

The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “Black Vote in 1972 - Campaign Plan (7)” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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MEMORANDUM

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PAUL JONES

FROM:

FRED MALEK *WJM*

SUBJECT:

Campaign Plan for Black Vote



Having carefully reviewed your draft plan, I am quite impressed with the magnitude of the opportunity and the thinking that has gone into your plan. I am in agreement with most of your analysis and plan but feel we need to restructure the way the plan is presented and elaborate on a few points before it is ready to present to Mr. Mitchell. This memo roughly outlines my notes so we can start from the same point in our discussion tomorrow.

Let's take organization of the plan first. As structured, it is difficult to grab the major points; see the relationships between strategy, plans, and organization; and understand fully and clearly what is going to be done. I suggest you redraft along the following lines, using a major side heading for each of the 4 major sections:

1. Background on Black Vote. You cover this only briefly on page 1 and part of page 2 of your plan. I suggest a more comprehensive discussion of demographic data, issues of concern to Blacks, voting trends, and conclusions on this group and what they will respond to. This then sets the stage for the development of a strategy.
2. Strategy. This would start with a short statement of your strategy which, as I see it, is to increase the Black vote to 18% by publicizing the President's record of accomplishment for Blacks and, thereby, convince Blacks of the President's concern. You should, of course, be more specific if you can by stating the issues that will be exploited in this effort. Then, briefly cover the strategy for making this happen (e.g., a comprehensive PR program, Presidential involvement, and the mission of the field organization). Finish with a brief discussion of the key States you intend to focus on and those you expect to neglect. Provide decision blanks for the strategy.
3. Plan of Action. In the preceding section you told where you were going, and here you outline how you intend to get there. Your major suggestions should all be included here as elements of the plan (e.g., make Black appointees more visible, form groups of Black opinion leaders,

encourage Black GOP candidates, provide visibility to Blacks at convention, hold a fund-raising dinner, and elements of the communications plan. You should, however, also cover issues/initiatives you feel need to be modified or expanded by the Administration, new initiatives needed, the objectives of the field operation and how they will be reached, and your rough timetable for establishing a field operation. Provide decision blanks at relevant places within this section.

4. Organization. Outline here the organization needed to carry out the plan of action. Start with the overall team that will coordinate the efforts (i.e., Jones, Brown, Scott, and Black appointees). Then, cover the organization and duties of the Washington and field staffs and make your case for additional staff. Also cover the plan for the overall national committee. Provide decision blanks as appropriate.

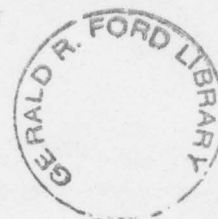
Now let me get into a few other comments and observations that we should be sure to discuss tomorrow:

1. It is important to recognize that the campaign plan is a general approach aimed at a broad appeal toward the Blacks to be taken now. Later, as the State Victory Plans are developed, you will tie in with these and develop a specific Black action plan in each key State. To my mind these are the most important plans, and they will govern your later actions. Some recognition of this should be built into the current plan - perhaps as a preamble or built into the plans section.

2. Selection and Reporting of State Black Director. I think we are clear on this, but just to be sure, the State Director will be a joint selection of you and the State Nixon Chairman. He will report directly to the State Nixon Chairman but will receive functional guidance and direction from you. Thus, you are just as responsible as the State Chairman for the selection of quality Directors and for the success or failure of the Black effort in each State.

3. Black Spokesman. You hit this hard both with Administration appointees and outside opinion leaders. I fully agree, but to get maximum visibility we need to develop at least 1 star who can command national attention. This would be someone who could really hit the theme that the Dems take Blacks for granted and the way to real power is to show some independence. I don't know who this should be or how we will do it, but you should begin giving serious attention to the problem. Without 1 real star we just won't generate the publicity needed.

4. Opinion Leaders. You aim at forming 5 groups initially and more later. I like the idea a lot, but there are several questions:



-- How will these be related to the regular citizens' groups? For example, we will most certainly have an Educators for Nixon group which will include some Blacks. Won't this overlap, and how do we rationalize this?

-- Why do you choose real estate brokers as a major group? They are hardly a major force in our society.

-- Where can we fit in leaders such as Art Fletcher and Jim Farmer who may be with us?

-- What is the ultimate cost likely to be? You mention \$18,000 as a start-up budget.

5. Local Republican Organizations. I really don't understand this section. What are these organizations and what are we really trying to do?

6. Black GOP Candidates. This is a good idea, but it will obviously depend on cooperation in the States and the ability of our men to get through the primaries. Also, who would take on this project and how much financial support do you feel is needed?

7. Fund-Raiser. I'm not sure this is the best way to spend your time, and it could backfire on us. First, money is not the key factor for us. Second, it would take a hell of a lot of yours and Brown's time that may be more productively used elsewhere. Finally, the Dems could criticize the GOP for taking money away from the Blacks while Dems favor the reverse. Perhaps we should convert this idea into a testimonial for the President sponsored by Black appointees. We could set up regional tie-ins and use this as a vehicle for publicity and for recruiting volunteers. If we do anything here, I suggest you have omitted some of our best people from your proposed list of sponsors (e.g., Jackson, Pierce, Ben Davis, Koontz).

8. Communications. I agree that we will want to use paid ads, but only on a selective basis. This will be decided case by case based on the needs pointed up in the State Victory Plans. All media commitments for all groups will be decided in this way. On the brochure, I like the idea but wonder whether 20 pages isn't twice as long as need be. Let's be sure to discuss this one so an early decision can be made.

9. Operation "Put-Up." I don't completely understand this concept and need some elaboration.



10. Field Operations. Your emphasis on field operations is right on target, and in my gut I feel you need the 3 field coordinators. However, you have to make the case more clearly and relate the coordinators to key States before we can make a request to Mr. Mitchell.

11. Other Staff. I do not agree with the need for a scheduling coordinator. This should be done through Bart Porter and Stan Scott. You need to make your case stronger for the 2 staff assistants.

I look forward to seeing you tomorrow when we can cover the above and other points in greater depth.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: ROBERT J. BROWN

FROM: STANLEY S. SCOTT

For your information.

Bob, would suggest that you lift all
or any portion of the attached memo
for use in your report to Macgruder.



MEMORANDUM

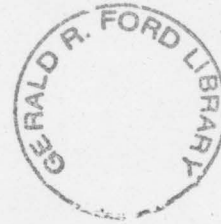
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Determined to be Administrative Marking October 19, 1971

Date 5/30/01 By W/HM

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MEMORANDUM FOR: HERBERT G. KLEIN

FROM: STAN SCOTT *SS*

RE: Minority Media: A Key in '72
Campaign to Gain Black Vote

This memorandum is intended as an outline of the general approach I would pursue in what I consider to be a realistic goal of doubling in 1972 the number of black votes received by the Republican Party in 1968.

In 1960, the Republican presidential ticket received an estimated 32% of the black vote. In 1964, the Goldwater candidacy drew 6%, and in 1968, the President recovered to a level of 12%.

The minority media, in my view, is the key in gaining a minimum of 24% of the black vote in 1972.

Research clearly shows that minority-related Presidential initiatives, no matter how important, fail in terms of desired impact unless those initiatives are articulated and disseminated to the minority community through the minority media.

Some of the major communications machinery presently available in reaching the 7-million potential black voters include 173 black weekly newspapers, with a combined circulation of 3,589,103 and a total readership of about 8 million, and some 400 radio stations that direct all or portions of their programming to black audiences.

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Another specific communications thrust we would direct to the minority community would include brochures of facts and figures spelling out Presidential initiatives. Example: two black men of General military rank when President Nixon assumed office...there are now six Generals and one black Admiral; Presidential appointment of first black to U.S. Military Court of Appeals; first time ever that seven black Ambassadors have served under a President, etc. In addition to the list of positive facts and figures, the professional brochures would include photos of the President meeting with top black leaders and black Presidential appointees at the White House.

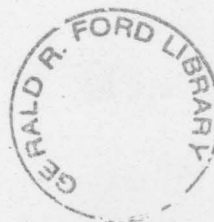
Once the brochure is finalized, an edited version of the brochure highlighting Presidential initiatives would be used in leaflets and posters which would be distributed in the minority community.

The communications campaign would, of course, utilize all of the top black Presidential appointees in speaking to minority group organizations across the country. It is also important that we organize black groups in support of the re-election of the President. Example: entertainers, doctors, lawyers, athletes, publishers, educators, unions, etc.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

- A. Our office should immediately schedule a series of private meetings with minority group editors and publishers to continue to strengthen Administration relations with this segment of the media. The schedule should include those cities where most of the black population is concentrated. While most of the minority editors and publishers are using our releases and photographs since we started the regularly scheduled dissemination of minority news from the White House, we must encourage them to continue to use our material with a clear understanding that their publications will not be overlooked when '72 campaign advertisement gets underway.
- B. In view of the fact that many black editors and publishers, most of whom are Democrats, are now using our releases in their publications, I would strongly recommend that our office be provided personnel to take full advantage of this opportunity.

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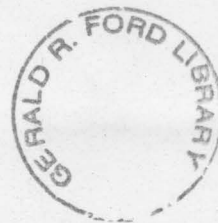


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1. An additional secretary and an assistant in handling news releases would provide me the opportunity of taking advantage, through the media, of all Presidential proposals and programs directed to the minority community.
2. The additional personnel would afford us the advantage of accomplishing now through the 173 minority publications what we will pay for later in campaign advertisement.
3. This additional help would provide the opportunity for me to give part-time assistance to the Citizens Committee in launching our national communications effort, and would afford me the necessary time to help other Federal Departments and agencies gain more mileage in their minority media communications programming.
4. While I certainly believe that we are making tremendous in-roads in gaining visibility through the minority media, I am convinced that the additional personnel would be more than worth the cost.

In structuring our national communications program to increase minority involvement in the Republican Party, I would suggest that we convene a meeting of all parties concerned to determine a cost figure.

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4. While I certainly believe that we are making tremendous inroads in gaining visibility through the minority media, I am convinced that the additional personnel would be more than worth the cost.

In strong support of the communications program to increase minority participation in the Republican Party, I would suggest that we convene a meeting of the committee concerned to determine a cost figure.

*tie from Mrs. Mann
Franklin
Coach*



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Republican
National
Committee.

April 24, 1972

M E M O R A N D U M

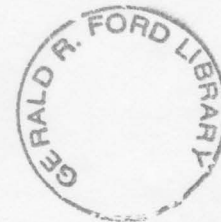
TO: Bob Brown

FROM: Ed Sexton *E. S.*

SUBJ: Enclosed Reports on(1) The Political Impact of the Black Voter, (2) A Proposal for the Organization of A Network of "Young Black Friends for the Re-Election of the President, and (3) The Black vote for 1968....

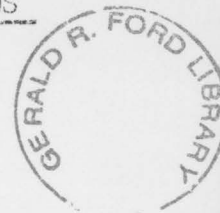
For your information.....

I submitted the proposal of "Young Black Friends to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President hoping they will institute this program for getting more young Blacks in the Party.



TITLE: A PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A NETWORK OF "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS
FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

By Robert Brown, Center on Political and Governmental
Institutions at Shaw University



THE PROBLEM: During the last decade Black youth, particularly Black students, enthusiastically worked in the Black community, urging and assisting the masses of Black people to vote. As the decade was ushered in, Black youth had taken to the streets, an indication of the mass turmoil that characterized Black activity in the years that followed. On April 17, 1960 Black students attended a "Youth Leadership Meeting" held on the Raleigh campus of Shaw University. That meeting set the stage for most of the events that have since transpired. It was attended by a host of then student leaders from Black schools throughout the south---most of whom have gone on to become the leaders of the host of organizations and groups that grew out of the "Civil Rights movement".

By August of the following year, the trend was shifting away from massive sit-ins, freedom rides and demonstrations, and a hard core of Black youth began to concentrate on registering Black voters across the Black Belt south. A "voter registration" school was opened in Pike County, Mississippi signaling the opening of a massive voter registration drive that eventually stretched from the tidewaters of Virginia into East Texas. This voter effort was the formative experience for many of the present day young "Black radicals". One of the striking characteristics of the 1962-64 voter reports by these young students had been their INTELLECTUAL quality. No other group of toilers in an American political adventure had approached the commonplace activity of registering and voting with the thoughtful, philosophical abstractions used by these youth. It is no wonder that the idealism that characterized the "1964 Mississippi Summer Project" turned to bitterness with the "movements"

first major excursion into the harsh big leagues of professional politics, the fiasco at the Atlantic City Democratic National Convention.

The roots and causes of despair and alienation were in evidence during all the 1962-64 voter drive. But until the summer of 1964, idealism and the sweet spirit of such campaigns as southwest Georgia and Ruleville, Mississippi still gave the predominant tone. The challenge of the Mississippi delegation at the Democratic Convention at Atlantic City was the climax of the "Freedom Summer of 1964", and the nearest to victory the voter effort had then come. It was also the turning point for the young "Black radicals" away from the hope of gaining their ends through the mainstream.



Black registration from 1952 to 1962 increased by a meager 400,000 voters. But from 1962 to 1964, thanks to the efforts of thousands of these Black youth in the South, Black registration increased by 700,000. In 1970, some 6,971,000 Blacks (61% of all Black persons of voting age) had registered to vote. A further breakdown shows that some 3,565,000 (or 58% of those eligible in the South) had registered, and an additional 3,406,000 (65%) had registered in the North and West. When we add the 3.8 million new young Black voters eligible to vote in this election for the first time, we get a clear picture of the enormity of the Black voting population and its potential.

The increased participation of Black youth in the formal body-politics rewarded some, and disappointed and frustrated others. Because they lacked a clear understanding of the "real" as opposed to "idealistic" American electoral process, because Black youth as an interest group had no identifiable investment in the

electoral system or economic stake in the government, and because they were denied meaningful participation in and access to it; they lacked direction and were moved by fads and past-times. A still larger group of Black youth remained uninspired and unwilling to participate in the electoral process. The non-participants fall into roughly two major categories:

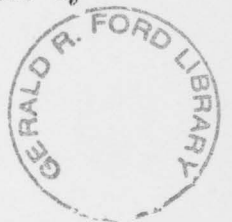
(1) Those who because of tradition, the general culture of racism and apathy; do not or have not been motivated to participate. And,

(2) Those who became disgusted and disillusioned, and who now believe that there is nothing of significance to be gained by further participation in electoral politics.

The existence of this latter group was demonstrated by the large attendance of young Blacks at the "National Black Political Convention" that was recently held in Gary, Indiana. Quite a few of the members of this group did receive "individual rewards" as a result of their participation in the larger Black voter effort, and yet, some are still disillusioned. The text of the "National Black Political Agenda" whose theme was: "BLACK POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS" is a mirror of their confusion and frustration. Indicative of the frustration was a statement made by one member of this group:

"What happens when you look back and see that all the things you fought for, the things you won as well as those you lost, the things you dreamed of and the things you were promised; weren't what you really needed or wanted after all. How does a man condemn himself? What happens when he wakes up to see that he has ceased to serve a useful, constructive purpose---that in fact he may have never served it? He just keeps on keepin' on! That's why I'm here!."

This polity of rebellion that Black youth have been engaged in has born a harvest of bitter fruit. Rebellion involves a genuine transvaluation where the direct or vicarious experience of frustration leads to full denunciation of previously prized values and goals. It involves a sour-grapes pattern which asserts that

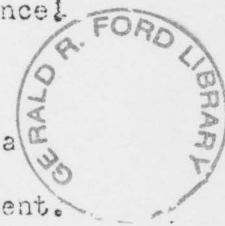


desired but unattainable goals do not actually embody prized values.

In other words, the fox we read about in the fable does not seek to escape from his reality by saying that he does not want to taste sweet grapes, he only says that these grapes are not sweet. But, the rebellious fox simply renounces the prevailing taste for grapes---sweet or sour. He seeks to escape by renouncing the struggle in which he once engaged because the search did not bear the desired fruit.

The challenge laid down by this type of behavior and for which this proposal is developed is obvious then. How do we renew Black youth's faith in the American Promise? How do we develop new programs, patterns of action and modes of response which will move Black youth beyond a "childish" fascination with current fads and past-times? How do we answer and in fact straighten out their confusion, and move another generation of Black youth to new levels of commitment to and action within the electoral process? How do we help them understand their role in and the necessity for their participation in the "system"? How do we help them understand that the system they help save is their own? It will not be an easy task, but it must be done. In our efforts we must shun easy solutions, glamour and grandiose plans and promises. They are the root causes of inflated expectations and the resultant despair that follows broken promises. Our only promise is performance!

WHAT WE PROPOSE TO DO: The role of this proposal can be likened to that of a medical officer who discovered that his patient was not responding to treatment. The doctor's first duty was to find out why. After removing the obstacle to response, he then applies. It will offer Black youth the tools and knowledge which will enable him to acquire the needed bargaining crutch for effective integration without violence, into the main stream of the American electoral process. It is our view that unless



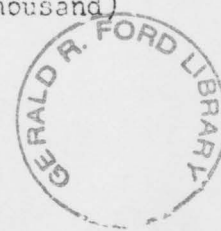
and untill this obstacle to meaningful participation in the electoral process is removed, no legislation, welfare program or other stop-gap remedies will be effective. To achieve this objective, this proposal will:

- (1) Conduct a study on "THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK YOUTH IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL PROCESS", and
- (2) Identify, recruit and develop a nucleus of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT".

Viewed from a broad political perspective, this study of the participation and involvement of Black youth in the electoral process is of interest to political scientists in general and to the Presidents re-election efforts in specific. It directly relates to and can throw light upon a host of problems of the political behavior of Black youth, and can give us insights we do not as yet have about crucial policy issues and questions that effect them. Thus our study will serve three purposes:

- (1) It will identify for us the network of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT" which we are attempting to organize.
- (2) It will tell us a great deal about the voting habits and interests of this age group, and
- (3) It will develop guide-lines that may influence state and national policies concerning Black participation in the "democratic" process.

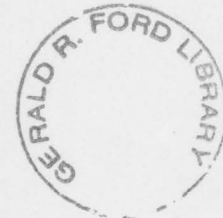
THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT: Our target group is the 18 to 25 year old Black voter. This group consititues some 3.8 million members, or 12% of the total 25 million new young voters eligible to vote for the first time. The group is almost evenly divided between male and female, with some 75% of the Black ^{males} and 50% of the Black females employed. About 23% of this group(some 522 thousand) are enrolled in college. A further breakdown shows that 27.6% (or 144 thousand) of these Black students are enrolled in the 144 predominantly Black colleges. The other 72.4% (378 thousand)



are enrolled in predominately white colleges. This Black student population will be our primary target because of its accessibility and concentration. We will also endeavor to appeal to and reach the working portion of this age group through the general use of Black media appeal.

Our target area is within the Black student population of those schools in the Southern and North Central regions of this country. This combined area constitute "middle Black America" and are the focal points of our concentration. It is noteworthy that 73% of all Black people live in this region, some 53% in the South and an additional 20% in the North Central region. Also, 73% of all Black women live in this combined area. We will focus our activities in the following states:

ALABAMA	ILLINOIS
ARKANSAS	INDIANA
FLORIDA	IOWA
GEORGIA	MICHIGAN
LOUISIANA	MISSOURI
MISSISSIPPI	OHIO
NORTH CAROLINA	OKLAHOMA
TENNESSEE	PENNSYLVANIA
TEXAS	KANSAS
VIRGINIA	WISCONSIN



THE APPROACH: There are basically three types of organizations on college campuses. One is the Black Student Union type of protest group. Another is the national network of organizations that are usually career oriented such as political science, economics, science, etc. clubs, the network of Young Republican and Democratic clubs, etc. The other is the network of fraternity, sorority and social organizations and clubs. Our organizing activity will focus on the latter two types because: (1) of their traditional conservativeness, and (2) because they tend to be more "system" oriented.

The study on "THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK YOUTH IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL

PROCESS" will enable us to initially, identify and recruit a network of 20 state co-ordinators who will become the nucleus of the network of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT". They will be recruited from among the student population at the following target schools:

SOUTHERN REGION:

Alabama A. & M., Normal, Ala.
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.
Arkansas A. M. & N., Pine Bluff, Ark.
Florida A. & M., Tallahassee, Fla.
Albany State, Albany, Ga.
Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.
Bethune Cookman, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Edward Waters College, Jacksonville, Fla.
Fort Valley State, Fort Valley, Ga.
Southern Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
Grambling Univ., Grambling, La.
Alcorn A. & M., Lorman, Miss.

Mississippi Valley State, Itta Bena, Miss.
Jackson State, Jackson, Miss.
Shaw Univ., Raleigh, N.C.
Kittrell College, Kittrell, N.C.
North Carolina Central, Durham, N.C.
Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.
Lemoyne-Owens College, Memphis, Tenn.
Tennessee State, Nashville, Tenn.
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.
Prairie View A. & M., Prairie View, Tex.
Tennessee A. & I., Nashville, Tenn.
Virginia State, Petersburg, Va.
Virginia Union, Richmond, Va.

NORTH CENTRAL REGION:

Bradley Univ., Peoria, Ill.
Eastern Ill. Univ.
Northern Ill. Univ., DeKalb, Ill.
Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.
Prairie State College, Chicago Heights, Ill.
Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale, Ill.
Univ of Ill., Champaign, Ill.
Indiana State
Indiana Univ., Indianapolis, Ind.
Kansas State Univ.
Univ. of Kansas
Central Michigan Univ.
Univ of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich.
Northern Michigan Univ.
Univ. of Michigan
Univ. of Missouri, Kansas City, Mo.
Univ. of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.
Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
Univ. of Akron, Akron, Ohio



Central State Univ., Wilberforce, Ohio
Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Ohio State, Columbus, Ohio
Univ. of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio
Wilberforce Univ., Wilberforce, Ohio
Langston Univ., Langston, Oklahoma
Oklahoma City Univ., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Lincoln Univ., Missouri
Bucknell College, Penn.
Lincoln Univ., Lincoln Penn.
Penn. State, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh Univ., Pittsburgh, Penn.
Cheyney State, Cheyney, Penn.
Drake Univ., Iowa
Iowa Univ., Iowa
Univ of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Penn.
Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio
Case Western Reserve, Ohio

After we have developed this skeletal network of state co-ordinators, a series of two or three day workshops will be held under the auspices of the Center

on Political and Governmental Institutions at Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C. These workshops will serve the dual purpose of allowing the network of co-ordinators to become familiar with and get to know the senior Black office holders in the present administration who are also working for the re-election of the President, as well as giving an opportunity to educate them in the philosophy, skills and techniques of the general Presidential effort. At all such events, speakers and guests will be chosen in co-operation with the senior Presidential re-election staff.

Phase two of this proposal involves a further development of the state network with the recruitment of 100 to 150 campus co-ordinators. Unlike the state co-ordinators, these campus co-ordinators will be part-time workers. Extensive travel will be undertaken by the state co-ordinators to visit the key schools with a sizeable Black student population to meet students and set up small core groups of those interest in aiding our election efforts. The use of political materials, training aids and organizational manuals that have developed by the senior Presidential re-election staff will aid our efforts. Additionally, a regularized correspondence exchange will be established to insure good communication and establish a sense of "belonging to a larger, national campaign effort". A series of campus, state, etc. meetings, workshops and conferences will be used. The theme: MEET LOCAL HEROES IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHO ARE APPOINTMENTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

Phase three involves a low-key voter education effort of general Black media appeal to neutralize this voting group and deliver 20 to 30% of of the votes to the Presidents re-election efforts. It is our contention that this group of Black voters are anxious for re-organization both in their communities and outside them. The key to our efforts is our ability not to antagonize this group by actions directed against them as a group. Our only promise is performance: the soft-sell.



OUR TIMETABLE: The total time span of this proposal is six (6) months, beginning in May and ending the first week of November. Our projected schedule is:

PHASE I: BEGINS MAY 1, 1972-----

TASKS TO BE PERFORMED	BY WHOM	COMPLETION DATE
1. Study on "THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK YOUTH IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL PROCESS"	Robert Brown, students and staff of CENTER ON POLITICAL & GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS, SHAW UNIV.	July 10, 1972
2. Identification and recruitment of the network of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT"	Same as above.	June 12, 1972
3. Series of workshops and meetings for training of Co-ordinators	Hosted by Students at Shaw Univ in conjunction with CENTER	August 7, 1972

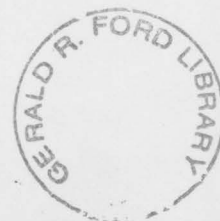
PHASE II: BEGINS AUGUST 7, 1972-----

TASKS TO BE PERFORMED	BY WHOM	COMPLETION DATE
1. Development of network of 100 to 150 Campus Co-ordinators	State Co-ordinators of the "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT"	September 15, 1972
2. Series of meetings, conferences to "MEET LOCAL HEROES OF BLACK COMMUNITY APPOINTED BY ADMINISTRATION"	Same as above.	September 29, 1972

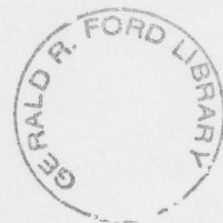
PHASE III: BEGINS OCTOBER 1, 1972-----

1. Low-key voter education effort of general Black media appeal to this Black voting group.	Black media clearinghouse Election Day in conjunction with "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS...."
2. Participation in election day efforts: getting the Black youth vote for the President out, poll watching, etc.	"YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS..." Election Day

THE "CENTER ON POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS": This proposal is viewed as as a project of the students of Shaw University ~~member and associate~~ of the CENTER ON POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS and Shaw's "UNIVERSITY WITHOUT



WALLS" program. The CENTER will assist the students in the co-ordination of this projected proposal. It will aid and assist them in the development, execution and production of the STUDY, and administer and disburse any and all funds necessary for the completion of the tasks outlined.



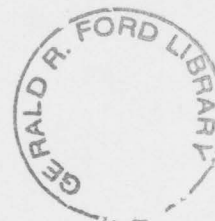
GEOGRAPHIC PLACEMENT OF STUDENT CO-ORDINATORS

STATE:	# PRIMARY SCHOOLS	# CO-ORDINATORS
/ ILLINOIS		
CHICAGO AREA	7	5
DOWNSTATE	7	4
2 NORTH CAROLINA	3 & Base Support	4
/ OHIO	8	4
2 PENNSYLVANIA	6	3
/ MICHIGAN	5	2
/ TENNESSEE	4	2
3 ARKANSAS	1	1
2 ALABAMA	3	1
2 GEORGIA	2	2
2 FLORIDA	3	2
3 MISSISSIPPI	3	1
/ MISSOURI	3	1
3 IOWA	2	1
/ INDIANA	2	1
3 KANSAS	2	1
3 OKLAHOMA	2	1
2 VIRGINIA	2	1
3 TEXAS	2	1
/ WISCONSIN	1	1
3 LOUISIANA	2	1
TOTAL 65		40

Region I - 7

Region II - 6

Region III - 7



Gallup has estimated that the Republican national ticket received 12 per cent of the non-white vote nationally. We have already shown that the Negro vote was 2.3 per cent of Nixon's 31,770,237 votes. This latter percentage is entirely consistent with the vote returns we have listed here.

Several factors must be considered in this analysis and commentary context.

- (1) Despite the many dislocations in the nation this past year, a surprising pattern of normality emerged from vote returns from urban area votes. Democrats still retained a firm hold on black voters.
- (2) In terms of big city vote, CBS found that the larger the city, the larger the vote for Humphrey. This is demonstrated in our precinct analysis.
- (3) "Because of declining populations and/or voter disaffection in 1968, voter turnouts in the largest and most electorally important cities and urban counties fell off sharply from 1960." Some examples are:

<u>City</u>	<u>Vote off from 1960</u>
New York	- 478,819
Chicago	- 240,898
Pittsburgh	- 246,935
Detroit	- 137,483
Philadelphia	- 87,904
Cleveland	- 51,815

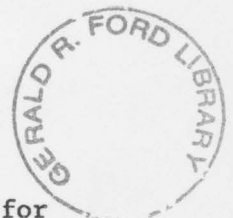


(Source: Congressional Quarterly, 12/6/68)

- (4) These vote declines were most costly to Humphrey. Had he equalled Johnson's performance in 1964 or Kennedy's in 1960, the final electoral count would have been far different. Examples are an expanded Chicago vote winning Illinois for him, an expanded Los Angeles vote winning California for him, or an expanded Cleveland vote winning Ohio for him.
- (5) If any pattern emerges from our vote analysis here, it is that generally the Republican national ticket drew less well in the black wards and precincts than state or local candidates. Congressional Quarterly described this in another way -- lack of coattail strength in many areas actually devolved into top-of-the-ticket weakness in many urban areas. Particularly interesting examples of this condition are (A) Texas, where Mr. Nixon received an average of 1.4 per cent of the black votes in Houston's 41 predominantly Negro precincts. Gubernatorial candidate Eggers, by contrast, received an average of 31.0 per cent of the same vote; (B) Tulsa, Oklahoma, where Nixon received an average of 5.3 per cent of the black vote, while Senator Henry Bellmon received 9.4 per cent; (C) Arkansas contains 12 counties which have a majority of black voters. Those counties gave a 53.7 average majority to Governor Rockefeller as opposed to a state total of 52.1 per cent. The GOP national ticket, by contrast, drew 31.0 per cent of the state vote (see following chart).



- (6) Many other examples of this latter condition are to be found in analysis of the precinct returns developed here.
- (7) The Republican Party ran attractive candidates in many areas of the nation with whom the Negro could identify and support, thereby breaking a traditional Democratic hold on black voting areas. A particular example is the Rockhold (R) vs. Rarick (D) contest in Baton Rouge for the 6th Congressional District seat in Louisiana. This demonstrates that the GOP can effectively compete for black votes, given attractive candidates and issue appeal.
- (8) Many other conclusions can be drawn from the precinct and ward figures we have developed here. All of them point to the need for a comprehensive Republican effort to compete effectively for urban area Negro votes. We can not afford to by-pass these efforts, or extend lesser priority to them and expect to regain majority status as an American political party.



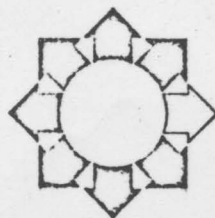
We have included a New York Times final vote return chart for the Presidential race as a reference point in relation to the vote analysis we have performed here. It appears on the next page.

THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE BLACK VOTER

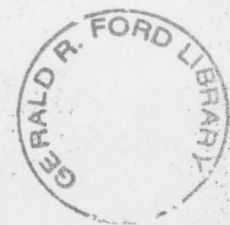
In 1968, one of every five votes received by Hubert Humphrey was cast by a Black.¹ In California in November in 1970, almost nine out of every ten Black voters who cast ballots favored Unruh over Reagan, giving the Democratic gubernatorial candidate a margin of 240,000 Black votes. Clearly, Black voters currently represent a considerable bloc of strength for the Democratic Party. On the other hand, some leaders in the Black political movement, such as New York's Republican Shirley Chisholm and Georgia State Legislator Julian Bond, along with Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes and Detroit Congressman John Conyers, are saying, "We aren't going to let the Democratic Party take the Black vote for granted anymore". It is extremely doubtful that this potential split will accrue directly to the benefit of the Republican Party; nevertheless, there is no question that the Republican Party can do considerably more to develop its strength among the Blacks and other minority groups.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Republican Party and its candidates as perceived by the Black, the Mexican-American and the Oriental, using a random sample of members of these minority groups interviewed in California. First, however, the demographic, economic and political characteristics of each minority group will be compared to the universe of voters in California to provide a perspective of racial minority groupings.

¹Time, December 20, 1971.



Decision Making Information

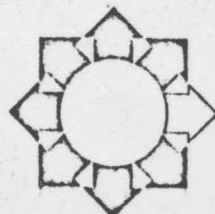
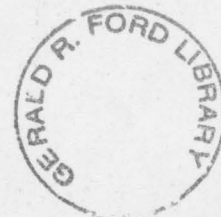


OVERVIEW AND STATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES

The primary purpose of this analysis is to identify the prevailing attitudes of three minority groups--the Blacks, the Mexican-Americans, and the Orientals--toward politics generally and, more specifically, toward the two major political parties. On the basis of that analysis, some recommendation will be made as to how the Republican Party may use its comparative advantages to improve its political position with the minority groups.

The analysis will be broken into five major sections:

1. The political impact of the Black voter.
2. The demographic, economic and political characteristics of Blacks, Mexican-Americans and Orientals.
3. Attitudes of ethnic minority groups toward:
 - a. The most important issues facing the nation today, and
 - b. The most important problems facing the state today.
4. The image of the Republican and Democratic Parties generally as held by racial minorities.
5. The perceived capability of the two major parties to deal with the problems of unemployment, racial problems, and inflation.



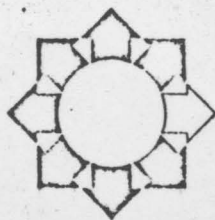
Decision Making Information

DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS

While comparisons are frequently drawn elsewhere on the basis of an entire subgroup such as the "Blacks" or the "Mexican-Americans" or the "Orientals", it is particularly relevant for this study to select from those groups only those who identify themselves as voters or potential voters.

The following table shows comparisons of the Black, Mexican-American, and Oriental voters against the Southern California voter in general. (It should be remembered that, due to the small number in the sample, percentages for the Oriental group must be interpreted with care.) The table indicates that:

- A considerably larger proportion of Mexican-Americans in the 18-20 age bracket are interested in voting than 18-20 year olds in any other group.
- Among those 65 and over, the racial minorities show fewer who vote or care about voting than the population at large.
- Educational level is the poorest among Mexican-Americans; specifically, only 6% of the Southern California voting population has received an education of "grade school or less," while 11% Blacks and 25% Mexican-Americans fall into that same category. 21% Southern Californians at large are college graduates; 9% Blacks and only 5% Mexican-Americans.



Decision Making Information



--Unemployment is much higher among Blacks and Mexican-Americans.

--Income among Blacks and Mexican-Americans falls predominately into the "Under \$10,000" bracket--64% and 63% respectively.

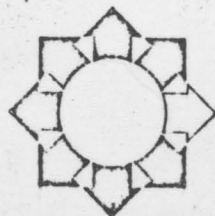
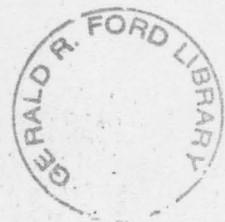
Differences among minority group voters are similar to the voting population at large, but more exaggerated. For instance:

--Proportionally, twice as many are under 20 years of age.

--Twice as many Blacks have only a grade school education.

--Four times as many Mexican-Americans have only a grade school education.

--Proportionally less than one-half as many Blacks are college graduates; one-fourth as many Mexican-Americans in this category.



Decision Making Information

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VOTERS AND PROBABLE VOTERS

AGE

	<u>So. Cal</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>- Mexican American</u>	<u>Oriental</u>
18-20	4.6	7.2	10.4	11.6
21-24	8.1	8.9	16.7	4.7
25-34	23.7	24.4	27.7	32.6
35-44	21.0	22.2	21.4	16.3
45-54	17.5	16.8	13.8	25.6
55-64	11.7	11.6	6.9	7.0
65 +	10.6	4.7	2.5	2.3
	7.8	4.2	.6	.0

EDUCATION

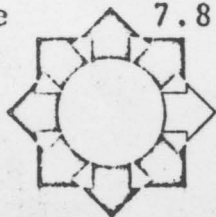
Grade	5.9	11.4	24.5	.0
Some high	9.3	17.3	20.8	20.9
High grad	33.1	36.0	30.8	23.3
Some col	28.8	24.9	17.0	9.3
Col. grad.	16.1	6.4	3.8	9.3
Post grad.	5.2	2.5	1.6	16.3
	1.6	1.5	1.6	4.7

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

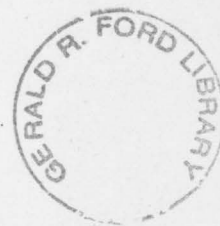
Full	54.7	48.0	47.4	75.0
Part	7.6	9.6	5.6	.0
Not	33.0	23.6	34.4	20.8
Un	4.8	18.8	12.6	4.2

FAMILY INCOME I

Under 10,000	38.9	64.4	62.9	34.9
Over 10,000	53.3	30.4	31.9	60.5
No response	7.8	5.2	5.2	4.7



Decision Making Information

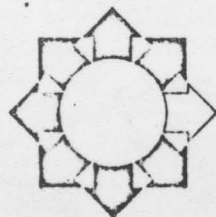
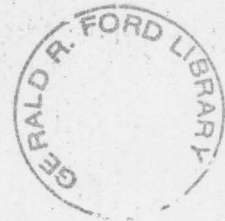


POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF
BLACKS, MEXICAN-AMERICANS, AND ORIENTALS:

NATIONAL AND STATE PROBLEMS

National Problems - Those of minority groups surveyed rated the importance of various national problems similarly, in general, to the larger control group of all voters in the population. They were more concerned about the Vietnam War, racial problems and discrimination than the population at large, but ranked problems of unemployment and taxes vary similarly.

State Problems - When asked to identify the most important state problem, the minority groups placed considerably more importance on unemployment and other economic issues than did the electorate in general, even though these economic problems are of primary concern to the general voting population as well.



Decision Making Information

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM
FACING THE NATION TODAY?

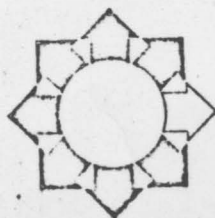
		FREQ	PERCENT 1	PERCENT 2
ANS	1 IS VIETNAM WAR	166	21.7	21.8
ANS	2 IS WORLD PEACE	9	1.2	1.2
ANS	3 IS DEVALUATION	19	2.5	2.5
ANS	4 IS RACIAL PROBLEMS	36	4.7	4.7
ANS	5 IS DISCRIMINATION	41	5.4	5.4
ANS	6 IS EDUCATION/POOR FUNDS	4	.5	.5
ANS	7 IS EDUCATION/POOR QUALITY	15	2.0	2.0
ANS	8 IS SOCIAL UNREST	29	3.8	3.8
ANS	9 IS RIOTING	12	1.6	1.6
ANS	10 IS CAMPUS UNREST	0	.0	.0
ANS	11 IS YOUTH	18	2.3	2.4
ANS	12 IS DRUGS	45	5.9	5.9
ANS	13 IS CRIME/LAW ENFORCE	26	3.4	3.4
ANS	14 IS GOVERNMENT	15	2.0	2.0
ANS	15 IS TAXES	19	2.5	2.5
ANS	16 IS INFLATION	35	4.6	4.6
ANS	17 IS WELFARE	9	1.2	1.2
ANS	18 IS POVERTY	14	1.8	1.8
ANS	19 IS ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	133	17.4	17.4
ANS	20 IS AIR POLLUTION	32	4.2	4.2
ANS	21 IS WATER POLLUTION	1	.1	.1
ANS	22 IS ECOLOGY	3	.4	.4
ANS	23 IS COMMUNISM	1	.1	.1
ANS	24 IS OVERPOPULATION	3	.4	.4
ANS	25 IS OTHER	22	2.9	2.9
ANS	26 IS NOTHING	7	.9	.9
ANS	27 IS DONT KNOW/NO OPIN	46	6.0	6.0
ANS	28 IS REFUSED	3	.4	.4

NON-RESPONSE
TOTALS

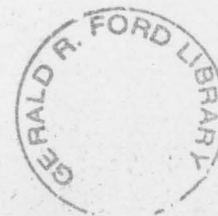
3
766

.4
100.3

100.1

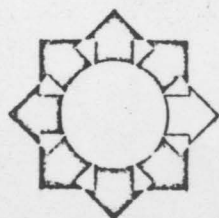


Decision Making Information



WHAT WOULD YOU CONSIDER THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM
FACING THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA TODAY?

		FREQ	PERCENT 1	PERCENT 2
ANS	1 IS TAXES	93	12.1	14.0
ANS	2 IS CAMPUS UNREST	1	.1	.2
ANS	3 IS EDCTN/FINANCING	18	2.3	2.7
ANS	4 IS EDCTN/QUALITY	30	3.9	4.5
ANS	5 IS YOUTH	10	1.3	1.5
ANS	6 IS NARCOTICS	30	3.9	4.5
ANS	7 IS LAW ENFORCEMENT	20	2.6	3.0
ANS	8 IS WELFARE/TOO MUCH	55	7.2	8.3
ANS	9 IS WELFARE/MOR NEEDED	15	2.0	2.3
ANS	10 IS POPULATION GROWTH	15	2.0	2.3
ANS	11 IS AIR POLLUTION	76	9.9	11.5
ANS	12 IS WATER POLLUTION	6	.8	.9
ANS	13 IS CONS/NAT RESOURCS	1	.1	.2
ANS	14 IS RACIAL PROBLEMS	17	2.2	2.6
ANS	15 IS MORAL DECAY	6	.8	.9
ANS	16 IS STATE GOVT	8	1.0	1.2
ANS	17 IS GOV REAGAN	21	2.7	3.2
ANS	18 IS TRAFFIC/ROADS/STRT	11	1.4	1.7
ANS	19 IS INFLATION	23	3.7	4.2
ANS	20 IS HOUSING	4	.5	.6
ANS	21 IS MENTAL HEALTH	1	.1	.2
ANS	22 IS UNEMPLOYMENT	101	13.2	15.2
ANS	23 IS OTHER	31	4.0	4.7
ANS	24 IS NOTHING/NO PROB	6	.8	.9
ANS	25 IS DONT KNOW/NO OPIN	57	7.4	8.6
ANS	26 IS REFUSED	2	.3	.3
	NON-RESPONSE	103	13.4	
	TOTALS	766	99.7	100.2



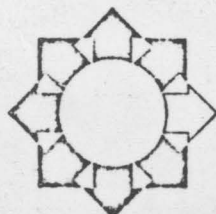
Decision Making Information

IMAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN AND
DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

Great convergence between the minority groups and the community at large surfaces when attitudes toward candidates and the two major parties are measured. When asked the probability of voting for Nixon, minority groups gave him slightly more than half the vote support given by the population at large. This is not too surprising in light of the party affiliation of the minority groups. (See Table below.) While minorities were less favorable toward the new Nixon economic program, their divergence from the population at large was comparatively minor--as many minority group members favored Nixon's economic program as opposed it.

GENERALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE A REPUBLICAN
OR A DEMOCRAT?

Republican	13.2% - 12
Democrat	67.2% - 80.2 - 13
Independent	12.7% 4.8



Decision Making Information

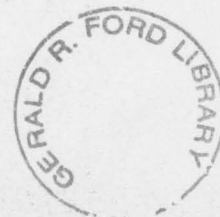
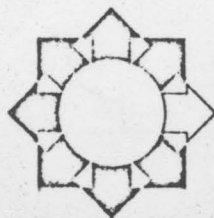


Image of the Republican Party - Those interviewed were asked the following question: "Now, I'd like to ask you what your image or mental picture is of each of the two major political parties. First of all, what first comes to mind when you think of the Republican Party?" While a full one-fifth (20%) of those interviewed had no opinion, twenty-two percent (22%) mentioned something negative relative to the Republican Party. Sixteen percent (16%) said it was the rich man's party, eight percent (8%) said it was conservative, six percent (6%) associated it with big business, and six percent (6%) blamed the present economic conditions on the Republican Party. Only five percent (5%) of the minority group mentioned something positive about the party, and seventeen percent (17%) responded in ways that could best be described as neutral.

As can be seen from Table 2, page 35, Blacks and Mexican-Americans hold a quite similar image of the Republican Party. Orientals, on the other hand, view the party considerably more positively than either Blacks or Mexican-Americans.

Image of the Democratic Party - While the Democratic Party is not generally held in high esteem by the minority groups, its image is still more positive than that of the Republican Party. Twenty-two percent (22%) of those interviewed mentioned something positive about the Democratic Party. A full twenty-five percent (25%) said that it favored the working man with two percent (2%) associating it with equal rights. Only thirteen percent (13%) mentioned something negative



Decision Making Information

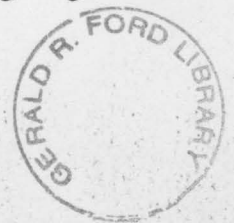
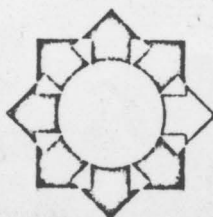


Image of Republican Party:

National vs. California vs. California Minority Groups

("Now I'd like to ask you what your image or mental picture is of each of the two major political parties. First of all, what comes to mind when you think of the Republican Party?")

	California (All Voters)	National (Young Voters)	California (Minority Voters)
Conservative	14%	12%	8%
Big Business	7	5	6
Rich Man's Party	8	4	16
Ruined Economic Conditions	2	6	6
Other Negative Responses	18	17	22
Other Positive Responses	11	9	5
Other Neutral Responses	9	3	7
Symbol; Elephant; The President	15	15	10
Don't Know/No Op.	16	29	20



Decision Making Information

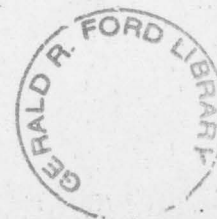
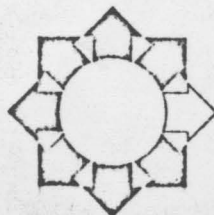


Image of Democratic Party:

National vs. California vs. California Minority Groups

("Next, what first comes to mind when you think of the Democratic Party?")

	California (All Voters)	National (Young Voters)	California (Minority Voters)
Liberal	14%	7%	7%
Favors Working Man	15	8	(25)
Divided Party	1	--	1
Other Negative Responses	19	15	13
Other Positive Responses	14	14	(22)
Other Neutral Responses	8	9	6
Favors Equal Rights (Minorities)	1	5	2
Symbol; Donkey; or Specific Man	10	11	6
Don't Know/No Cp.	18	31	18



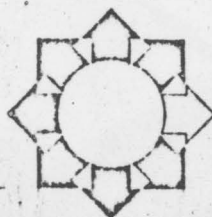
Decision Making Information

Image of Republican/Democratic Parties:

Positive, Negative and Neutral Responses

("What first comes to mind when you think of the Republican/
Democratic Party?")

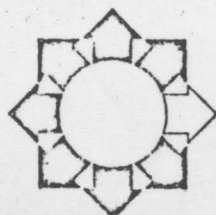
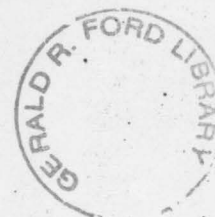
	California (All Voters)		National (Young Voters)		California (Minority Voters)	
	Demo.	Rep.	Demo.	Rep.	Demo.	Rep.
Positive	30%	11%	27%	9%	49%	5%
Negative	20	35	15	32	14	50
Neutral	32	38	27	30	19	25
Don't Know/No Op.	18	16	31	29	18	20



Decision Making Information

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU WHAT YOUR IMAGE OR MENTAL
 PICTURE IS OF EACH OF THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES.
 FIRST OF ALL, WHAT FIRST COMES TO MIND WHEN YOU THINK OF
 THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

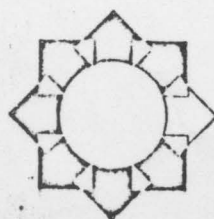
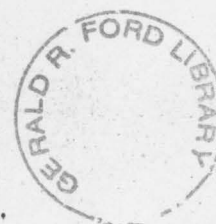
		FREQ	PERCENT 1	PERCENT 2
ANS	1 IS CONSERVATIVE	59	7.7	<u>7.9</u>
ANS	2 IS BIG BUSINESS	42	5.5	<u>5.6</u>
ANS	3 IS RICH MAN'S PARTY	121	15.8	<u>16.2</u>
ANS	4 IS RUINED ECON COND	43	5.6	<u>5.8</u>
ANS	5 IS OTHER NEGATIV RESP	167	21.8	<u>22.4</u>
ANS	6 IS OTHER POSITIVE RES	37	4.8	<u>5.0</u>
ANS	7 IS OTHER NEUTRAL RES	55	7.2	<u>7.4</u>
ANS	8 IS SNEL/PRES/ELEPHANT	71	9.3	<u>9.5</u>
ANS	9 IS DONT KNOW/NO OPIN	150	19.6	<u>20.1</u>
	NON-RESPONSE	21	2.7	
	TOTALS	766	100.0	99.9



Decision Making Information

AND WHAT COMES FIRST TO MIND WHEN YOU THINK OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

		FREQ	PERCENT 1	PERCENT 2
ANS	1 IS LIBERAL	55	7.2	7.5
ANS	2 IS FAVOR WORKING CLAS	181	23.6	24.6
ANS	3 IS DIVIDED PARTY	7	.9	1.0
ANS	4 IS OTHER NEGATIVE RES	92	12.0	12.5
ANS	5 IS OTHER POSITIVE RES	161	21.0	21.9
ANS	6 IS EQUAL RIGHTS	17	2.2	2.3
ANS	7 IS OTHER/NEUTRAL RESP	45	5.9	6.1
ANS	8 IS SPCL/SPECIFIC MEN	46	6.0	6.3
ANS	9 IS DONT KNOW/NO OPIN	131	17.1	17.8
	NON-RESPONSE	31	4.0	
	TOTALS	766	99.9	100.0



Decision Making Information

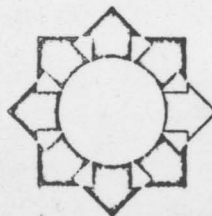
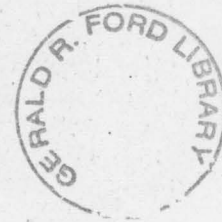
about the party and one percent (1%) called it a divided party. As was true for the Republican Party among minority groups, there is close similarity between the attitudes of Blacks and Mexican-Americans. However, fewer Mexican-Americans than Blacks associated the party with equal rights. (See Table 3, page 36)

Attitude Toward the Republican Party - Among Blacks, the highest proportion of negative-to-positive responses occurs between the ages of 25 to 54 (see table following). While it cannot be said that the image of the Republican Party is particularly good among any Black age group, it is apparently the best among those 65 and over. Somewhat surprisingly, those 18 to 24 are considerably less negative than the "middle-age" types.

The young Blacks (18 to 20) seem to be more positively inclined toward the Republican Party -- less politicized.

Negative responses among Mexican-American age sub-groups are not so strong as among Blacks; however, there are more in the neutral position, rather than the positive one.

Clearly, few Mexican-Americans, or Blacks, or Orientals, have anything positive to say about the Republican Party.



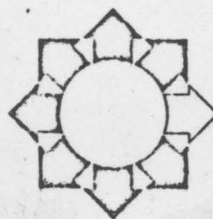
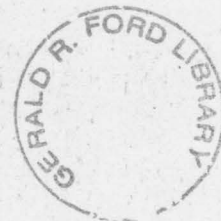
Decision Making Information

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE REPUBLICAN PARTY BY AGE

Blacks

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>. Neutral/ No Opinion</u>
18-20 (27)*	11.1	51.8	37.0
21-24 (35)	5.7	48.5	45.7
25-34 (99)	1.0	65.7	33.4
35-44 (88)	.0	75.0	25.1
45-54 (64)	4.7	70.3	25.0
55-64 (46)	6.5	52.1	41.2
65 + (19)	26.3	47.4	26.3

* Number of interviews



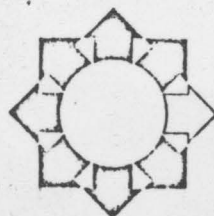
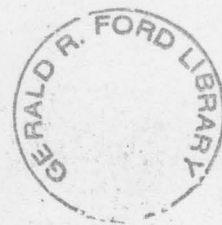
Decision Making Information

ATTITUDE TOWARD REPUBLICAN PARTY BY AGE

Mexican-American

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Neutral/ No Opinion</u>
18-20 (32)*	3.1	37.5	59.4
21-24 (50)	2.0	62.0	36.0
25-34 (86)	4.7	47.7	47.7
35-44 (66)	7.6	59.1	33.3
45-54 (42)	4.8	54.8	40.4
55-64 (21)	4.8	28.7	42.9
65 + (8)	12.5	62.5	25.0

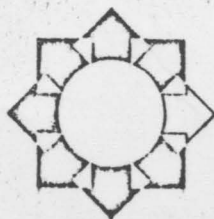
* Number of interviews



Decision Making Information

Attitudes Toward the Republican Party by Family Income - Negative

responses regarding the image of the Republican Party were high among all Black family-income groups; even among those with annual incomes over \$10,000.00. The pattern among the Mexican-Americans in our sample was much the same. However, somewhat less negative responses were received from those with incomes over \$10,000. For the Orientals in our sample, the results differ slightly, but are too small to carry much weight.



Decision Making Information

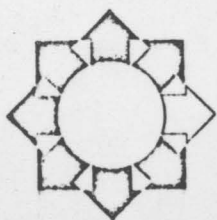
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
BY FAMILY INCOME

	<u>Black</u>		
	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral/No Opinion</u>
Under \$10,000 (256) *	61.8	5.1	33.2
Over \$10,000 (121)	66.2	3.3	30.6
No Answer (18)	72.3	.0	27.8

	<u>Mexican-American</u>		
Under \$10,000 (185)	63.1	6.5	38.4
Over \$10,000 (99)	51.6	3.0	45.5
No Answer (15)	33.4	.0	66.6

	<u>Oriental</u>		
Under \$10,000 (15)	20.0	13.3	66.7
Over \$10,000 (26)	53.7	7.7	38.4
No Answer (2)	50.0	50.0	.0

* Number of interviews



Decision Making Information

WHICH PARTY CAN BEST SERVE?

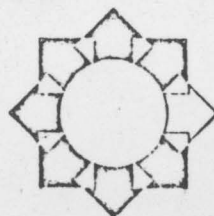
The following table summarizes responses to the question, "In your opinion, which political party can best deal with..." A perusal of that table indicates that Republicans are more often mentioned as being able to cope with inflation than any other problem. While only slightly more than one out of four (23%) identified the Republicans positively with the inflation issue, that figure is considerably higher than the proportion who rank it favorably in dealing with unemployment (13%), as favoring the elderly (16%), or as favoring the Blacks (7%).

Comparative rating for the Republican Party can be determined by dividing the percentage of those who identify it as best able to deal with a problem by those who believe the Democrats are better able to handle the same problem. The comparative strength of the Republican Party by issue, using this measure, emerges as:

Inflation	.42
Unemployment	.20
Racial Problems	.17



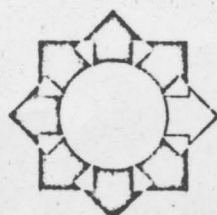
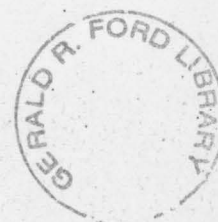
Note that a ratio of 1.00 would signify equal proportions identifying the Republican Party and Democratic Party as "best".



Decision Making Information

In favoring certain subgroups, using the same comparative measure, the Republican Party is seen as being more aligned with the blue collar worker rather than the elderly or the Blacks:

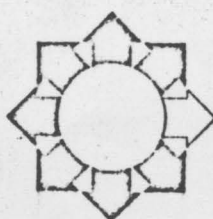
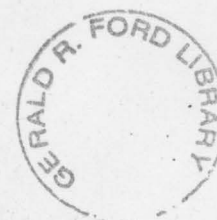
Blue Collar Worker	.51
Elderly	.25
Blacks	.12



Decision Making Information

"In Your Opinion, Which Political Party Can.....?"

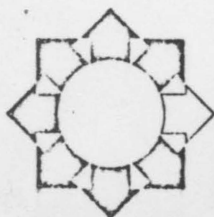
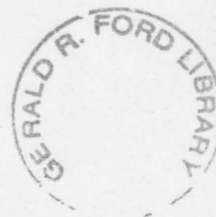
	Republican	Democrat	Both	Neither	Don't Know
...best deal with unemployment?	13%	66%	3%	5%	13%
...best deal with racial problems?	11	64	4	8	13
...best handle inflation?	23	55	3	6	13
...favors old people?	16	64	3	4	13
...favors Blacks?	8	65	4	7	16
...favors blue collar workers?	27	52	2	5	15



Decision Making Information

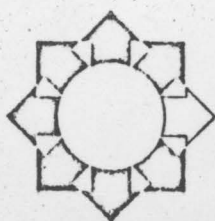
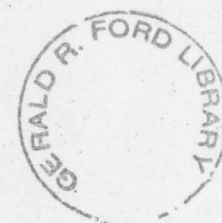
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Minority voters, like their populations at large, are:
 - a. Less educated
 - b. More unemployed
 - c. More Democraticthan other Californians
2. Minority voters consider the Vietnam War and the economic conditions to be far and away, the most important problems facing our nation. In California, their biggest concerns are taxes, unemployment, and air pollution.
3. Clearly, the Democratic party is the one favored by the majority of Southern California's minority voters. 67% consider themselves Democrats, as opposed to 13% who consider themselves Republicans; only 5% have a favorable image of the Republican party, while 28% have a favorable image of the Democratic party.
4. In no case is the Republican party viewed by minority group voters as more capable than the Democratic of handling a specific problem or issue.



Decision Making Information

The present attitudes held by Blacks and Mexican-Americans--clearly not favorable to Republicans--have been decades in forming. It cannot be expected that those attitudes are going to be dramatically altered quickly. Nevertheless, the Republican Party can, in the future, present a more viable alternative to the Democrats than it has in the past, especially among the younger voters and those experiencing upward economic mobility, who are much less politicized, by emphasizing the "bread basket issues" which are of prime concern to this group.



Decision Making Information

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT J. BROWN

FROM: PAUL A. LAVRAKAS

SUBJECT: Proposal for Strategy Regarding Young Black Vote

The author of this proposal recommends that,

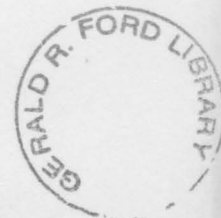
- a. A study be conducted on the expected participation of the young black voter in the electoral process.
- b. An effort be made to identify, recruit and develop a nucleus of "Young Black Friends for the Re-election of the President".

The first idea is valid, but it is doubtful that there is enough time to carry it out before the election. Therefore, efforts should be concentrated on the second recommendation.

The author wisely picks campuses of the South and North Central regions with large black population as the focal points for recruiting a young black Republican nucleus. Efforts in the East or Pacific Coast areas would be wasted effort.

Three phases are outlined:

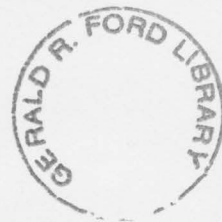
- a. State coordinators are selected and meet for a workshop at Shaw University.
- b. A network is developed with the recruitment of 100-150 campus coordinators.
- c. A low-key voter education effort be launched to win 20% to 30% of young black votes.



To effect the latter, black Administration appointees would visit these campuses to participate in a series of meetings, workshops and conferences.

The overall idea sounds good, and I recommend something be done. Emphasis should be placed particularly on black colleges in the South where the most receptive audiences will probably be found.

Attachment



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK
BOB BROWN
STAN SCOTT
KEN RIETZ
TOM BELL

FROM:

PAUL R. JONES

The attached proposal, by a young Black Shaw University student, sets out his ideas for student involvement during the months ahead in connection with re-election efforts. Please let me have your comments and any indication of interest in further follow-up.

Thanks.



Home 4000
3910-D Marcom
Raleigh, N.C. Rd.

TITLE: A PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A NETWORK OF "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS
FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

By Robert Brown, Center on Political and Governmental
Institutions at Shaw University

THE PROBLEM: During the last decade Black youth, particularly Black students, enthusiastically worked in the Black community, urging and assisting the masses of Black people to vote. As the decade was ushered in, Black youth had taken to the streets, an indication of the mass turmoil that characterized Black activity in the years that followed. On April 17, 1960 Black students attended a "Youth Leadership Meeting" held on the Raleigh campus of Shaw University. That meeting set the stage for most of the events that have since transpired. It was attended by a host of then student leaders from Black schools throughout the south---most of whom have gone on to become the leaders of the host of organizations and groups that grew out of the "Civil Rights movement".

By August of the following year, the trend was shifting away from massive sit-ins, freedom rides and demonstrations, and a hard core of Black youth began to concentrate on registering Black voters across the Black Belt south. A "voter registration" school was opened in Pike County, Mississippi signaling the opening of a massive voter registration drive that eventually stretched from the tidewaters of Virginia into East Texas. This voter effort was the formative experience for many of the present day young "Black radicals". One of the striking characteristics of the 1962-64 voter reports by these young students had been their INTELLECTUAL quality. No other group of toilers in an American political adventure had approached the commonplace activity of registering and voting with the thoughtful, philosophical abstractions used by these youth. It is no wonder that the idealism that characterized the "1964 Mississippi Summer Project" turned to bitterness with the "movements"



first major excursion into the harsh big leagues of professional politics, the fiasco at the Atlantic City Democratic National Convention.

The roots and causes of despair and alienation were in evidence during all the 1962-64 voter drive. But until the summer of 1964, idealism and the sweet spirit of such campaigns as southwest Georgia and Ruleville, Mississippi still gave the predominant tone. The challenge of the Mississippi delegation at the Democratic Convention at Atlantic City was the climax of the "Freedom Summer of 1964", and the nearest to victory the voter effort had then come. It was also the turning point for the young "Black radicals" away from the hope of gaining their ends through the mainstream.

Black registration from 1952 to 1962 increased by a meager 400,000 voters. But from 1962 to 1964, thanks to the efforts of thousands of these Black youth in the South, Black registration increased by 700,000. In 1970, some 6,971,000 Blacks (61% of all Black persons of voting age) had registered to vote. A further breakdown shows that some 3,565,000 (or 58% of those eligible in the South) had registered, and an additional 3,406,000 (65%) had registered in the North and West. When we add the 3.8 million new young Black voters eligible to vote in this election for the first time, we get a clear picture of the enormity of the Black voting population and its potential.

The increased participation of Black youth in the formal body-politics rewarded some, and disappointed and frustrated others. Because they lacked a clear understanding of the "real" as opposed to "idealistic" American electoral process, because Black youth as an interest group had no identifiable investment in the



electoral system or economic stake in the government, and because they were denied meaningful participation in and access to it; they lacked direction and were moved by fads and past-times. A still larger group of Black youth remained uninspired and unwilling to participate in the electoral process. The non-participants fall into roughly two major categories:

(1) Those who because of tradition, the general culture of racism and apathy; do not or have not been motivated to participate. And,

(2) Those who became disgusted and disillusioned, and who now believe that there is nothing of significance to be gained by further participation in electoral politics.

The existence of this latter group was demonstrated by the large attendance of young Blacks at the "National Black Political Convention" that was recently held in Gary, Indiana. Quite a few of the members of this group did receive "individual rewards" as a result of their participation in the larger Black voter effort, and yet, some are still disillusioned. The text of the "National Black Political Agenda" whose theme was: "BLACK POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS" is a mirror of their confusion and frustration. Indicative of the frustration was a statement made by one member of this group:

"What happens when you look back and see that all the things you fought for, the things you won as well as those you lost, the things you dreamed of and the things you were promised; weren't what you really needed or wanted after all. How does a man condemn himself? What happens when he wakes up to see that he has ceased to serve a useful, constructive purpose---that in fact he may have never served it? He just keeps on keepin' on! That's why I'm here!"

This polity of rebellion that Black youth have been engaged in has born a harvest of bitter fruit. Rebellion involves a genuine transvaluation where the direct or vicarious experience of frustration leads to full denunciation of previously prized values and goals. It involves a sour-grapes pattern which asserts that





desired but unattainable goals do not actually embody prized values.

In other words, the fox we read about in the fable does not seek to escape from his reality by saying that he does not want to taste sweet grapes, he only says that these grapes are not sweet. But, the rebellious fox simply renounces the prevailing taste for grapes---sweet or sour. He seeks to escape by renouncing the struggle in which he once engaged because the search did not bear the desired fruit.

The challenge laid down by this type of behavior and for which this proposal is developed is obvious then. How do we renew Black youth's faith in the American Promise? How do we develop new programs, patterns of action and modes of response which will move Black youth beyond a "childish" fascination with current fads and past-times? How do we answer and in fact straighten out their confusion, and move another generation of Black youth to new levels of commitment to and action within the electoral process? How do we help them understand their role in and the necessity for their participation in the "system"? How do we help them understand that the system they help save is their own? It will not be an easy task, but it must be done. In our efforts we must shun easy solutions, glamour and grandiose plans and promises. They are the root causes of inflated expectations and the resultant despair that follows broken promises. Our only promise is performance!

WHAT WE PROPOSE TO DO: The role of this proposal can be likened to that of a medical officer who discovered that his patient was not responding to treatment. The doctor's first duty was to find out why. After removing the obstacle to response, he then applies. It will offer Black youth the tools and knowledge which will enable him to acquire the needed bargaining crutch for effective integration without violence, into the main stream of the American electoral process. It is our view that unless

and untill this obstacle to meaningful participation in the electoral process is removed, no legislation, welfare program or other stop-gap remedies will be effective. To achieve this objective, this proposal will:

- (1) Conduct a study on "THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK YOUTH IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL PROCESS", and
- (2) Identify, recruit and develop a nucleus of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT".



Viewed from a broad political perspective, this study of the participation and involvement of Black youth in the electoral process is of interest to political scientists in general and to the Presidents re-election efforts in specific. It directly relates to and can throw light upon a host of problems of the political behavior of Black youth, and can give us insights we do not as yet have about crucial policy issues and questions that effect them. Thus our study will serve three purposes:

- (1) It will identify for us the network of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT" which we are attempting to organize.
- (2) It will tell us a great deal about the voting habits and interests of this age group, and
- (3) It will develop guide-lines that may influence state and national policies concerning Black participation in the "democratic" process.

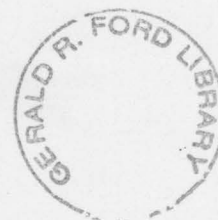
THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT: Our target group is the 18 to 25 year old Black voter.

This group consititues some 3.8 million members, or 12% of the total 25 million new young voters eligible to vote for the first time. The group is almost evenly divided between male and female, with some 75% of the Black ^{males} and 50% of the Black females employed. About 23% of this group(some 522 thousand) are enrolled in college. A further breakdown shows that 27.6% (or 114 thousand) of these Black students are enrolled in the 114 predominantly Black colleges. The other 72.4% (378 thousand)

are enrolled in predominately white colleges. This Black student population will be our primary target because of its accessibility and concentration. We will also endeavor to appeal to and reach the working portion of this age group through the general use of Black media appeal.

Our target area is within the Black student population of those schools in the Southern and North Central regions of this country. This combined area constitute "middle Black America" and are the focal points of our concentration. It is noteworthy that 73% of all Black people live in this region, some 53% in the South and an additional 20% in the North Central region. Also, 73% of all Black women live in this combined area. We will focus our activities in the following states:

ALABAMA	ILLINOIS
ARKANSAS	INDIANA
FLORIDA	IOWA
GEORGIA	MICHIGAN
LOUISIANA	MISSOURI
MISSISSIPPI	OHIO
NORTH CAROLINA	OKLAHOMA
TENNESSEE	PENNSYLVANIA
TEXAS	KANSAS
VIRGINIA	WISCONSIN



THE APPROACH: There are basically three types of organizations on college campuses. One is the Black Student Union type of protest group. Another is the national network of organizations that are usually career oriented such as political science, economics, science, etc. clubs, the network of Young Republican and Democratic clubs, etc. The other is the network of fraternity, sorority and social organizations and clubs. Our organizing activity will focus on the latter two types because: (1) of their traditional conservativeness, and (2) because they tend to be more "system" oriented.

The study on "THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK YOUTH IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL

PROCESS" will enable us to initially, identify and recruit a network of 20 state co-ordinators who will become the nucleus of the network of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT". They will be recruited from among the student population at the following target schools:

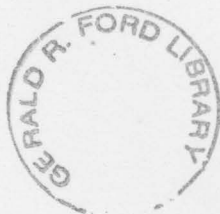
SOUTHERN REGION:

Alabama A. & M., Normal, Ala.
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.
Arkansas A. M. & N., Pine Bluff, Ark.
Florida A. & M., Tallahassee, Fla.
Albany State, Albany, Ga.
Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.
Bethune Cookman, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Edward Waters College, Jacksonville, Fla.
Fort Valley State, Fort Valley, Ga.
Southern Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
Grambling Univ., Grambling, La.
Alcorn A. & M., Lorman, Miss.

Mississippi Valley State, Itta Bena, Miss.
Jackson State, Jackson, Miss.
Shaw Univ., Raleigh, N.C.
Kittrell College, Kittrell, N.C.
North Carolina Central, Durham, N.C.
Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.
Lenoyne-Owens College, Memphis, Tenn.
Tennessee State, Nashville, Tenn.
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.
Prairie View A. & M., Prairie View, Tex.
Tennessee A. & I., Nashville, Tenn.
Virginia State, Petersburg, Va.
Virginia Union, Richmond, Va.

NORTH CENTRAL REGION:

Bradley Univ., Peoria, Ill.
Eastern Ill. Univ.
Northern Ill. Univ., DeKalb, Ill.
Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.
Prairie State College, Chgo. Heights, Ill.
Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale, Ill.
Univ of Ill., Champaign, Ill.
Indiana State
Indiana Univ., Indianapolis, Ind.
Kansas State Univ.
Univ. of Kansas
Central Michigan Univ.
Univ of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich.
Northern Michigan Univ.
Univ. of Michigan
Univ. of Missouri, Kansas City, Mo.
Univ. of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.
Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
Univ. of Akron, Akron, Ohio



Central State Univ., Wilberforce, Ohio
Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Ohio State, Columbus, Ohio
Univ. of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio
Wilberforce Univ., Wilberforce, Ohio
Langston Univ., Langston, Oklahoma
Oklahoma City Univ., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Lincoln Univ., Missouri
Bucknell College, Penn.
Lincoln Univ., Lincoln Penn.
Penn. State, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh Univ., Pittsburgh, Penn.
Cheyney State, Cheyney, Penn.
Drake Univ., Iowa
Iowa Univ., Iowa
Univ of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Penn.
Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Chi
Case Western Reserve, Ohio

After we have developed this skeletal network of state co-ordinators, a series of two or three day workshops will be held under the auspices of the Center

on Political and Governmental Institutions at Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C. These workshops will serve the dual purpose of allowing the network of co-ordinators to become familiar with and get to know the senior Black office holders in the present administration who are also working for the re-election of the President, as well as giving an opportunity to educate them in the philosophy, skills and techniques of the general Presidential effort. At all such events, speakers and guests will be chosen in co-operation with the senior Presidential re-election staff.

Phase two of this proposal involves a further development of the state network with the recruitment of 100 to 150 campus co-ordinators. Unlike the state co-ordinators, these campus co-ordinators will be part-time workers. Extensive travel will be undertaken by the state co-ordinators to visit the key schools with a sizeable Black student population to meet students and set up small core groups of those interest in aiding our election efforts. The use of political materials, training aids and organizational manuals that have developed by the senior Presidential re-election staff will aid our efforts. Additionally, a regularized correspondence exchange will be established to insure good communication and establish a sense of "belonging to a larger, national campaign effort". A series of campus, state, etc. meetings, workshops and conferences will be used. The theme: MEET LOCAL HEROES IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHO ARE APPOINTMENTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

Phase three involves a low-key voter education effort of general Black media appeal to neutralize this voting group and deliver 20 to 30% of of the votes to the Presidents re-election efforts. It is our contention that this group of Black voters are anxious for re-organization both in their communities and outside them. The key to our efforts is our ability not to antagonize this group by actions directed against them as a group. Our only promise is performance: the soft-sell.

R. FORD

OUR TIMETABLE: The total time span of this proposal is six (6) months, beginning in May and ending the first week of November. Our projected schedule is:

PHASE I: BEGINS MAY 1, 1972-----

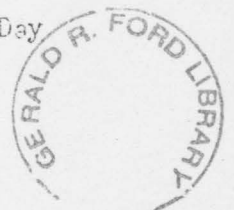
TASKS TO BE PERFORMED	BY WHOM	COMPLETION DATE
1. Study on "THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK YOUTH IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL PROCESS"	Robert Brown, students and staff of CENTER ON POLITICAL & GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS, SHAW UNIV.	July 10, 1972
2. Identification and recruitment of the network of "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT"	Same as above.	June 12, 1972
3. Series of workshops and meetings for training of Co-ordinators	Hosted by Students at Shaw Univ in conjunction with CENTER	August 7, 1972

PHASE II: BEGINS AUGUST 7, 1972-----

TASKS TO BE PERFORMED	BY WHOM	COMPLETION DATE
1. Development of network of 100 to 150 Campus Co-ordinators	State Co-ordinators of the "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS FOR RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT"	September 15, 1972
2. Series of meetings, conferences to "MEET LOCAL HEROES OF BLACK COMMUNITY APPOINTED BY ADMINISTRATION"	Same as above.	September 29, 1972

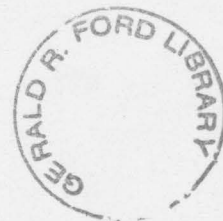
PHASE III: BEGINS OCTOBER 1, 1972-----

1. Low-key voter education effort of general Black media appeal to this Black voting group.	Black media clearinghouse "Election Day in conjunction with "YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS...."
2. Participation in election day efforts: getting the Black youth vote for the President out, poll watching, etc.	"YOUNG BLACK FRIENDS..." Election Day



THE "CENTER ON POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS" This proposal is viewed as as a project of the students of Shaw University under the assistance of the CENTER ON POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS and Shaw's "UNIVERSITY WITHOUT

WALLS" program. The CENTER will assist the students in the co-ordination of this projected proposal. It will aid and assist them in the development, execution and production of the STUDY, and administer and disburse any and all funds necessary for the completion of the tasks outlined.



GEOGRAPHIC PLACEMENT OF STUDENT CO-ORDINATORS

STATE:	# PRIMARY SCHOOLS	# CO-ORDINATORS
ILLINOIS		
CHICAGO AREA	7	5
DOWNSTATE	7	4
NORTH CAROLINA	3 & Base Support	4
OHIO	8	4
PENNSYLVANIA	6	3
MICHIGAN	5	2
TENNESSEE	4	2
ARKANSAS	1	1
ALABAMA	3	1
GEORGIA	2	2
FLORIDA	3	2
MISSISSIPPI	3	1
MISSOURI	3	1
IOWA	2	1
INDIANA	2	1
KANSAS	2	1
OKLAHOMA	2	1
VIRGINIA	2	1
TEXAS	2	1
WISCONSIN	1	1
LOUISIANA	2	1
TOTAL	65	40

