The original documents are located in Box 6, folder "Black Vote in 1972 - General (2)" of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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POLITICS & GOVERNMENT - BUSINESS - LABOR & INDUSTRY
INSTITUTIONS & ORGANIZATIONS

THE PERKINS ORGANIZATION

MANAGEMENT & PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANTS
MINORITY PROBLEMS

CURTIS T. PERKINS
PRESIDENT

PAN AM BUILDING - ROOM 252
200 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
TEL. 682-6846

THE PERKINS ORGANIZATION

Management & Public Relations Consultants
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TELEPHONE: 682-6846

August 14, 1970

The Honorable Herbert Klein
Director of Communications For
President Richard Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

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Dear Herb:

Here is the memo-letter I promised you.

I am quite concerned that Blacks nationwide know of the many gains your(Nixon) Administration has made in our behalf.

In talking with several leading Black Republicans these following negative factors have worked against Mr. Nixon and us in relating to the Black community and its leadership.

Roughly 85% of Blacks who are registered voters are Democrats. (However Governor Cahill's election in New Jersey shows Blacks can support Republican candidates). The Black leadership in the Democratic Party go all out to dig up issues which they distort. This is true of statements made at the NAACP Convention and by a clique headed by Clifford Alexander a former protege of President Johnson - efc.

Too much loose talk that Blacks didn't help elect Mr. Nixon on the part of some of the President's official family. Reports prepared by the Minority Division of the Republican National Committee and the one I conducted for the National Council Concerned Afro-American Republicans show that Mr. Nixon could not have won without the 12 to 14% Black vote he received.

The general social unrest which a militant minute Black minority are using to discredit any national leader Black or White. The Vietnam War, incidents on Black College campuses, etc. are related factors.

- Lack of attractive Black Republican Candidates who could at this point be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. (No real effort has been made to date regarding this)

- The plain newness of the Nixon Administration which has been in office only 18 months.

- Lack of more spectacular success of the minority enterprise business program and or Black capitalism.

- High unemployment rate among Blacks generally.

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- Lack of an effective approach to relate Blacks to the Republican Party as taken by the Republican National Committee, the Republican Congressional Committee and the State and County Republican Committees.

Here are the pluses that some Blacks are beginning to take into account as practiced by the Nixon Administration.

- The large numbers of Blacks retained and appointed by the Nixon Administration this far exceeds the performance of any President on Black executives in government, and lay boards, commissions and committees.

- The Nixon policy on Africa -: Secretary Rogers recent visit. The cordial reception accorded President Mobutu of the Congo and other African dignataries and Mr. Nixon's plans to visit Africa.

- The scope of the office of minority enterprise and the SBA which has to be really implemented.

- The sanity of the Nixon policy on school desegregation.

- The Nixon approach to Welfare.

- Withdrawal from Vietnam as the Nixon policy presently proceeds.

- The Nixon approach to crime in Black and general communities.

- The Nixon policy on hiring practices - especially the philosophy and execution of the Philadelphia plan under Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher.

- The utilization of the services of Robert J. Brown as Special White House Assistant to President Nixon. Mr. Brown who is obviously over loaded is generally respected by Blacks.

- The appointments by the President and his Cabinet of the following Black men who are deemed courageous and well respected by the Black community:

JAMES FARMER OF HEW.
SAMUEL JACKSON OF HUD.
JAMES E. JOHNSON, U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

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There are others but these men stand out.

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Based on my discussions with Black Republicans and some Black leadership here are some suggestions which could improve Mr. Nixon's appreciation by most of the Black Community:

- Encouragement of the National Council of Concerned Afro-American Republicans to build lay support for Mr. Nixon. As national coordinator of this group, I have never had the funds to get the program into affectiveness or regularly publish our magazine the Afro-American Observer.

- Appointment of a Black top flight political scientist or acceptable Black Journalist to your office (Communications) to help you stay on to to relate Mr. Nixon's position to our community.

- Appointment of a well respected Black Journalist to assist Mr. Ziegler.

- Appointment of a well-respected Black Republican as Assistant Chairman to Mr. Rogers Morton of the Republican National Committee. Some consensus from Black Republicans should be sought.

- Appointment of a successful grass roots Black busines man to head the minority enterprise effort.

- Upping the funding of the SBA to a minimum of at least one-half billion dollars. This will enable Blacks to rebuild and solidify their communities.

- Increase aid to African States

- Give Black adminstrators more responsibility in helping resolve the problems in Black areas.

- Get foundations and the business communities more involved in the resolution of Black problems and the encouragement of Black self help.

- Play up Mr. Nixon's successes with Black problems more.

- Encourage more Black Republican office holders

- Please, know I am available to come to Washington to discuss this memo in detail at your convenience.

Please, keep up the good work for the Nation, Mr. Nixon and all of us.

Cordially,

Curtis T. Perkins

CTP:hh

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Republican
National
Committee.

Elly M. Peterson, Assistant Chairman

M E M O R A N D U M

April 8, 1970

TO Mr. Robert Brown
Mr. Herb Klein

FROM Elly M. Peterson

We have been giving, as you know, much attention to the problems of Black Involvement in our Women's Division. We have built an excellent organization outside our regular Party structure and the ladies have been doing many things in their own individual areas.

They will be coming in next week for the opening of our Conference and we will be meeting with them on Wednesday morning.

In this regard, one of my Assistants has come up with the enclosed suggestions which I think are very worthwhile. Juanita Hunter has been with us almost a year and I would appreciate it if you would give these ideas your consideration and give us an idea as to whether you think it can be done.

Best wishes to you.

emp:jh

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National Headquarters: 1625 Eye Street NW Washington DC 20006 (202) NA 8-6800.

Republican
National
Committee.

Prepared by Juanita Hunter

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING BLACK INVOLVEMENT

In response to Robert Brown's request for specific recommendations regarding Black Involvement, the following is submitted for your perusal:

I. With the lack of communication we are experiencing, why could we not prepare an attractive brochure about Blacks in this Administration and their positions, directed to the Black grassroots voter.

A. It could be done on a long range basis by concentrating say perhaps on four top appointees at a time, depicting their background and early education up to their present job in this Administration. Pictures could be gotten of their families, etc.

B. These could be distributed over the long, dry months to Black and white media and to all Blacks on the combined mailing lists from RNC and the White House.

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II. Junkets could be arranged by Black Elected Officials to have top Black appointees into their particular areas with a filmed documentary and brochures describing where we were, where we are and where we can go with efforts of the total Black community.

A. Why could not the RNC or the White House sponsor a filmed documentary on the Blacks in this Administration and the prospective Black voter and have it run on nationwide TV, instead of using valuable time and space running news on the advances of the Black Panthers.

III. With this being an election year, why could we not get the top Black appointees to schedule time to go with Candidates, Black Elected Officials and the RNC member to the Women's Advisory Council on Black Involvement into their areas, districts or states to augment the candidates presentation in areas where he might just not be welcome by Black voters. This could serve to warm up the area and could be the key to their Black vote. The Candidates, I am sure, would be pleased to have at their disposal an immediate answer to questions which may stump him. After all, it is easier to have a Black describe our progress than having a white man "try."

In summary, I think from the activity and interaction involved, a greater degree of rapport, understanding and awareness will be stimulated and the feeling of working "together" will be conveyed, not just to Blacks, but to Whites also. It can be done.

National Headquarters: 1625 Eye Street NW Washington DC 20006 (202) NA 8-6800.

CONSULTANT REVIEW AFTER 24 STAIRCASE INTERVIEWS

FOLLOWING THE WEDS. MEETING OF THE ADV. COM. MUCH COMMENT, INTEREST AND CONCERN WAS STIMULATED ALONG THE LINES THAT ELLY PETERSON HAD HOPED WOULD EMERGE.

A. Should we continue as a group//

B. if so, the group should be structured with elected representatives or officers to further decide and plan for goals, procedures etc.

C. what recommendations should be made in th se 3 days/?

1. Should emphasis be on appointments of black republicans as a thrust coming out of htis meeting?

2. Would it be possible to arrive at meaningful positions based on concerns of the conference (See Friday's topic discussions.)

STATUS OF TELEGRAM AS DRAFTED TO GO TO PRESIDENT NIXON

Advice of top R. N. C. people that in view of the fact that Pres. Nixon had cancelled his appointment to come to the Conf. and his Viet Nam Message to the people, the probability that he would grant a request to have us meet him at the White House at this time was remote.

Alternative-----Robert Brown Special Assistant to President Nixon will be here today to meet with us and out of a conference with him it is possible that he willl be able to propose further meaningful procedure.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM AS DRAFTED AND CORRECTED BY SEVERAL PERSONS.

"The black women attending the republican leadership conference respectfully but urgently request an audience with you in the interests of the administration and the black community.

We are here from far distant territories and states including the virgin islands, colorado, Arizona, Georgia, Mississippe, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Massachusettes, Illinois, New York, Maryland, and the District of Columbia

Other _____

within the past 9 months, at our own expense, we have twice journeyed to Washington and still have not received recognition for our concerns by the administration.

We are disturbed at a number of things.

it is hoped that while we are here you can set a time when you will be available to meet with us.

our next meeting will be _____. May we have a response to this request in time to present at our meeting."

---

proposed agenda for meeting Thursday, April 16, 1970

I. Vote (without prolonged discussion) on A. of above see Consultant's Review.
B. " " " " " "
and if affirmative motion to decide when and how.

II. Telegram status Vote concerning.

III. Committee reports as named Wednesday: Model Cities, Communications, Political Activities.

IV. Filling out of inquiry (blue sheet) as requested by Elly's office.

V. Further committee appoinments or business of Group.

Note: Attempts are being made to get together with Heritage and Jewish Groups as mentioned.

(Consultant not a typist and particularly after a 19 hour day.)

Keep the Faith and Pray and Push for Togetherness.

Elaine

Minutes Reflects Mrs Banks.

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More women in jobs

appointment of too many Democrats

written off the Negro vote (they believe)

Communication

supply people w/ info - project appointments in areas

More emphasis on grassroots people - appts.

* call in party people to explain positions & get input before decisions are made public

* Put together meeting w/ local Republican committee

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NATIONAL BLACK OMNIBUS

August, 1971

POLITICAL ISSUES

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Lee Slurzberg Research, Inc.
New York, N. Y.

LEE SLURZBERG RESEARCH, INC.

120 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 • (212) 980-3335

TO: Marketing Decision Makers

FROM: Lee Slurzberg

RE: National Black Omnibus Poll

Here's information on the second wave of the quarterly Black Omnibus Study which will be going into the field on November 1. The closing date for questions is October 18.

Sample

1,000 adults - 500 males, 500 females. These are personal in-home interviews with call-backs. Strict probability sampling procedures are used to select the primary sampling units, the households and the individual respondents. Call-backs are employed to maximize statistical efficiency of the sample by reducing non-response error.

Universe

The universe will be Black households in 50% or more non-white census tracts, as reported by the 1970 Census and updated by our sampling department.

Interviewing will be conducted in the top 20 metropolitan areas:

New York	Chicago	Washington	Baltimore
Memphis	Pittsburgh	Birmingham	Cleveland
Philadelphia	St. Louis	Houston	Cincinnati
Dallas-Forth Worth	Atlanta	Newark	Los Angeles
Detroit	Indianapolis	New Orleans	San Francisco

More than one half of the urban Black population of the United States resides in these areas, (9,089,000 of a total population of 15,670,000).

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Price

	Either Sex	Total Sample
4 pre-coded (1 column) questions	$2,000	$3,800
Each additional pre-coded question	400	700
Surcharge per open question	200	250

These rates include the tabulations of all questions in total and by basic demographic data. Additional cross tabulations will cost $25.00.

There are discounts for more than 10 questions per wave and for repeating questions over several waves. Specific quotes will be given for any series of questions.

Write or call for further technical information or for suggestions on applying this consumer information system to your marketing problems.

LEE SLURZBERG RESEARCH, INC.
120 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 • (212) 980-3335

AMOUNT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

Female Sample

More out of work	74%
About the same	14%
Less out of work	7%
Not sure	5%

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Question: Do you think more people are out of work now compared to a year ago, about the same number, or less?

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THE UNITED STATES'MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

Female Sample

Drugs	22%
Housing	3%
Unemployment	20%
Vietnam War	12%
High cost of living	14%
Racial Problems	16%
School Desegregation	1%
Organized Crime	6%
Other	7%

*Equals more than 100% because of duplication of answers

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Question: In your opinion, what is the single most important problem in the United States today?

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PROGRESS OF THE NATION

National Black Omnibus Poll - August, 1971

Female Sample

Yes, it is making progress	32%
No, it is not making progress	50%
Not Sure	18%

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Question: In general, would you say that the country is making progress in solving its problems compared to 5 years ago?

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PRESIDENTIAL POTENTIAL OF MAYOR JOHN LINDSAY

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

Female Sample

Agree	42%
Disagree	15%
Don't Know	43%

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Question: Do you tend to agree or disagree that New York's Mayor Lindsay has the personality and leadership qualities that a President of the United States should have?

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PRESIDENT NIXON'S HANDLING OF RACE PROBLEM

National Black Omnibus Poll - August, 1971

Female Sample

Excellent	2%
Pretty Good	9%
Only Fair	27%
Poor	52%
Not Sure	11%

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Question: How would you rate the way President Nixon is handling the race problem in the United States? Would you say that it is excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION - VOTER PREFERENCE

(Democrat - Muskie)

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

Nixon	9%
Muskie	27%
Wallace	1%
Lindsay	29%
Not Sure	34%

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Question: Let's talk for a few minutes about various public figures. Suppose the 1972 election for President were being held today and you had to choose right now, would you vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican, Senator Edmund Muskie , the Democrat, Governor George Wallace, an Independent, or New York Mayor John Lindsay, an Independent?

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION - VOTER PREFERENCE

(Democrat - Kennedy)

National Black Omnibus Study - August 1971

Nixon	3%
Kennedy	66%
Wallace	0%
Lindsay	13%
Not Sure	18%

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Question: Now, suppose in 1972 it was between Nixon for the Republicans, Senator Edward Kennedy for the Democrats, Governor George Wallace, an Independent, or New York Mayor John Lindsay, an Independent, who would you vote for?

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RATING OF VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

(Compared to Poll of White Population)

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

	Female Sample		Harris Poll
Excellent	1%	12%	42%
Pretty Good	11%		
Only Fair	22%	73%	47%
Poor	51%		
Not Sure	15%		11%

Source: Chicago Tribune 7/8/71

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Question: How would you rate the job Vice President Agnew is doing? Would you say that it was excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor?

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120 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 • (212) 980-3335

RATING OF PRESIDENT NIXON

(Compared to Poll of White Population)

National Black Omnibus Study - August, 1971

	Female Sample		Harris Poll
Excellent	2%	16%	50%
Pretty Good	14%		
Only Fair	32%	74%	48%
Poor	42%		
Not Sure	10%		2%

Source: Washington Post 7/8/71

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Question: How would you rate the job President Nixon is doing as President? Would you say that it is excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Republican
National
Committee.

August 20, 1971

Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

Mr. Robert J. Brown
Special Assitant to the President
The White House, Room 179
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brown:

As you know, Arthur A. Fletcher, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Wage and Labor Standards was our main speaker at the Republican National Committee Meeting in Denver.

Prior to Mr. Fletcher's fine presentation, we at the National Committee felt we would like to meet with you to discuss the Republican National Committee activities, and the re-election of President Richard M. Nixon who has done such a tremendous job in the field of Civil Rights.

In talking with Ed Sexton and members of my staff at the Republican National Committee, it was felt that we would like to meet with you to go further in depth on this subject of re-electing the President to Office.

Therefore, we would like to meet with you on Thursday, August 26 at 6:00 p.m. in the 3rd Floor Conference Room at the Republican National Committee. Refreshments will be served before the meeting.

We would like for you to be thinking in terms of questions that I feel need to be answered as we prepare for the '72 elections. You can prepare your answers in writing if you wish.

(1) How can we best get good Black candidates to run for Congress in 1972 on the G.O.P. Ticket?

(2) What is the best approach to finance these candidates for Congress?

(3) What can be done to improve the President's image in the Black Community?

(4) What must be done to provide specific assistance to G.O.P. candidates in the '72 elections?

(5) What can you do in your role to assist in reaching these objectives?

(6) What can the President do to assist in these goals?

(7) What can others in the Nixon Administration do to assist in the achievement of these goals?

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center: 310 First Street Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 484-6500.

(8) What should the Republican National Committee do to assist in reaching these goals?

We are asking that you come prepared to discuss the above questions.

Please R.S.V.P. by telephone: 484-6668 or 484-6669.

Sincerely,

Tom Evans Jr.

Thomas B. Evans, Jr.

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Washington Post 11/4/71

A Real Election Loser: The Black 'Bloc Vote'

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of the real losers in the 1971 off-year elections is the idea of a monolithic black bloc vote.

In city after city this year, blacks have split their votes. They have voted for seemingly hostile candidates. They have shifted away from black candidates to support white liberals.

They have failed to turn out to vote in elections supposedly absolutely vital to their well-being. And they have criss-crossed party lines to find sympathetic candidates to support.

In Philadelphia, for example, the black community was mobilized to oppose former Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo, who won the mayoralty on Tuesday as a long, loud exponent of law and order. But when the voting was over in the 16 predominantly black wards, it was found that a little less than two thirds of the registered voters turned out and Rizzo got nearly one-fourth of their votes.

Less dramatic and more easily explainable behavior has been going on in elections all year. Last September, in the Boston mayoral primary, blacks had a candidate of their own in the race —City Councilman Thomas I. Atkins.

Atkins is popular, articulate, and a hard-working campaigner. Yet in the 22 precincts where the black population exceeds 80 per cent of the total, more than 40 per cent of the vote strayed away from Atkins to

See ELECTIONS, A12, Col. 1

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Mich - Kan. - Mo.

Kan. - Okla. - W. Va

~~Iowa - Neb.~~

Nov. 17, 1971

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MEMO FROM THE DESK OF

Judge Henry Bramwell

For Your Information

R. FORD LI

November 23d, 1971.

Re: 1972 Presidential Campaign - Democrat
Congresswoman SHIRLEY CHISHOLM and
the Delivery of the BLACK VOTE to
The Democratic Party.
An Objective Analysis.

It seems to be apparant that the actions of Congresswoman SHIRLEY CHISHOLM in her bid for the Democratic nomination for President are part of her strategy to deliver the BLACK VOTE to the Democratic Party in the 1972 Presidential Campaign.

Prior events point this up:

1) When John Lindsay ran for Mayor of the City of New York, Congresswoman CHISHOLM was able to successfully deliver the BLACK VOTE in New York City to Lindsay and this resulted in Lindsay's reelection.

2) When Howard SAmuels attempted to obtain the Democratic nomination for U. S. Senator for New York State, Congresswoman CHISHOLM attempted to deliver for Samuels the BLACK VOTE, but she was not successful.

3) The use of political power was shown by Congresswoman CHISHOLM in the last New York State Democratic convention. Congresswoman CHISHOLM was successful in forcing the nomination of Basil Paterson for Lieut-Governor.

GENERAL LIBRARY

The personal bid of Congresswoman CHISHOLM for the Presidency is only part of her strategy to solidify the BLACK VOTE on a national level and to deliver same to the Democrtic party in the 1972 Presidential Campaign.

This objective analysis was arrived at without any personal contact with Congresswoman CHISHOLM or anyone connected with her.

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republican national committee

ED SEXTON

to Stan Scott December 2, 1971

SUBJ: 1972 Presidential Campaign - Democrat

This was sent to me from a Black Republican Judge for my information.

I thought this might also be of interest to you.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

November 23d, 1971.

Re: 1972 Presidential Campaign - Democrat
Congresswoman SHIRLEY CHISHOLM and
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RADIO EDITORIAL

[1972]

DO THEY HAVE THE RIGHT?

Every four years the major political parties roll out the bandwagon. Entertainers, movie stars and athletes ---- all who know very little about politics ---- climb aboard. This election year is no exception.

The Black community this year is up in arms since many of their celebrities endorsed candidates. Now Blacks are asking: Do they have the right?

When John F. Kennedy ran for the Presidency in 1969 most of the big-name Black stars were on his team. Sammy Davis, Jr., Billy Eckstine, Roosevelt Grier, and Pearl Bailey were among the Kennedy Black stars. No picketing and no cries were heard.

This year Sammy Davis, Jr., James Brown, Lionel Hampton, and Jim Brown have endorsed the re-election of the President and some Blacks are angry.

These questions should be asked by those concerned. Do they have the right to endorse only someone we like? Do we have the right to deny them their rights?

Freedom of self expression is guaranteed all Americans under the Constitution. Some of us may not agree with these celebrities, but they have their rights.

As Black people we should be the first to yell when the freedom of expression is denied any person. We should likewise give our Black stars the same rights to their thoughts as we expect for ourselves.

THIS HAS BEEN AN EDITORIAL OF STATION _____. YOUR RESPONSE IS WELCOMED.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

JCPS RESEARCH BULLETIN

file

Volume 1 Number 3 March 1972 JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

THE BLACK ELECTORATE: A STATISTICAL SUMMARY

Because of the importance of population statistics in politics, the Joint Center for Political Studies has put together tables showing potential black voting strength. These are published here in a single source to serve as a ready reference for persons concerned with black politics. Unfortunately, figures on black voter registration and participation, which would be useful are generally available only in certain small areas.

Five tables are included herein: 1) Black voting age population by state; 2) Black voting age population by city for cities with over 50,000 total population and over 20% black VAP; 3) Population figures for Congressional Districts over 30% black (voting age population is not available by C.D.); 4) Information pertaining to delegate selection and the black community; 5) Black voting age population by county for counties over 30% black.

Many analyses can be drawn from these tables to show basic black voting strengths and weaknesses. Following is a beginning of such analysis, which may be expanded upon:

Table I, Black Voting Age Population by State: The largest number of potential black voters are concentrated in 26 industrial and southern states and the District of Columbia. Over half of these states (14) are not in the South. Thirteen states have a black potential vote in excess of one-half million. Only in Mississippi does the black voting age population exceed 30% of the total VAP on a statewide basis. In four other states (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina), the black VAP is 20-29% of the total VAP.

Table II, Black Voting Age Population by City for Cities With Over 50,000 Total Population and Over 20% Black VAP: There are 89 cities with a total population of 50,000 or more and a black population over 20% of the total. Blacks represent 31.6% of the total population of these cities. Seven of these cities have black populations of 50% or more, and 21 cities have populations which are over 40% black.

The average black voting age population in the 89 cities is 28.3 percent. Eleven cities have a black voting age population exceeding 40 percent. Three of these exceed 50% (East St. Louis, Illinois; Washington, D.C. and Compton, California). Of the eight cities with 40-49% black voting age population, four are between 47-49%. Three of these are major cities (Gary, Indiana; Newark, New Jersey, and Atlanta, Georgia). The fourth is East Orange, New Jersey.

Table III, Population Figures for Congressional Districts Over 30% Black: Based on the 1970 Census, there are fifty-nine Congressional Districts with 30% or more black population. Thirty-three of these are in southern states. Ten Congressional Districts have a black population of over 50%, while 10 C.D.'s have 40-49% black population. All of the districts over 50% black have a black Congressman. Only one district with 40-49% black population is represented by a black, George Collins (6th District, Illinois). Congressman Ronald Dellums is the only black member elected from a district with less than 30% black population. The district of Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, which is 95.5% black, has the highest percentage black population.

No southern district is represented by a black, but recent redistricting is likely to produce one southern black Congressman from the 18th district in Texas (Houston), which is 40% black. Also, a new district in California (37th, Los Angeles) is likely to elect a black Congressman. Redistricting has changed many of the population percentages since 1970, but a listing of the new districts awaits completion of the process throughout the country.

Table IV, Information Pertaining to Delegate Selection and the Black Community: Eleven Key States containing 52.8% of the total national black voting age population select 1655, or 55% of the 3016 Democratic National Convention delegates. These states select 600, or 44% of the Republican National Convention delegates. Twelve southern states containing 46.4% of the total national black voting age population select 648, or 21% of the Democratic National Convention delegates. These states select 320, or 28% of the Republican National Convention delegates. Eliminating the overlap in the above two groups (Florida and Texas), 88.6% of the black voting age population is found to reside in 21 states which select 2092, or 69% of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention. This is 61% of the Republican National Convention delegates.

Table V, Black Voting Age Population by County for Counties Over 30% Black: There are fifteen states with one or more counties with over 30% black population. Of these, twelve are located in the South and three in the North. There are 353 counties with over 30% black population.

Sixty-nine, or roughly 20% of these counties have a black voting age population exceeding 50 percent. They are distributed in the following manner: Alabama (9); Florida (2); Georgia (14); Louisiana (6); Mississippi (16); North Carolina (3); South Carolina (10); Texas (1); and Virginia (6). Alabama has four counties with over 70% black VAP (Marengo, Greene, Lowndes, and Macon). Marengo is 93.4% black.

Three counties (Hancock, 66.6%; Mitchell, 60.0% and Talbot, 63.0%) in Georgia have black VAP of 60% or more. West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana has a black VAP of 86.4 percent.

There are six counties in Mississippi with a black VAP of 60% or more. These are Claiborne, 71.7%; Jefferson, 71.9%; Noxubee, 60.0%; Sunflower, 90.9%; Tunica, 66.8%; and Wilkinson, 63.9 percent.

In the other states, only Virginia has a county with a black VAP in excess of 60% (Charles City, 69.7%).

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TABLE I

BLACK VOTING-AGE POPULATION BY STATE - 1972

STATE	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK VAP	% BLACK VAP
Alabama	2,350,395	553,419	23.5
Alaska	191,337	5,883	3.0
Arizona	1,196,750	31,818	2.7
Arkansas	1,343,183	212,952	15.6
California	14,087,516	881,341	6.3
Colorado	1,518,799	41,797	2.8
Connecticut	2,120,413	108,544	5.1
Delaware	371,657	47,427	12.8
District of Columbia	555,869	371,592	66.8
Florida	4,915,354	630,027	12.8
Georgia	3,123,226	728,675	23.3
Hawaii	523,055	5,212	.10
Idaho	480,322	1,458	.30
Illinois	7,727,579	872,717	11.3
Indiana	3,556,767	220,070	6.2
Iowa	1,960,685	19,890	1.0
Kansas	1,586,294	66,879	4.2
Kentucky	2,231,136	150,626	6.8
Louisiana	2,404,007	652,392	27.2
Maine	686,206	1,828	.3
Maryland	2,724,157	452,587	16.6
Massachusetts	4,015,691	107,814	2.7
Michigan	5,979,788	623,322	10.4
Minnesota	2,656,304	21,403	.8
Mississippi	1,466,697	473,392	32.3
Missouri	3,295,492	299,345	9.0
Montana	471,050	4,388	.29
Nebraska	1,033,538	23,669	2.3
Nevada	335,551	16,046	4.8
New Hampshire	509,585	1,615	.31
New Jersey	5,040,321	476,502	9.5
New Mexico	653,939	11,541	1.8
New York	12,992,198	1,443,643	11.1
North Carolina	3,526,031	701,401	19.9
North Dakota	418,076	1,515	.36
Ohio	7,325,568	617,225	8.4
Oklahoma	1,820,111	106,340	5.8
Oregon	1,479,103	16,789	1.1
Pennsylvania	8,387,998	680,803	8.1
Rhode Island	679,180	16,158	2.4
South Carolina	1,746,820	471,603	27.0
South Dakota	453,328	1,066	.23
Tennessee	2,745,755	410,384	15.0
Texas	7,635,716	918,744	12.0
Utah	682,552	4,607	.67
Vermont	304,404	537	.17
Virginia	3,233,937	548,285	17.0
Washington	2,383,207	45,300	1.9
West Virginia	1,234,289	45,316	3.7
Wisconsin	3,008,537	72,290	2.4
Wyoming	226,440	1,600	.70
TOTAL		14,219,777	9.2

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population
Joint Center for Political Studies

TABLE II

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION
CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	% OF BLACK	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLK AS % TOTAL VAP
Birmingham, Ala.	300910	126388	42.0	214871	82477	38.4
Gadsden	53928	11088	20.6	38455	7029	18.3
Mobile	190026	67356	35.4	127416	40526	31.8
Montgomery	133386	44523	33.4	91527	28053	30.6
Tuscaloosa	65773	17345	26.4	49432	11316	28.9
Little Rock, Ark.	132483	33074	25.0	94655	20746	21.9
Pine Bluff	57389	23484	40.9	39429	15236	38.6
Berkeley, Calif.	116716	27421	23.5	95804	19397	20.2
Compton	78611	55781	71.0	46022	30375	66.0
Oakland	361561	124710	34.5	273496	80501	29.4
Richmond	79043	28633	36.2	54821	17272	31.5
Hartford, Conn.	158017	44091	27.9	114467	26297	23.0
New Haven	137707	36158	26.3	102438	18684	18.2
Wilmington, Del.	80386	35072	43.6	57251	20994	36.7
D. C.	756510	537712	71.1	555869	371592	66.8
Jacksonville, Fla.	528865	118158	22.3	363281	74214	20.4
Miami	334859	76156	22.7	259918	48581	18.7
Orlando	99006	29177	29.5	73157	17724	24.2
Pensacola	59507	19709	33.1	41203	6983	16.9
Tallahassee	71897	18234	25.4	53560	12507	23.4
W. Palm Beach	57375	14020	24.4	44637	9272	20.8
Albany, Ga.	72623	27517	37.9	47081	16445	34.9
Atlanta, Ga.	496973	255051	51.3	354642	167796	47.3
Augusta	59864	29861	49.9	43172	19556	45.3
Columbus	154168	40422	26.2	104540	25634	24.5
Macon	122423	45715	37.3	84423	28706	34.0
Savannah	118349	53111	44.9	82341	33465	40.6
Chicago, ILl.	3366957	1102620	32.7	2398930	677379	28.2
E. St. Louis	69996	48368	69.1	44654	28324	63.4
Gary, Ind.	175415	92695	52.8	115209	57212	49.7
Kansas City, Kansas	168213	34345	20.4	115297	21505	18.7
Louisville, Ky.	361472	86040	23.8	259587	54969	21.2
Baton Rouge, La.	165963	46198	27.8	117788	29443	25.0
Lafayette	68908	17167	24.9	46075	10111	21.9
Lake Charles	77998	24262	31.1	51318	14422	28.1
Monroe	56374	21540	38.2	38681	12982	33.6
New Orleans	593471	267308	45.0	413905	164257	39.7
Shreveport	182064	62152	34.1	125465	38876	31.0

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CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	% OF BLACK	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLK AS % TOTAL VAP
Annapolis, Maryland	25592	20676	41.7	20434	5453	26.7
Baltimore	905759	420210	46.4	625011	272973	43.7
Detroit, Mich.	1511482	660428	43.7	1072953	423032	39.4
Flint	193317	54237	28.1	128516	31572	24.6
Pontiac	85279	22760	26.7	56538	13385	23.7
Saginaw	91849	22288	24.3	61010	12602	20.7
Jackson, Miss.	153968	61063	39.7	105007	36969	35.2
Kansas City, Mo.	507087	112005	22.1	358269	67264	18.8
St. Louis	622236	254191	40.9	444486	159406	35.9
Camden, N.J.	102551	40134	39.1	69588	23696	34.0
East Orange	75471	40099	53.1	57897	27244	47.0
Jersey City	260545	54595	21.0	188612	32790	17.4
Newark	382417	207458	54.2	253236	123093	48.6
Paterson	144824	38919	26.9	101104	31535	31.2
Trenton	104638	39671	37.9	75188	24000	31.9
Buffalo, N.Y..	462768	94329	20.4	336416	59758	17.8
Mt. Vernon	72778	25883	35.6	68121	13172	19.3
New York	7867760	1666636	21.2	5876529	1122288	19.0
Charlotte, N.C.	241178	72972	30.3	165973	45313	27.3
Durham	95438	37018	38.8	70861	25362	35.8
Fayetteville	53510	20463	38.2	36421	12789	35.1
Greensboro	144076	40633	28.2	101942	27082	26.6
High Point	63204	13690	21.7	44131	8245	18.7
Raleigh	121577	27594	23.0	89872	19150	21.3
Winston-Salem	132913	45533	34.3	93729	29614	31.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	452524	125070	27.6	326882	79829	24.4
Cleveland	750903	287841	38.3	524991	184451	35.1
Dayton	243601	74284	30.5	175436	47593	27.1
Youngstown	139788	35285	25.2	101207	22721	22.5
Chester, Pa.	56331	25469	45.2	39245	15897	40.5
Harrisburg	68061	20911	30.7	49858	12669	25.4
Philadelphia	1948609	653791	33.6	1405828	437345	31.1
Pittsburg	520117	104904	20.2	390365	71683	18.4
Charleston, S.C.	66945	30251	45.2	46777	18584	39.8
Columbia	113542	33998	29.9	90253	23580	26.1
Greenville	61208	19145	31.3	44262	12110	27.4
Chattanooga, Tenn.	119082	42610	35.8	85770	27650	32.2
Memphis	623530	242513	38.9	423432	153172	36.2
Beaumont, Texas	115919	35553	30.7	80812	22280	27.6
Dallas	844401	210238	24.9	586492	130980	22.3
Galveston	61809	18143	29.4	44373	11740	26.5
Houston	1232802	316551	25.7	836742	202426	24.1
Port Arthur	57371	22994	40.1	40011	14043	35.1
Tyler	57770	12320	21.3	40998	7950	19.4

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	% OF BLACK	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % TOTAL VAP
Chesapeake, Va.	89580	20669	23.1	58732	12660	21.6
Hampton	120777	30619	25.4	80335	19679	24.5
Lynchburg	54083	12583	23.3	39732	8362	21.0
Newport News	138177	39196	28.4	94988	24709	26.0
Norfolk	307951	87261	28.3	223634	55974	25.0
Portsmough	110963	44320	39.9	75739	27260	36.0
Richmond	249621	104766	42.0	181918	69068	38.0
TOTAL	33,192,868	10,487,432	31.6	23,743,032	6,722,060	28.3

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population
Joint Center for Political Studies

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CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS WITH 30% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

TABLE III

STATE	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT NO.	BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE	NUMBER OF TERMS IN OFFICE	PRINCIPAL CITY IN CONG. DIST. WITH LARGE BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION (VAP)	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	% BLACK VAP
ALABAMA	903,467	26.2	8	1st	146,910	35.5	Jack Edwards	4	Prichard	41,578	50.5	24,549	11,676	47.6
									Mobile	190,026	35.4	119,502	38,352	32.1
				2nd	125,128	32.5	William L. Dickinson	4	Montgomery	133,386	33.4	86,054	26,447	30.7
				3rd	132,291	31.8	George W. Andrews	15	Phenix City	25,281	36.9	16,252	5,383	33.1
				5th	158,059	36.3	Walter Flowers	2	Bessemer	33,428	52.1	19,439	10,303	53.0
				6th	143,218	32.9	John Buchanan	4	Birmingham	300,910	42.0	203,080	78,066	38.4
ARKANSAS	352,445	18.3	4	4th	139,251	30.6	David Pryor	4	Pine Bluff	57,389	41.7	36,996	14,542	39.3
CALIFORNIA	1,400,143	7.0	38	21st	286,695	75.7	Augustus F. Hawkins	5	Los Angeles (Part)*	2,816,061	17.9	1,966,855	306,874	15.6
				31st	182,738	41.3	Charles H. Wilson	5	"	"	"	"	"	"
GEORGIA	1,187,149	25.7	10	1st	150,882	34.9	G. Elliott Hagan	6	Savannah	118,349	44.6	77,699	31,320	40.3
				2nd	137,835	38.2	Dawson Mathis	1	Albany	72,623	37.8	44,187	16,436	37.2
				3rd	132,950	32.9	Jack Brinkley	3	Columbus	54,168	26.2	98,279	20,821	21.2
				5th	186,894	39.2	S. Fletcher Thompson	3	Atlanta	496,973	51.3	337,464	154,823	45.9
				10th	159,760	34.0	Robert Stephens, Jr.	6	Augusta	59,864	49.8	40,702	18,416	45.2
ILLINOIS	1,425,674	12.8	24	1st	363,989	95.5	Ralph H. Metcalfe	1	Chicago (Part)*	3,366,957	32.7	2,285,559	636,441	27.8
				2nd	136,108	32.8	Abner J. Mikva	2	"	"	"	"	"	"
				3rd	225,134	49.8	Morgan F. Murphy	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
				6th	164,862	42.3	George W. Collins	2	"	"	"	"	"	"
				7th	151,397	44.2	Frank Annunzio	4	"	"	"	"	"	"
LOUISIANA	1,086,986	29.8	8	1st	157,024	36.3	Edward F. Hebert	16	New Orleans (Part)*	593,471	45.0	391,191	154,872	39.6
				2nd	157,461	36.7	Hale Boggs	14	"	"	"	"	"	"
				4th	145,834	35.3	Joe Waggonner, Jr.	6	Shreveport	182,064	33.9	117,886	36,406	30.9
				5th	156,813	37.8	Otto E. Passman	13	Monroe	56,374	38.5	36,333	12,384	34.1
				8th	142,166	30.3	Speedy O. Long	4	Alexandria	41,557	43.0	26,476	10,563	39.9

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS WITH 30% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

STATE	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT NO.	BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE	NUMBER OF TERMS IN OFFICE	PRINCIPAL CITY IN CONG. DIST. WITH LARGE BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION (VAP)	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	% BLACK VAP
MARYLAND	699,479	17.8	8	4th	114,499	30.7	Paul S. Sarbanes	1	Baltimore (Part)*	905,759	46.4	602,532	247,761	41.1
				7th	216,424	50.1	Parren J. Mitchell	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
MICHIGAN	991,066	11.2	19						Highland Park	35,444	55.3	23,897	11,384	47.6
									Detroit (Part)*	1,511,482	43.7	1,017,608	455,250	44.7
				13th	225,536	70.2	Charles C. Diggs	9	"	"	"	"	"	"
MISSISSIPPI	815,770	36.8	5	1st	195,230	46.2	Thomas G. Abernethy	15	Greenville	39,648	52.0	23,385	11,506	49.2
				2nd	154,085	35.5	Jamie L. Whitten	16	Clarksdale	21,673	54.0	12,897	6,539	50.7
				3rd	191,739	43.1	Charles H. Griffin	3	Jackson	153,968	39.7	99,136	34,738	35.0
									Vicksburg	25,478	49.3	16,567	7,610	45.9
				4th	165,390	41.0	G. V. Montgomery	3	Meridian	45,083	33.5	30,381	9,003	29.6
MISSOURI	480,191	10.3	10	1st	232,996	61.8	William Clay	2	St. Louis (Part)*	622,236	41.0	424,602	150,185	35.4
NEW JERSEY	770,292	10.7	15	10th	136,884	31.2	Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	12	Newark (Part)*	382,417	54.2	240,033	115,050	47.9
				11th	141,157	36.8	Joseph G. Minish	5	East Orange	75,471	53.1	55,898	25,240	45.1
NEW YORK	2,169,455	11.9	41	7th	186,880	37.1	Joseph P. Addabbo	6	New York City (Part)*	7,867,760	21.2	5,636,325	1,022,290	18.1
				10th	128,235	30.5	Emanuel Celler	25	"	"	"	"	"	"
				12th	264,949	65.9	Shirley Chisholm	2	"	"	"	"	"	"
				18th	240,879	72.4	Charles Rangel	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
				21st	133,302	34.5	Herman Badillo	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
				22nd	121,293	28.1	James H. Scheuer	4	"	"	"	"	"	"
NORTH CAROLINA	1,126,478	22.2	11	1st	153,760	37.2	Walter B. Jones	4	Greenville	29,063	25.0	21,215	4,507	21.2
				2nd	171,291	43.3	L. H. Fountain	10	Rocky Mount	34,284	34.3	22,624	7,162	31.6
				7th	129,879	26.3	Alton Lennon	8	Wilmington	46,169	34.1	30,634	9,576	31.3

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CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS WITH 30% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

STATE	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT NO.	BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE	NUMBER OF TERMS IN OFFICE	PRINCIPAL CITY IN CONG. DIST. WITH LARGE BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION (VAP)	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	% BLACK VAP
OHIO	970,477	9.1	24	21st	216,193	60.9	Louis Stokes	2	Cleveland (Part)*	2,064,194	16.1	498,755	173,984	34.9
PENNSYLVANIA	1,016,514	8.6	27	1st	180,155	47.9	William A. Barrett	13	Philadelphia (Part)*	1,948,609	33.5	1,311,862	398,098	30.3
				2nd	222,245	59.4	Robert N. C. Nix	8	"	"	"	"	"	"
				3rd	107,345	33.4	James A. Byrne	10	"	"	"	"	"	"
				5th	138,811	34.3	William J. Green	5	"	"	"	"	"	"
SOUTH CAROLINA	789,041	30.4	6	1st	172,120	36.0	Mendel Davis	1	Charleston	66,945	45.2	44,127	17,656	40.0
				2nd	145,085	33.2	Floyd Spence	1	Columbia	113,542	30.0	86,225	22,255	25.8
				5th	125,588	32.0	Tom S. Gettys	5	Rock Hill	33,846	28.0	22,736	5,661	24.9
				6th	157,456	40.9	John L. McMillan	17	Florence	25,997	39.2	16,772	5,996	35.7
TENNESSEE	621,305	15.8	9	7th	153,610	29.3	Ray Blanton	3	Jackson	39,996	33.2	27,663	8,208	29.7
				8th	100,169	23.7	Ed Jones	2	Memphis (Part)*	623,530	38.9	398,370	138,622	34.8
				9th	14,231	34.7	Dan Kuykendall	3	"	"	"	"	"	"
TEXAS	1,399,005	12.5	23	23rd	145,309	29.4	Abraham Kazen	3	Houston (Part)*	1,232,802	25.7	790,395	183,406	23.2
VIRGINIA	861,368	18.5	10	2nd	131,581	31.4	G.William Whitehurst	2	Portsmouth	110,963	40.0	71,373	26,047	36.5
									Norfolk	307,951	28.3	213,897	52,411	24.5
				4th	158,323	37.5	Watkins M. Abbitt	13	Petersburg	36,103	54.6	23,540	8,909	37.8
WISCONSIN	128,224	2.9	10	5th	102,104	29.5	Henry S. Reuss	9	Milwaukee (Part)*	717,099	14.6	482,182	54,633	11.3
TOTALS	19,194,529	13.3	310	59	9,752,458	40.0				27,757,971	28.6	18,174,132	4,797,811	26.4

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population and Congressional District Data

*In instances where only a portion of the principal city is in the designated Congressional District, all data following the column marked "Principal City" is based on the entire city inasmuch as no determination has been made of only that portion of the city in the Congressional District.

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DELEGATE SELECTION AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

TABLE IV

KEY STATES *

	72 Del. Votes Dem.	Rep.	% Black Voting Age Pop.	% of Nat'l Blk VAP /1	No. and % Black Dels. in 1968** Dem.	Rep.	# Black Elec. Off.***	Electoral Votes	Delegate Selection Process
New York	278	88	11.1%	10.0%	19(6%)	4(4.5%)	142	41	-Primary to elect dist. delegates. At-large delegates apptd. No preference prim.
California	271	96	6.3	6.0%	13(5%)	1(1%)	95	45	-Winner-take-all president. Preference prim.
Pennsylvania	182	60	8.1	4.7%	8(5%)	1(1.5%)	57	27	-Primary to elect delegates by district. May state preference if candidate consents
Illinois	170	58	11.3	6.0%	8(6%)	2(3%)	104	26	-Primary to elect delegates by district. May state preference.
Ohio	153	56	8.4	4.3%	5(3%)	1(1.5%)	100	25	-Primary to elect delegates. Must state preference. Primary and at-large.
Michigan	132	48	10.4	4.3%	20(20%)	1(2%)	155	21	Primary.
Texas	130	52	12.0	6.3%	6(4%)	0(0%)	45	26	-3-step conventions.
New Jersey	109	40	9.5	3.3%	7(9%)	0(0%)	78	17	-Primary election of delegates. May state preference.
Florida	81	40	12.8	4.3%	4(7%)	0(0%)	42	17	-Binding presidential preference primary.
Indiana	76	32	6.2	1.5%	5(8%)	1(3%)	37	13	-Binding presidential preference poll. Delegates selected at state convention.
Missouri	73	30	9.0	2.1%	3(4%)	0(0%)	69	12	-3-step state convention.
TOTALS	1655	600		52.8%	98	11	924	270	

/1 This column represents theblack voting age population in each state as a proportion of the total national black VAP (14,503,078)

Sources: Democratic and Republican National Committees, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Joint Center for Political Studies, Common Cause.

* Key States are those with a large number of delegate votes and a significant black population.

** Does not include alternates

*** Number of Black Elected Officials as of March 1971. The Democratic National Convention will have 3016 delegates. 1509 delegate votes will be necessary to nominate a presidential candidate. The Republican National Convention will have 1346 delegates. 674 will be necessary to nominate. There are 538 presidential electors, of which 270 will be necessary to elect a President.

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DELEGATE SELECTION AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

SOUTHERN STATES

	72' Del. Votes Dem.	Rep.	% Black Voting Age Pop.	% of Nat'l Blk VAP	No. and % Black Dels. in 1968 Dem.	Rep.	# Black Elec. Off.	Electoral Votes	Delegate Selection Process
Texas	130	52	12.0%	6.3%	6(4%)	0(0%)	45	26	-3-step convention
Florida	81	40	12.8%	4.3%	4(7%)	0(0%)	42	17	-Binding pres. preference primary
North Carolina	64	32	19.9%	4.8%	4(6%)	0(0%)	68	13	-Binding pres. preference primary
Georgia	53	24	23.3%	5.0%	-(26%)	1(4%)	51	12	-Conventions
Maryland	53	26	16.6%	3.1%	3(6%)	3(11%)	44	10	-Binding pres. preference primary, delegates elected.
Virginia	53	30	17.0%	3.7%	6(6%)	0(0%)	52	12	-3-step convention
Tennessee	49	26	15.0%	2.8%	8(11%)	0(0%)	42	10	-Binding presidential preference primary. Delegates by conventions
Louisiana	44	20	27.2%	4.5%	9(18%)	0(0%)	74	10	-Democrats by State Committee. Republicans by convention
Alabama	37	17	23.5%	3.8%	2(4%)	0(0%)	105	9	-Democrats - Primary; Republicans - Unknown
South Carolina	32	22	27.0%	3.3%	5(13%)	0(0%)	61	8	-Conventions
Arkansas	27	18	15.6%	1.5%	1(2%)	2(11%)	76	6	-Primary election of del. Several chosen at-large
Mississippi	25	13	32.3%	3.3%	24(50%)**	0(0%)	95	7	-3-step conventions
TOTALS	648	320		46.4%	74	6	755	140	

* Maryland while not part of the Old Confederacy is included because of its proximity, large black population, and black congressman.

** Missippi delegates had ½ vote each.

DELEGATE SELECTION AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

PRIMARY STATES

	72' Del. Votes Dem.	Rep.	% Black Voting Age Pop.	% of Nat'l Blk VAP	No. and % Black Dels. in 1968 Dem.	Rep.	# Black Elec. Off.	Electoral Votes	Delegate Selection Process
Alabama	37	17	23.5%	3.8%	2(4%)	1(5%)	105	9	Democratic primary. Republican - unknown
Arkansas	27	18	15.6%	1.5%	1(2%)	2(11%)	76	6	Primary elec. of deleg. Several chosen at-large
California	271	96	6.3%	6.0%	13(5%)	1(1%)	95	45	See /2
Wash., D. C.	15	9	66.8%	2.6%	14(67%)	3(33%)	9	3	Binding pres. preference primary
Florida	81	40	12.8%	4.3%	4(7%)	0(0%)	42	17	See /2
Illinois	170	58	11.3%	6.0%	8(6%)	2(3%)	104	26	See /2
Indiana	76	32	6.2%	1.5%	5(8%)	1(3%)	37	13	See /2
Maryland	53	26	16.6%	3.1%	3(6%)	3(11%)	44	10	See /2
Massachusetts	102	34	2.7%	0.7%	1(3%)	2(6%)	12	14	Winner take-all binding presidential pref. primary
Nebraska	24	16	2.3%	0.2%	0(0%)	0(0%)	3	5	Advisory presidential pref. primary. Delegates elec.
New Hampshire	18	14	0.3%	0.0%	0(0%)	0(0%)	0	4	Advisory presidential pref. primary. Delegates elec.
New Jersey	109	40	9.5%	3.3%	7(9%)	0(0%)	78	17	See /2
New Mexico	18	14	1.8%	0.1%	0(0%)	0(0%)	4	4	Binding pres. pref. primary. Delegates by convention
New York	278	88	11.1%	10.0%	19(6%)	4(4.5%)	142	41	See /2
North Carolina	64	32	19.9%	4.8%	4(6%)	0(0%)	68	13	See /2
Ohio	153	56	8.4%	4.3%	5(3%)	1(1.5%)	100	25	See /2
Oregon	34	18	1.1%	0.1%	0(0%)	0(0%)	3	6	Binding winner-take-all. Pres. preference primary
Pennsylvania	182	60	8.1%	4.7%	8(5%)	1(1.5%)	57	27	See /2
Rhode Island	22	8	2.4%	0.1%	1(3%)	0(0%)	3	4	Binding winner-take-all. Pres. preference primary
South Dakota	17	14	0.2%	0.0%	0(0%)	0(0%)	0	2	Binding winner-take-all. Pres. preference primary
Tennessee	49	26	15.0%	2.8%	8(11%)	0(0%)	42	10	See /2
West Virginia	35	18	3.7%	0.3%	1(2%)	0(0%)	1	6	Primary election of delegates
Wisconsin	67	28	2.4%	0.5%	1(1%)	0(0%)	9	11	Binding presidential preference primary
TOTALS	1902	762		60.7%	105	20	1034	318	

/2 See preceding charts

NOTE: Michigan has been added to the Primary States by law passed after preparation of this chart.

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TABLE V

BLACK VAP BY COUNTIES - 30% OR MORE
BLACK POPULATION

ALABAMA

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
BARBOUR	15156	6302	41.6
BULLOCK	7559	4779	63.2
BUTLER	14960	5199	34.8
CHAMBERS	25226	7448	29.5
CHOCTAW	10764	4293	39.9
CLARKE	17197	6666	38.8
CONECUH	10434	4459	42.7
COOSA	7249	2187	30.2
CRENSHAW	9352	2346	25.1
DALLAS	35513	16936	47.7
ESCAMBIA	23794	7378	31.0
GREENE	6773	4843	71.5
HALE	10058	6074	60.4
HENRY	9263	3305	35.7
JEFFERSON	449984	131220	29.2
LOUNDES	7541	5366	71.2
MACON	17682	14089	79.7
MARERGO	8429	7869	93.4
MOBILE	209039	61499	29.4
MONROE	13561	5261	38.8
MONTGOMERY	113242	37591	33.2
PERRY	10149	5349	52.7
PICKENS	13574	4958	36.5
PIKE	17776	5209	29.3
RUSSELL	29747	12219	41.1
SUMTER	11257	6692	59.4
TALLADEGA	42986	11314	26.3
WILCOX	9939	6277	63.2
TOTAL	1158204	391779	33.8

ARKANSAS

ASHLEY	16461	4388	26.7
BRADLEY	9024	2464	27.3
CALHOUN	3944	1130	28.7
CHICOT	11727	5825	49.7
COLUMBIA	18560	5627	30.3
CRITTENDEN	29584	13008	44.0
DESHA	12196	4690	38.5
DREW	7966	2787	35.0
HEMPSTEAD	13802	4105	29.7
JEFFERSON	56220	21645	38.5
LAFAYETTE	6814	2087	30.6
LEE	11646	6238	53.6
LINCOLN	8712	3301	37.9
MONROE	10232	3941	38.5
NEVADA	7378	2096	28.4
OUACHITA	21760	7158	32.9

ARKANSAS (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
PHILLIPS	25193	12582	50.0
ST. FRANCIS	19277	8245	42.8
WOODRUFF	7849	2442	31.1
TOTAL	298345	113759	38.1

FLORIDA

FLAGLER	3106	756	24.3
GADSDEN	25998	13765	52.9
HAMILTON	5105	1820	35.7
JEFFERSON	5711	2921	51.1
MADISON	9242	3615	39.1
ST. LUCIE	31815	10360	32.6
TOTAL	80977	33237	41.0

GEORGIA

ATKINSON	3731	990	26.5
BAKER	2497	1236	49.5
BALDWIN	25499	8887	34.9
BEN HILL	9234	2538	27.5
BIB	98138	30909	31.5
BROOKS	9168	3744	40.8
BULLOCH	21453	6719	31.3
BURKE	11460	6246	54.5
BUTTS	7133	2675	37.5
CALHOUN	4217	2447	58.0
CAMDEN	7076	2453	34.7
CANDLER	4389	1218	27.8
CHARLTON	3604	1015	28.2
CHATHAM	128576	41824	32.5
CLAY	2437	1350	55.4
CLINCH	4016	1060	26.4
COOK	8073	2096	26.0
COWETA	21777	6314	29.0
CRAWFORD	3590	1709	47.6
CRISP	11901	4169	35.0
DECATUR	14781	5618	38.0
DOOLY	6800	2951	43.4
DOUGHERTY	58185	18582	31.9
EARLY	8192	3280	40.0
ELBERT	11901	3304	27.8
EMANUEL	12281	3375	27.5
EVANS	4778	1464	30.6
FULTON	432287	154098	35.6
GRADY	11997	3654	30.5
GREENE	6887	3092	44.9
HANCOCK	5707	3803	66.6
HARRIS	7782	3236	41.6
HENRY	15238	4221	27.7

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GEORGIA (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
IRWIN	5414	1446	26.7
JASPER	3892	1748	44.9
JEFFERSON	11068	5396	48.8
JENKINS	5497	2146	39.0
JOHNSON	5183	1390	26.8
JONES	7868	2766	35.2
LAMAR	7236	2400	33.2
LAURENS	22275	7191	32.3
LEE	4496	1777	39.5
LIBERTY	11985	3697	30.8
LINCOLN	3916	1582	40.4
LONG	2469	716	29.0
McDUFFIE	10038	3559	35.5
McINTOSH	4580	2120	46.3
MACON	8151	4460	54.7
MARION	3259	1569	48.1
MERIWETHER	12956	5585	43.1
MITCHELL	9132	5485	60.0
MONROE	7511	3103	41.3
MONTGOMERY	4243	1188	28.0
MORGAN	6498	2649	40.8
NEWTON	17482	4816	27.5
PEACH	10721	5980	55.8
PIKE	4884	1752	35.9
PULASKI	5516	1845	33.4
PUTNAM	5485	2368	43.2
QUITMAN	1418	766	54.0
RANDOLPH	6031	3082	51.1
SCHLEY	2018	826	40.9
SCREVEN	8518	3597	42.2
SEMINOLE	4677	1399	29.9
STEWART	4101	2423	59.0
SUMTER	18246	7121	39.0
TALBOT	4277	2696	63.0
TALIAFERRO	1677	952	56.8
TATTNALL	12125	3575	29.5
TAYLOR	5130	2080	40.5
TELFAIR	7585	2243	29.6
TERRELL	7368	3125	42.4
THOMAS	22901	8229	35.9
TREUTLEN	3830	1030	26.9
TROUP	30130	8983	29.8
TURNER	5870	1747	29.8
WARREN	4321	2248	52.0
WASHINGTON	11431	5486	48.0
WEBSTER	1534	786	51.2
WHEELER	3188	835	26.2
WILCOX	4816	1260	26.2
WILKES	7089	3080	43.4

GEORGIA (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
WILKINSON	6137	2536	41.3
WORTH	9628	3289	34.2
TOTAL	1380586	492405	35.7

ILLINOIS

PULASKI	42591	3125	7.3

LOUISIANA

(PARISH)			
ASSUMPTION	11917	4124	34.6
BIENVILLE	11010	4681	42.5
CADDO	156575	51945	33.2
CLAIBORNE	11807	5387	44.8
CONCORDIA	14063	5138	36.5
DeSOTO	15391	7640	49.6
EAST CARROLL	7663	4176	54.5
EAST FELICIANA	12206	5964	48.9
FRANKLIN	15391	4636	30.1
IBERVILLE	19180	8486	44.2
JACKSON	11173	3171	28.4
LINCOLN	24716	9490	38.4
MADISON	9665	5232	54.1
MOREHOUSE	20914	7734	37.0
NATCHITOCHES	24616	7971	32.4
ORLEANS	413905	164257	39.7
POINTE-COUPEE	11580	6404	55.3
RED RIVER	6148	2334	38.0
RICHLAND	14147	4941	34.9
ST. HELENA	6033	3077	51.0
ST. JAMES	11781	5295	44.9
ST. JOHN-THE BAPTIST	14219	6261	44.0
ST. LANDRY	50288	18944	37.7
ST. MARTIN	19809	6278	31.7
TANGIPAHOA	43235	11740	27.2
TENSAS	6114	3364	55.0
UNION	12728	3710	29.1
WASHINGTON	27884	7904	28.3
WEBSTER	27795	13718	49.4
WEST BATON ROUGE	10291	4217	41.0
WEST FELICIANA	6795	5870	86.4
WINN	11291	3065	27.1
TOTAL	1060330	407054	38.4

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MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
ADAMS	24171	10796	44.7
AMITE	8886	3861	43.5
ATTALA	13321	4651	34.9
BENTON	4774	1585	33.2
BOLIVAR	30281	16797	55.5
CARROLL	6173	2723	44.1
CHICKASAW	11229	3476	31.0
CLAIBORNE	6751	4838	71.7
CLARKE	10213	3280	32.1
CLAY	12396	5567	44.9
COAHOMA	24647	14589	59.2
COPIAH	16485	7348	44.6
COVINGTON	9182	2571	28.0
DeSOTO	21768	6794	31.2
FRANKLIN	5557	1901	34.2
GRENADA	13112	5017	38.3
HINDS	143561	52019	36.2
HOLMES	10683	5680	53.2
HUMPHREYS	8776	4154	47.3
ISSAQUENA	1659	924	55.7
JASPER	10573	4321	40.9
JEFFERSON	5780	4158	71.9
JEFFERSON-DAVIS	8478	3909	46.1
KEMPER	6832	3249	47.6
LAUDERDALE	47231	12792	27.1
LAWRENCE	7321	2138	29.2
LEAKE	11817	2742	23.2
LEFLORE	26688	14048	52.6
LINCOLN	17786	4747	26.7
LOWNDES	33146	9486	28.6
MADISON	18476	10635	57.5
MARION	15202	4173	27.5
MARSHALL	14691	8395	57.1
MONROE	22854	4783	20.9
MONTGOMERY	8591	3362	39.1
NOXUBEE	8737	5239	60.0
OKITIBBEHA	20092	5530	27.5
PANOLA	17044	7706	45.2
PIKE	21564	8264	38.3
QUITMAN	9542	4878	51.1
SCOTT	14157	4245	30.0
SHARKEY	5259	3021	57.4
SIMPSON	13412	3736	27.9
SUNFLOWER	14085	12809	90.9
TALLAHATCHIE	11746	6376	54.3
TATE	11780	4390	37.3
TUNICA	6905	4610	66.8
WALTHALL	8516	2905	34.1
WARREN	29581	11388	38.5
WASHINGTON	43596	21756	49.9
WAYNE	10788	3116	28.9
WILKINSON	7080	4520	63.9
WINSTON	12499	4264	34.1

MISSISSIPPI (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
YALOBUSHA	8108	2851	35.2
YAZOO	17397	8434	48.5
TOTAL	930979	381550	41.0

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE CITY	635011	272974	43.0
CALVERT	13059	4344	33.3
DORCHESTER	21191	6087	28.7
SOMERSET	13441	4766	35.5
WORCESTER	17016	5063	29.8
TOTAL	64707	20260	31.3

NEW JERSEY

ESSEX	662461	172498	26.0

NORTH CAROLINA

ANSON	16289	6517	40.0
BEAUFORT	24868	7414	29.8
BERTIE	13506	6775	50.2
BLADEN	17738	6175	34.8
CAMDEN	3624	1181	32.6
CASWELL	12749	5638	44.2
CHATHAM	20655	5689	27.5
CHOWAN	7380	2831	38.4
DUPLIN	25942	7999	30.8
DURHAM	95693	29368	30.7
EDGECOMBE	33982	14432	42.5
FRANKLIN	18761	6880	36.7
GATES	5773	2766	47.9
GRANVILLE	22437	8944	39.9
GREENE	9663	3866	40.0
HERTFORD	17551	7814	44.5
HYDE	3805	1400	36.8
JONES	6438	2577	40.0
LENOIR	37222	12500	33.6
MARTIN	16887	6696	39.7
NASH	40119	12434	31.0
NORTHAMPTON	16093	8406	52.2
PAMLICO	6507	1922	29.5
PASQUOTANK	18514	6509	35.2
PENDER	12262	4867	39.7
PERQUIMAN	5809	2188	37.7
PERSON	17666	5052	28.6

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NORTH CAROLINA (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
PITT	52226	15621	30.0
SAMPSON	30847	9566	31.0
SCOTLAND	17904	5540	30.9
TYRRELL	2606	976	37.5
VANCE	22229	8509	38.3
WARREN	10674	5799	54.3
WASHINGTON	9101	3356	36.9
WAYNE	57090	18528	32.5
WILSON	39066	12625	32.3
TOTAL	766676	269360	35.1

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA	1405828	437345	31.1

SOUTH CAROLINA

ABBEVILLE	14832	4078	27.5
ALLENDALE	6438	3631	56.4
BAMBERG	10472	5345	51.0
BARNWELL	11235	4249	37.6
BEAUFORT	35358	10205	28.9
BERKELEY	32983	9520	28.9
CALHOUN	6942	3764	54.2
CHARLESTON	166058	45638	27.5
CHESTER	20140	6813	33.8
CHESTERFIELD	22175	6002	27.1
CLARENDON	15662	8796	56.2
COLLETON	18063	7613	42.1
DARLINGTON	35054	18580	53.0
DILLON	17862	7382	41.3
DORCHESTER	20371	6808	33.4
EDGEFIELD	10112	4612	45.6
FAIRFIELD	12793	7190	56.2
FLORENCE	58867	19387	32.9
GEORGETOWN	20892	9067	43.4
HAMPTON	10399	4640	44.6
JASPER	8132	4047	49.8
KERSHAW	23024	6671	29.0
LEE	11237	5991	53.3
McCORMICK	5023	2760	54.9
MARION	19892	9276	46.6
MARLBORO	17324	6830	39.4
NEWBERRY	20847	6001	28.8
ORANGEBURG	39662	23283	58.7
RICHLAND	168379	47291	28.0

SOUTH CAROLINA (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	TOTAL VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
SALUDA	9670	2825	29.2
SUMTER	52175	19323	37.0
WILLIAMSBURG	21044	11757	55.9
TOTAL	943117	339355	36.0

TENNESSEE

FAYETTE	13660	7520	55.1
HARDEMAN	15238	5004	32.8
HAYWOOD	12618	5469	43.3
LAUDERDALE	13869	4195	30.2
MADISON	46322	13710	29.6
SHELBY	488964	161357	33.0
TIPTON	18083	5126	28.3
TOTAL	608754	202364	23.2

TEXAS

CAMP	5620	1778	31.6
FALLS	12669	3444	27.2
FREESTONE	8270	2352	28.4
GRIMES	8412	2661	31.6
HARRISON	31184	10892	34.9
HOUSTON	12949	4552	35.2
LEON	6388	1792	28.1
MADISON	5862	1645	28.1
MARION	5995	2477	41.3
ROBERTSON	10085	3280	32.5
SAN AUGUSTINE	5452	1661	30.2
SAN JACINTO	4618	1796	38.9
WALLER	10547	5687	53.9
TOTAL	113940	60217	52.8

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VIRGINIA

ACCOMACK	20833	6691	32.1
AMELIA	5077	2287	45.0
BRUNSWICK	11053	6071	54.9
BUCKINGHAM	7050	2713	38.5
CAROLINE	9144	4300	47.0
CHARLES CITY	3900	2718	69.7
CHARLOTTE	7809	2769	35.5
CUMBERLAND	4131	1819	44.0
DINWIDDIE	17320	7685	44.4
ESSEX	4848	1975	40.7

VIRGINIA (cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	BLACK AS % OF TOTAL VAP
FLUVANNA	5082	1602	31.5
GOOCHLAND	6785	2755	40.6
GREENSVILLE	6258	3294	52.6
HALIFAX	20345	7296	35.9
ISLE OF WIGHT	12191	5448	44.7
JAMES CITY	12180	3888	31.9
KING AND QUEEN	3842	1789	46.6
KING WILLIAM	5074	1958	38.6
LANCASTER	6661	2288	34.3
LOUISA	9605	3381	35.2
MECKLENBURG	20195	7658	37.9
NANSEMOND	23065	11980	51.9
NEW KENT	3508	1437	41.0
NORTHAMPTON	10098	4752	47.1
NORTHUMBERLAND	6695	2228	33.3
NOTTOWAY	10013	3684	36.8
POWHATAN	5225	2045	39.1
PRINCE EDWARD	10857	3302	30.4
RICHMOND	4094	1337	32.7
SOUTHAMPTON	12348	6133	49.7
SURRY	3839	2250	58.6
SUSSEX	7314	4252	58.1
WESTMORELAND	8292	3083	37.2
TOTAL	304631	126858	41.6

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population
Joint Center for Political Studies