MARITAL STATUS:

Husband: Howard Jenkins, Jr; Republican Member of
National Labor Relations Board.
Term: 1963 - 1968; 1968 - 1973

Children:

Judith Elaine; Compliance Officer,
Department of Labor; Graduate Howard
University, M.A. from American University

Howard Jenkins III; Graduate Wilberforce
University; studying for Law Degree at
Detroit College of Law

Larry; Freshman at University of Denver,
School of Music



EDUCATION:

Graduated 1933 Glenvill High, Cleveland, Ohio

B.A. University of Denver 1937; Major: Philosophy of Education
Minor: Sociology

M.A. Ohio State University 1938
Protege student of Dr. Boyd H. Bode, author of
"Democracy as a way of Life" and others.

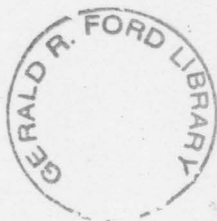
Graduate studies toward Doctorate - Catholic University

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Feb. 1970 to present: Founder and President of Oneamerica, Inc.,
a consultant firm specializing in the areas
of minority development; educational
programs; training projects; all areas of
communications between divergent groups.

1960 to June 1970: Consultant to the Republican National
Committee, 1960-68 Consultant to Minority
Division; 1968-70 Consultant to women's
Division

Dec. 1966 - 1968 Park View warder & Newton, N.w.
Teacher in D.C. schools, Tri-School
Community Coordinator. Officer position
as liaison between schools and community
of two divergent economic groups;
responsible for all after school programs,
parent and community relations. Have
established effective and continuing
tutoring programs, aides to the poor,
training programs for paraprofessionals;
assistance programs for parents on
housing, employment, high school equiv. and
adult education; leadership training programs
suburban city exchange for volunteers to the
Tri-School from Maryland, Virginia, wives of
war College; introduced innovative projects
in teaching Negro History through drama;
pre-school scholarships for low income
private schools in Virginia; summer proposal
for recreation, improved rapport with youth
and Precinct 4, etc.



June 1966 (six weeks): Consultant to University of Maryland Head Start training Program for Teachers. ("Implications of Education for Integration")

Sept. 1960: Resigned to campaign for President Nixon

Dec. 1960: Returned to teaching. Henley - 6th & Chesapeake, S.E.

1954 - Dec. 1960: Teacher in Private Schools following integration of schools. Buchanan, 13th & D, Keene, Riggs Road & North Capitol.

1951 - 1954: Founder and Director. Summer Private Schools in Cultural Subjects for middle income children attending the then segregated schools.

1949 - 1951: Assistant Superintendent, National Training School for Girls.

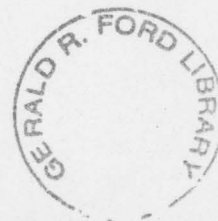
1948 - 1949: First Negro teacher for Board of Welfare (now Junior Village). Set up first regular school day program for welfare of resident children.

1946 - 1948: Substitute Teacher District of Columbia public schools.

1938 - 1946: Teacher, Denver Public Schools; First Permanent Negro Teacher.

VOLUNTEER POSITIONS:

1. Established Children's Art Project for League of Republican Women as Co-Chairman (free Art instruction for potentially gifted children -- all economic levels.)
2. Developed a national parents' organization while serving as President of Parents of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio (oldest Negro educational institution.)
3. Developed a "Father is Back to School" project for low income fathers in a poverty area school district.



VOLUNTEER POSITIONS (Cont.):

4. Columnist for Afro-American Newspaper "Schools for Thought."
5. Past President Howard University Faculty Wives.
6. Established and became first President of Wives, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity (now in it's 24th year).
7. National Co-Chairman, Social Action Commission Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, (50,000 members) Oct. 1967 to present.

ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP:

1. D.C. Republican Committee - From 1960 to present
Former Vice Chairman
2. League of Republican Women
3. Educational Committee Brightwood Civic Association, Upper NW
4. Neighbors Inc. Educational Committee, Upper NW
5. League of Women Voters
6. D.C. Citizens for Better Education

APPOINTMENTS:

Appointed by President Nixon to Little Hoover Commission to study District of Columbia Government and Education, 1970

Member, Superintendent's Advisory Council for Implementation of the Design for Academic Achievement, Board of Education. Appointed November, 1970.

AWARDS AND RECOGNITION

Women's Who's Who in America 1968
Who's Who Women in American Politics 1954
Urban League Appreciation Award Membership Campaign 1965

CHURCH AFFILIATION:

Plymouth Congregational Church
Founder of Plymouthites Club for new members now in 12th year.



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mrs. Howard Jenkins, Jr. (Elaine)

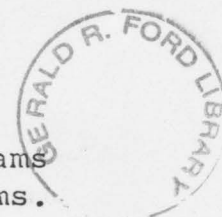
Mrs. Howard Jenkins, Jr., (Elaine), is the Founder and President of Oneamerica, Inc., a Washington, D.C.-based consultant firm that specializes in developing human resources through training and educational programs, minority recruitment, and communications programs for divergent groups. Mrs. Jenkins is the wife of Howard Jenkins, Jr., attorney-at-law, who is serving his second term as a member of the National Labor Relations Board. She is the mother of two sons, Howard III and Larry, and one daughter, Judith.

Formerly a resident of Denver, Colorado, Mrs. Jenkins was the first permanent Negro teacher in that city's public schools. She obtained her BA Degree at the University of Denver, where she was elected to the Philosophy Academy, and honorary society for Philosophy majors. She received her Masters Degree in Philosophy of Education at Ohio State University.

Since coming to the Nation's Capitol in 1946, Mrs. Jenkins has taught in public and private schools for 17 years, acted as a consultant to the University of Maryland Head, Start Training Program for Teachers, and helped to establish the first on-site day school classes for dependent children in the District of Columbia. Mrs. Jenkins served briefly as Assistant Superintendent at the National Training School for Girls, a school for delinquent young girls.

From 1966 to 1968, Mrs. Jenkins served as Tri-School Community Coordinator for the D.C. Board of Education. In this capacity, she was liaison officer between the schools and the community, and was responsible for all after-school programs, parent and community relations the establishment of tutoring programs, training programs for para-professionals, and leadership training programs.

Long active in Republican politics, Mrs. Jenkins acted as a consultant to the Republican National Committee until June 1970 for the Minority and Women's Divisions. She is a member of the D. C. Republican Committee and has served as vice chairman. She is also a member of the Legue of Republican Women, the League of Women



Voters, D.C. Citizens for Better Education, the Educational Committee of the Brightwood Civic Association, and the Educational Committee of Neighbors, Inc., of Upper Northwest.

A former columnist for the AFRO-AMERICAN newspaper, Mrs. Jenkins established and became the first president of Wives of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; is a past president of Howard University Faculty Wives; and presently serves as National Co-Chairman of the Social Action Committee of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, a public service organization for Negro college women (50,000 members).

Mrs. Jenkins was appointed in 1970 by President Nixon to the Little Hoover Commission, formed to study the D. C. Government. She is a member of the Superintendent's Advisory Council for the Board of Education, the Citizens Advisory Council for Federal City College and was a Member-at-Large of the 1970 United Givers Fund Campaign Cabinet. She is a member of the Technical Committee on Education for the 1971 White House Conference on the Aging.

She was given the Urban League Appreciation Award in 1965, has been listed in Who's Who in American Women and in Who's Who--Women in American Politics. Mrs. Jenkins is a member of the Plymouth Congregational Church.



CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT

CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR

STAFF
ASSISTANT

COMMUNICATIONS
DIRECTOR

SCHEDULING/
SPEECHWRITING

PROFESSIONAL
& CITIZENS'
COMMITTEES

REGIONAL FIELD MEN

NORTH
EAST

SOUTH

SOUTH
WEST

MIDWEST

FAR WEST



TAB F

PROPOSED SCHEDULE AND BUDGET FOR STAFFING
 THE BLACK VOTERS' DIVISION

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Monthly Estimated Cost</u> | | <u>Period of Activity</u> D J F M A M J J A S O N | <u>Total Cost</u> |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--|-------------------|
| | <u>Salary</u> | <u>Expenses</u> | | |
| Chairman | --- | 1,000 | ----- | \$11,000 |
| Executive Director | 2,500 | 1,000 | ----- | 38,500 |
| Secretary | 650 | --- | ----- | 7,150 |
| Staff Assistant | 1,400 | 1,000 | ----- | 28,800 |
| Secretary | 650 | --- | ----- | 7,800 |
| Communications Director | 1,300 | 500 | ----- | 18,000 |
| Secretary | 650 | --- | ----- | 6,500 |
| Scheduling/Speech-writing Coordinator | 1,300 | --- | ----- | 11,700 |
| Secretary | 650 | --- | ----- | 5,850 |
| Regional Field Coordinators (5) | 1,250 | 1,500 | ----- | 124,000 |
| TOTAL | | | | <u>\$259,300</u> |



December 3, 1970

R E S U M E

NAME: Robert L. Maxwell

ADDRESS: 1226 Sheridan Avenue North, Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55411 612-529-1633

EDUCATION: Received B.A. degree June, 1967 in
Business Administration and Economics --
Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

WORK EXPERIENCE: 6-53 to 6-54 Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, Georgia.
Camp Counselor, gate attendant --
Physical Department. Was responsible
for planning and supervision of daily
activities of approximately 25 to 30
youths ages 6 to 12 at summer camp. In
winter months I controlled traffic flow
into gymnasium, issued supplies and
maintained order in game room of YMCA.

9-54 to 6-56 WAOK radio, Atlanta, Georgia.
High School Disc-Jockey, Record Librar-
ian, and part-time staff announcer. Was
responsible for program format, selection
of recorded music; and all news and sports
announcements for six (6) high school
shows. Maintained Record Library and
substituted for staff announcers.

5-58 to 8-60 U.S. Post Office, Atlanta, Georgia.
Distribution Clerk. Had direct respon-
sibility for expediting United States
mail from Georgia to Texas.

MILITARY STATUS: 8-60 to 1-64 Served in the United States Air Force,
20th Air Police Squadron, 20th T.A.C.
Fighter Base, Wethersfield, England.

1-64 to 8-65 U.S. Post Office, Atlanta, Georgia.
Distribution clerk. Had direct respon-
sibility for expediting United States
mail from all states west of the
Mississippi to all cities west of Atlanta,
Georgia.

9-64 to 8-65 Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
Atlanta, Georgia.
Clerk -- Research Department. Was respon-
sible to the Program Director for varied
and sundry assignments relating to the
publication of the organization's News
Letter.



8-65 to 10-65

WIGO Radio, Atlanta Georgia.
Disc-Jockey, Director of Public Relations.
My primary responsibility was to air a two and one half (2½) hour top forty rock show twice (2) per week and to establish promotional and community activities designed to gain the station greater listener acceptance.

1-66 to 4-66

WAOK Radio, Atlanta, Georgia.
News Announcer. Prepared news stories which I presented in live news casts hourly, conducted on the scene news coverage, and taped interviews of people in the news.

5-66 to 9-66

Texon Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.
Chief Clerk -- Shipping Department. Was working supervisor in Shipping and Receiving Department during summer months prior to returning to college full time.

6-67 to 3-69

Control Data Corporation, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Served in the capacity of Assistant to Personnel Manager in charge of employment at the Northside Manufacturing Operation. Had responsibility for recruitment, intake, orientation and counseling, upgrading, promotion, and exit interviews of all non-exempt personnel. Also held orientation and counseling session with supervisors regarding equal employment opportunity.

3-69 to 8-70

First National Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Financial Statement Analyst -- Credit Department. Was responsible for spreading corporate financial statements for Bank Officers and deciding a company's credit worthiness by means of statistics, ratios, and Bank credit regulations.

8 -70

Dayton's, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Presently serving in the capacity of Employment Opportunity Administrator -- Personnel Department. I am responsible for the planning, implementation, and co-ordination of all efforts designed to gain equal employment opportunity for minority and disadvantaged persons within Dayton's downtown store and five (5) branches.



**PERSONAL BACKGROUND
AND INTERESTS:**

Born in Atlanta, Georgia, September 11, 1937. I received my primary and secondary education in the public schools of Atlanta, Georgia. I developed a strong interest in civic affairs, music, broadcast communication, and sports.

MARITAL STATUS:

Married to the former Freddie L. Davis.

