

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
11	9	7/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Dole's Meeting with the President-July 20, 1971. 2 pgs.
11	9	7/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Derge Analysis of Nixon Image Study. 1 pg.
11	9	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Charlie McWorter-Information System. 2 pgs.
11	9	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects, including: The Black vote in 1972, and the National Movement for the Student Vote. 1 pg.

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11	9	7/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: The Black vote in 1972, and their status with the Administration. 1 pg.
11	9		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Report on the Black Vote In 1972. Such catagories include: Voting Behavior, areas of positive/negative feelings about Nixon, Understanding the Black Attitudes, etc. 8 pgs.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article from the New York Times. RE: 1/3 of the Black Population found in 15 Cities. 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Graph demonstrating the Black Vote as a Percent of the Total Vote by Region and by Population Density. 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Graph Displaying the Distribution of the Voting Age Population and Those Who Claimed They Voted in 1968- By Race, Region and Population Density. 1 pg.

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11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Graph displaying the Percent of Persons of Voting Age Who Claimed to Have Voted im 1968- by Race, Region and Population Density. 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Gallup Poll, RE: The Republican Percentages Among the Non-White Vote. 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	The Gallup Report's survey, RE: Nixon and the Republican Party's Rejection by Nation's Blacks. 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Table H, RE: The Electoral Impact of Black Voters by States and Regions. 3 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Notes on Table H, RE: The Electoral impact of Black Voters by States and Regions. 1 pg.

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11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Table 1, RE: The Importance of Black Votes in States with Large Electoral Votes. 1 pg.
11	9	5/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article RE: "Caucus Heads Assail Nixon." African American members of the Democratic Caucus stated that Nixon did little but defend his domestic policies in the faces of criticism. 1 pg.
11	9	5/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newspaper	The Col. Washington Star Newspaper. RE: Nixon and the Black Congressman. Questions about Nixon's concern with the black urban poor. 1 pg.
11	9	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From Leroy Weekes to Arthur A. Fletcher. RE: Involvement of the Nixon Administration in a luncheon at the West Adams Community Hospital that would demonstrated the President's sensitivities to black people. 1 pg.
11	9	7/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	For the Attorney General. RE: Enclosed information on the National Movement for the Student Vote. 1 pg.

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11	9	7/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Senator Brock. RE: The activities of the National Movement for the Student Vote. 1 pg.
11	9	6/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Morris B. Abram Jr. to the National Advisory Board. RE: Summary of Progress made with the development of the National Movement for the Student Vote (NMSV). 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	RE: The National Movement for the Student Vote's plan to initiate voter registration drives throughout the nation's college campuses. 1 pg.
11	9		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	RE: A preliminary report on a pilot project for The National Movement for the Student Vote. Includes: The influence of young voters on the electorate as a whole, specific targeted demographics and regions in the U.S. 28 pgs.

July 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Dole's Meeting with the
President - July 20, 1971

Magruder met with Senator Dole today to discuss the RNC Pre-Convention Committees. During the discussion Dole's interest in Chicago or Miami Beach as the convention site surfaced. Magruder is concerned that tomorrow the President may say "What city do you prefer?" Whereupon Dole will say Miami Beach and the carefully developed scenario to program San Diego as the RNC's choice will fall apart; and the President will be forced to push San Diego.

Concerning the Pre-Convention Committees, Dole, Magruder, Timmons and Odle reviewed the names. All names were cleared with Harry Dent, Lee Nunn, and Harry Flemming before being offered to Dole. The final set of recommendations is as follows:

Arrangements Committee

Chairman, Bob Dole, Kansas
Vice-Chairman, Dick Herman, Nebraska
Secretary, Mrs. Mildred K. Perkins, New Hampshire
Treasurer, Mrs. J. Willard Marriott, District of Columbia
General Counsel, Fred C. Scribner, Maine
Advisor to the Committee on Arrangements, Ray Bliss, Ohio

Two problems exist. First, Dole wants McDill Boyd as Vice-Chairman instead of Dick Herman. Dole may try to appeal the decision to the Attorney General tomorrow. The second problem concerns Fred Scribner as General Counsel. Your reservation about him was relayed to the Attorney General by Magruder. Timmons was also advised. However, Scribner is ex-officio general counsel of the Arrangements Committee by virtue of his role as general counsel of the RNC. The only way not to have him as counsel of the Arrangements Committee would be to remove him as counsel of the RNC, which no one appears ready to do at this

PC

time. Other Committee offices are:

Subcommittee on Badges and Tickets: Harry Rosensweig, Arizona

Subcommittee on Housing: Bo Callaway, Georgia

Subcommittee on News Media Operations: McDill Boyd, Kansas

Subcommittee on Program Planning: Robert Flanigan, Colorado

Subcommittee on Transportation: L.E. Thomas, Florida

Ed Middleton of Kentucky is to be Chairman of the Contests Committee, and William Cramer of Florida is to be Chairman of the Rules Committee.

You will notice that Robert Stuart and Bud Wilkinson have been deleted from the list of assignments pursuant to your suggestion.

GS:dg

AC

July 19, 1971

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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Derge Analysis of
Nixon Image Study

Dr. Derge makes several policy recommendations based on his study of the May 12-23, 1971 Nixon Image Study in a memorandum for the President, which arrived today. His recommendations include:

1. Emphasize the positive perceptions of achievement and personality; do not try to remake the President's image;
2. Emphasize the President's hard working, performance oriented personality with: a) A television production on "A Day in the Life of the President"; b) a documentary on the President running the government by "administering administrators"; c) a Presidential trip to promote the "Federal Administrative Regions" concept that cuts red tape and bureaucracy;
3. The President's performance on domestic issues is not appreciated by the public. To dramatize accomplishments, an Environmental CCC for youth and unemployed Veterans, a stronger stand on drugs, and Congress' poor performance should be stressed;
4. To capture Independents and defecting Democrats, a low political profile should be maintained in 1972;
5. Since the President is rated low as a military strategist, details should be left to assistants.

Dr. Derge's four page memorandum is attached.

GS:lm

By 464 NARA, Date 3/30/85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Charlie McWorter -
Information System

Discussion with Charlie McWorter, who just returned from the Western Governor's Conference, covered the following subjects:

- 1) McWorter talked to McCall, who made the statements about Reagan just to get the headlines and thereby increase his chances of getting Hatfield's seat. McCall says he was just trying to help the President;
- 2) None of the Democratic Contenders had men working the 7 Democratic Governors and staffs at the Western Governor's Conference;
- 3) Egan told McWorter the President would have trouble carrying Alaska; Burns said the same about Hawaii;
- 4) Governor Evans of Washington hasn't decided to run for a third term. McWorter suggests that "we" decide whether we want him to run and if so, encourage him;
- 5) The President should carry Oregon although support for Jackson is strong as it is in Washington;
- 6) In Idaho and Montana the Republican parties have deteriorated badly and McWorter suggests that the President campaign entirely separate from the party. Idaho's Democratic Governor Andrus and Montana's Democratic Governor Anderson are doing well.
- 7) In New Mexico the Republican efforts are chaotic, and the President should campaign separately;
- 8) Governor Love told McWorter that the President should carry Colorado. Love was very friendly and wanted to be cooperative;

- 9) Steve Shaddegg of Arizona had some very negative comments about the Administration's dealing with the Republican party. Shaddegg told McWorter that "Nixon can't carry Arizona," but McWorter disagrees;
- 10) McWorter will attend the Mid West Governor's Conference in Sioux City, Iowa, beginning Sunday. McWorter will then go to the RNC meeting in Denver where he will sit in with Flemming during meetings with every Republican State Chairman.
- 11) McWorter attended Western Governor's "because Stan Hathaway asked him." McWorter attends National Governor's meetings as a "member of the Vice President's Staff."

Recommendation:

That a copy of the memorandum be sent directly to the Attorney General.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____
Comment _____

GS:elr

July 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Magruder's Projects

Two memoranda prepared by Magruder's Task Forces discuss the Black Vote in 1972 and the National Movement for the Student Vote. Both were prepared after the Attorney General left for Europe, so he has not received them. To summarize:

1) The Black Vote in 1972

A detailed description with supporting tabs divides the black vote into three groups: Northern-Western urban, Southern urban, and Southern small town-rural. The greatest leverage is exerted in the Industrial Northeast and in California. The areas of agreement between blacks and the Nixon Administration include school desegregation, drug abuse actions, and the proposed Family Assistance Plan. Negative reaction to the Administration is primarily the result of inaccurate information reaching the black community. Recommendations to capture part of the black vote include: poll blacks to determine issue stands which could swing their votes to us; increase Administration briefings of black media; and specifically to use the Black Republicans in the Nixon Administration on a regional basis to speak and develop support for the President within the black community. (memorandum attached at Tab A)

2) National Movement for the Student Vote

Ken Rietz advised Senator Brock in a memorandum (attached at Tab B) that he "should ... (not) ... be overly concerned about the National Movement for the Student Vote." Rietz obtained the NMSV reports to their Advisory Board which outlines their difficulties in registering students. Rietz urges Senator Brock to contact the Republican members of the NMSV National Advisory Board (Senators Brooke, Scott, and Margaret C. Smith) to encourage them to withdraw quietly. (attached at Tab B)

GS:elr

A

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By BJ NARS, Date 4-22-82

July 3, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: The Black Vote in 1972

Attached is an analysis of the current status of the Administration with the Black voters.

The report makes a specific recommendation on the early use of high level Black appointees in the Administration as more visible spokesmen to the Black community.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By ~~///~~ NARA, Date ~~3/3/77~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By _____ NAR, Date _____

THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

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

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

VOTING BEHAVIOR

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

In 1968, an estimated total of 79 million persons participated in the general election. Of that total approximately 8.0%, or 6.3 million, were Black. In the South, the Black proportion was 14.7%, and in the North and West, 5.5%. Blacks tend to vote in somewhat lower proportion than Whites in all areas of the country (Tab C). In all regions, but particularly outside the South, the Black voter had the greatest impact in cities of 50,000 or more population.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AREAS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

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

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

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

AREAS OF NEGATIVE FEELING TOWARD THE ADMINISTRATION

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

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comment _____

PERCENT OF BLACK POPULATION BY STATE

(1970 CENSUS)

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

One-Third of Blacks Found in 15 Cities

By JACK ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18

Nearly half the nation's black population is now concentrated in 50 cities, and a third of the total is in 15 cities, according to a Census Bureau compilation made public today.

As a result of both migration and natural growth, six cities now have black majorities and the population of eight others is 40 per cent or more black.

The new compilation on minority groups also showed that the two largest such groups, blacks and people of Spanish origin, now include 31.5 million people, 16 per cent of the total population.

Blacks constitute about 11 per cent of the population, a slight increase over 1960. Persons of Spanish origin are about 5 per cent. No comparable figures were tabulated for 1960.

The Spanish-origin population totals about 9.2 million. The black population is about 22.3 million, of which 10.5 million are in 50 cities and 7.6 million in 15 cities.

New York City has by far the largest black population, almost 1.7 million, an increase of 579,000 over 1960. This increase raised the black proportion of the city's population to 21 per cent, from 14.

The highest proportion of

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

The cities with 40 per cent or more blacks are Baltimore, New Orleans Savannah, Ga., Detroit, Birmingham, Richmond, Va., St. Louis and Jackson, Miss.

People of Spanish origin tend to be younger than those in other groups, the new report showed. Their median age is about 20, against 21.2 for blacks and 28 for the whole population.

Both minority groups, taken as a whole, average considerably less education than the population as a whole, with a little more than a grade school education. The national median is a high school education.

Among younger blacks and people of Spanish origin, however, this gap nearly disappears. The national median for people between 25 and 34 is 12.5 years of education, against a black median of 12.1 and a Spanish-origin median of 11.7.

The new report also showed that, compared with the total population, minority group members are much less likely to be white-collar workers or to earn \$10,000 or more.

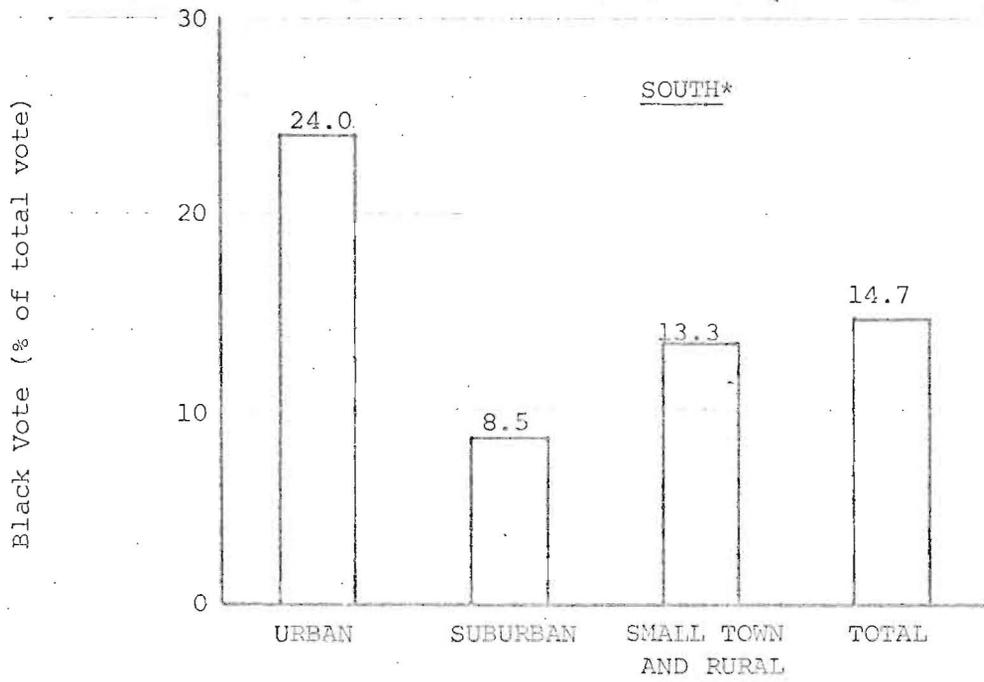
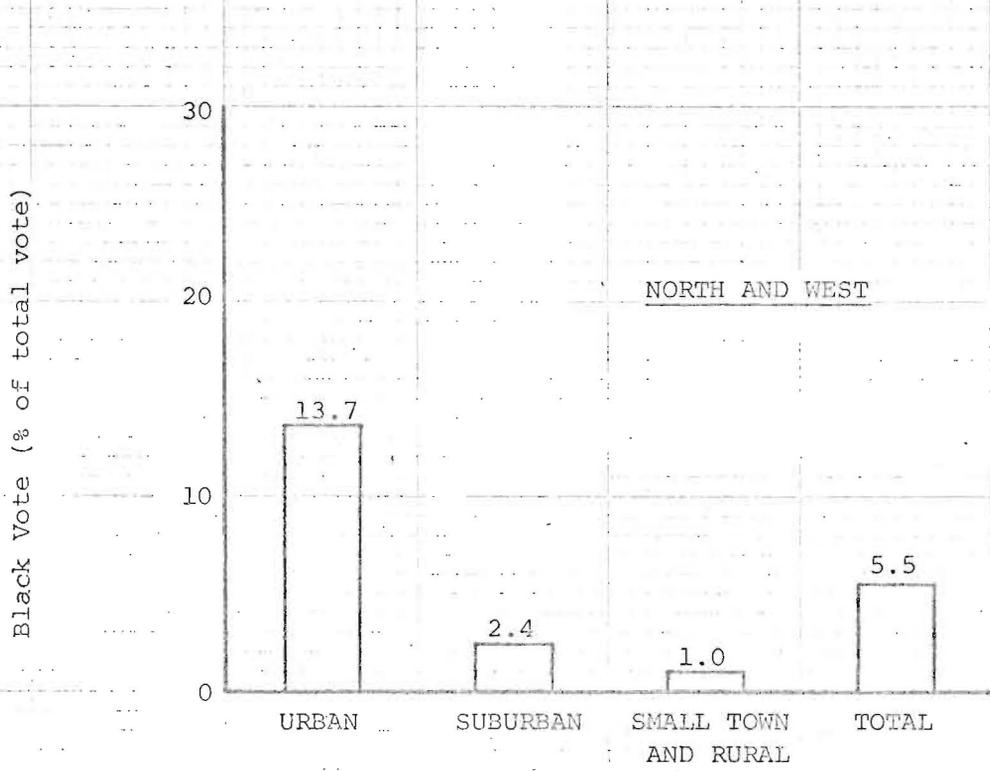
Blacks in Cities

Special to The New York Times

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

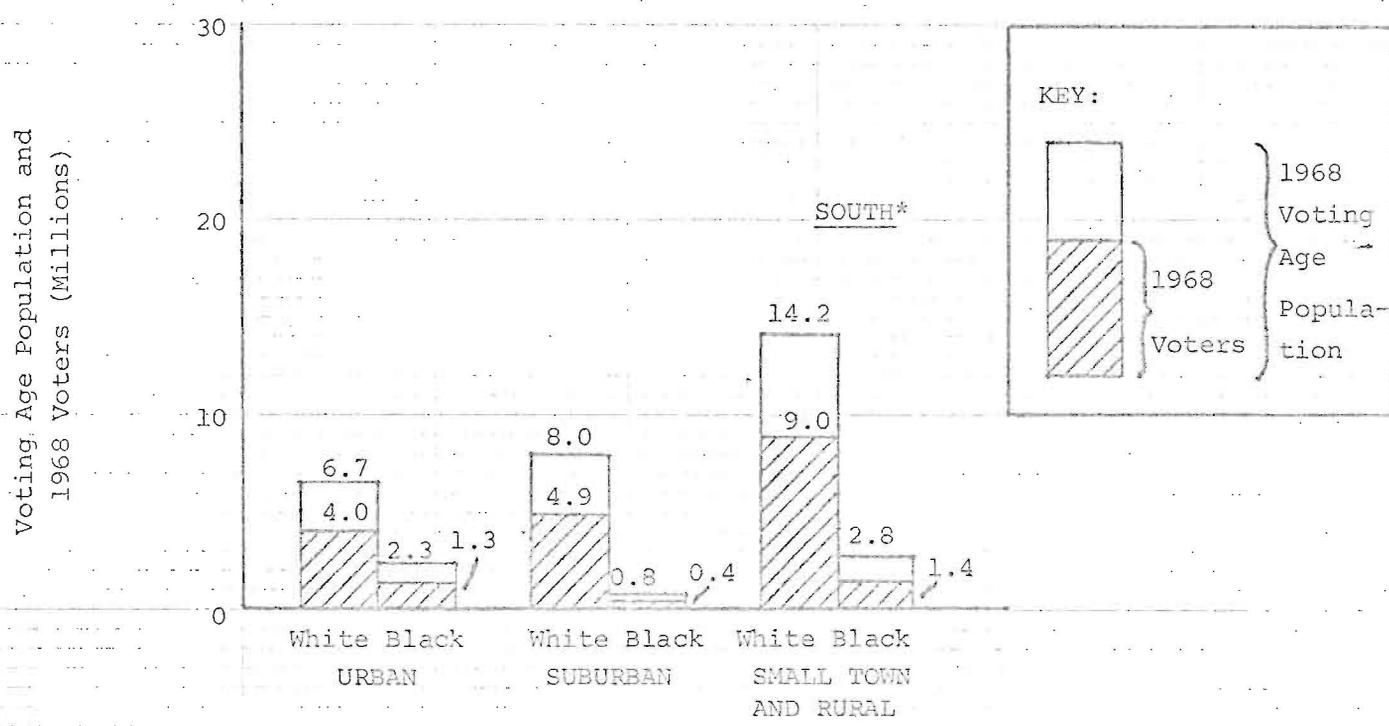
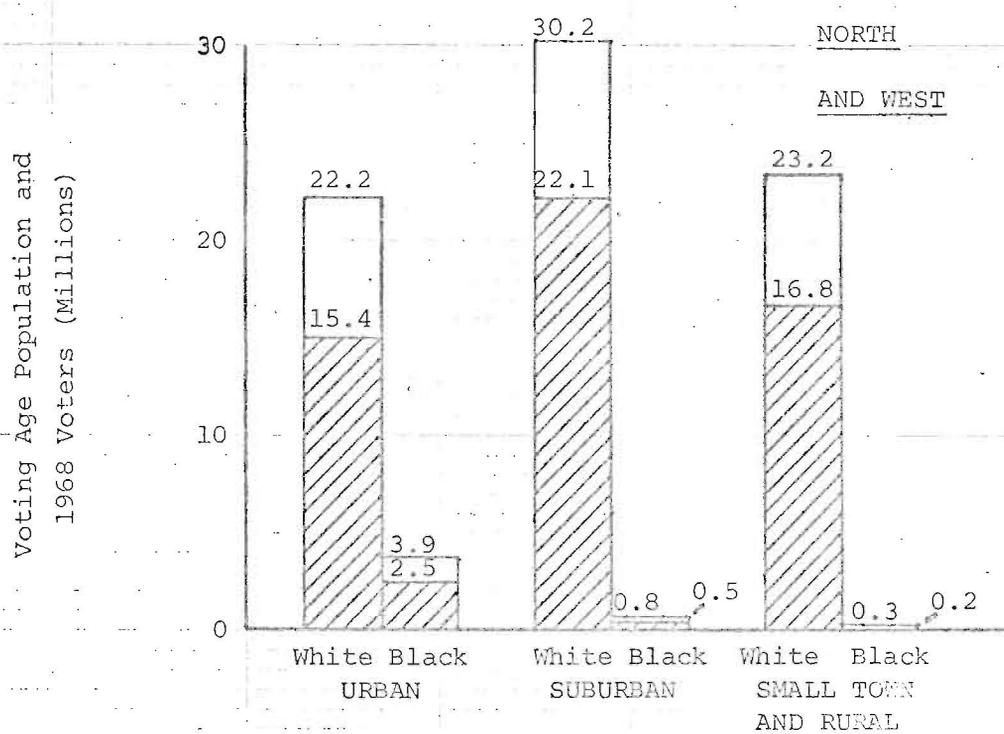
CITY	RANK	Negro Population	Negro Population Percent
New York City	1	1,665,434	21.2
Chicago	2	1,103,570	22.7
Detroit	3	659,423	43.7
Philadelphia	4	653,791	33.6
Washington	5	537,712	71.1
Los Angeles	6	503,466	17.9
Baltimore	7	493,210	46.4
Cleveland	9	287,841	26.3
New Orleans	10	267,302	45.0
Atlanta	11	255,051	51.3
St. Louis	12	254,191	40.9
Memphis	13	242,513	38.9
Dallas	14	219,238	24.9
Newark	15	207,453	54.2
Indianapolis	16	134,320	18.0
Birmingham	17	128,328	42.0
Cincinnati	18	152,070	27.6
Cakland	19	124,710	24.5
Jacksonville	20	118,158	22.3
Kansas City, Mo.	21	112,005	22.1
Milwaukee	22	105,033	14.7
Pittsburgh	23	104,904	20.2
Richmond	24	104,765	42.0
Boston	25	104,707	16.3
Columbus	26	99,627	13.5
San Francisco	27	95,073	13.4
Buffalo	28	94,320	20.4
Gary	29	92,495	22.8
Nashville-Davidson	30	87,351	19.6
Norfolk	31	87,261	23.3
Leicoville	32	86,041	32.8
Fort Worth	33	78,124	19.9
Miami	34	76,156	22.7
Dayton	35	74,184	36.5
Charlotte	36	72,972	30.3
Mobile	37	69,396	35.4
Shovholt	38	68,162	34.1
Jackson	39	61,034	32.7
Jackson	39	61,663	32.7
Compton Calif.	40	55,781	71.0
Tampa	41	54,720	19.7
Jersey City	42	54,595	21.0
Flint	43	54,237	23.1
Savannah	44	53,711	44.2
San Diego	45	52,981	7.6
Toledo	46	52,915	13.8
Oklahoma City	47	50,133	13.7
San Antonio	48	50,041	7.6
Rochester	49	47,647	16.8
East St. Louis	50	42,358	29.1

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



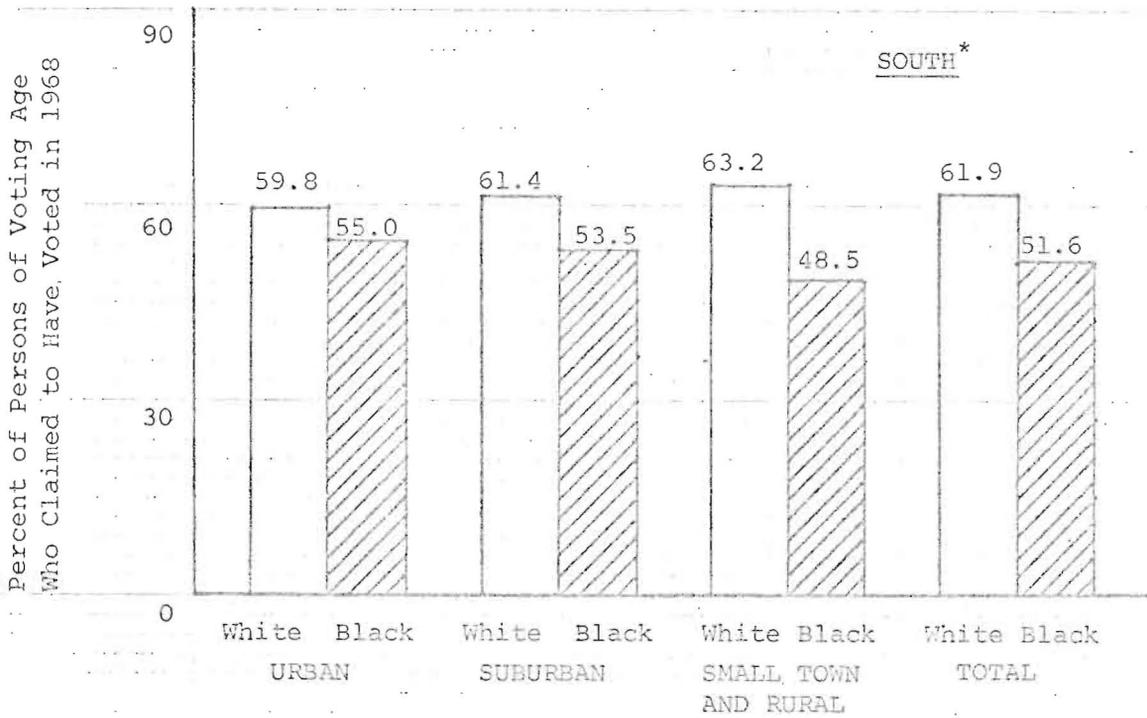
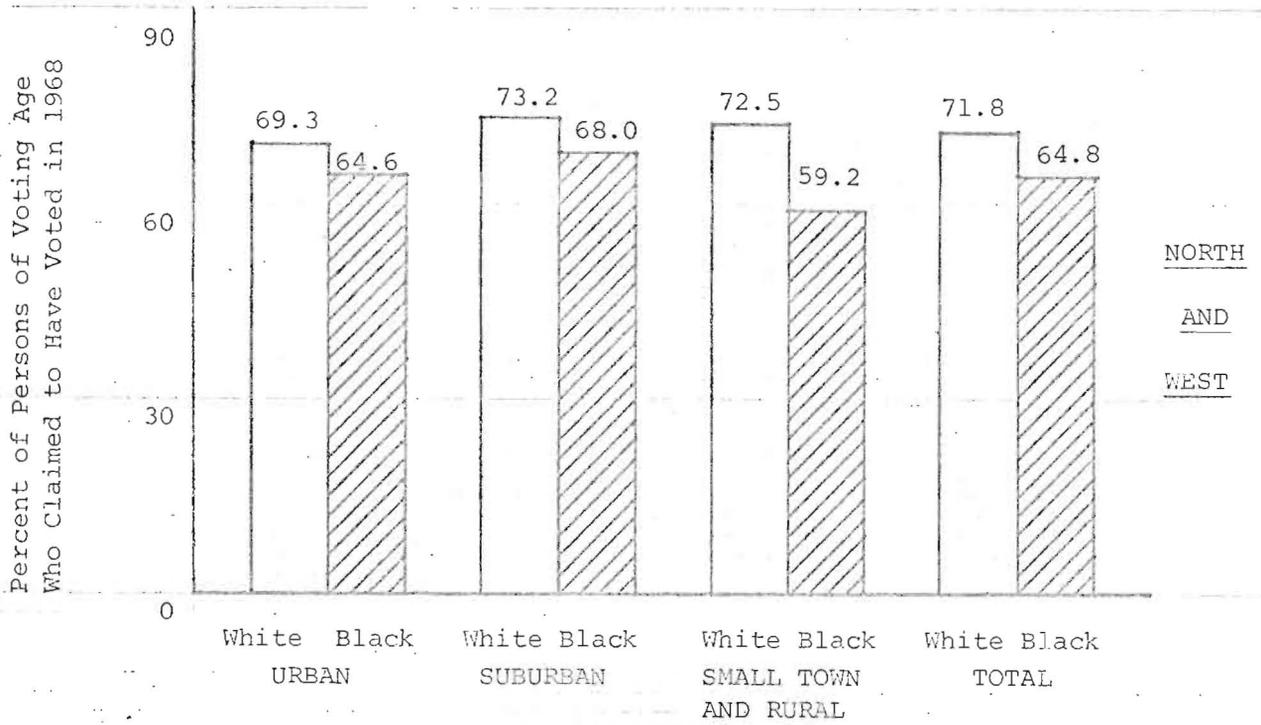
*Del, Md, DC, Va, W.Va, NC, SC, Ga, Fla, Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, Ark, La, Okla, Texas

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



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

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



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

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGES AMONG THE NON-WHITE VOTE

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

(Source: Gallup Poll)

In Recent National Surveys

Nixon and Republican Party Still Rejected by Nation's Blacks

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 10 — Since last Spring, President Nixon has had little success in attracting support among the nation's Negroes, judging by recent Gallup surveys. Not only has the President made little headway among blacks in terms of his own personal popularity, but his party has been un-successful in winning converts from the ranks of Democrats.

During the first months of Nixon's presidency, blacks tended to withhold judgment on his early approval of the President's performance in office. However, they moved decisively into the disapprove category during the President's second year of office and have remained there.

In the latest surveys, blacks by a 2-10-1 ratio express disapproval — the same ratio as recorded in surveys last Spring.

A trend away from Nixon in his second year was also recorded among whites, with little change found since. The trend away from Nixon, however, was less pronounced among whites than among blacks.

Reasons for disapproval among blacks tend to parallel reasons given by whites — the Vietnam war and the economy. Added to this is the feeling

among some blacks that Nixon is "not interested in us."

What Blacks Are Saying About Nixon

A 50-year old housewife from Los Angeles complained, "The President's not bringing our men home from Vietnam as he said he would — he's getting us in deeper and deeper."

A 63-year old housecleaner is angry about the cost of living: "I don't approve of Nixon at all. He's against welfare. I'm a poor woman, but I'm not on welfare. I scuffle for mine and I don't get what I should get. I can only get one day of work a week and still I have to pay social security."

A Wilmington, Del. resident commented, "Let's face it — President Nixon's not interested in blacks."

No Converts To GOP

Further evidence of the Nixon administration's failure to make political inroads among Negroes is its apparent lack of success in attracting blacks to the GOP label.

Blacks have been overwhelmingly Democratic in their political affiliation and voting record over the last four decades, and based on the latest survey evidence, there has been little change in this situation.

Three in every four blacks (74 per cent) classify themselves as Democrats, compared to 8 per cent who say they are Republicans, and 15 who label themselves Independents. Another 3 per cent either indicate allegiance to a third party or do not express an opinion. Virtually no change has been recorded in these percentages among blacks since Nixon took office.

To obtain the latest figures reported today, a total of 829 blacks and 9751 whites were interviewed in person in seven national surveys conducted between last September and mid-January of the current year. The surveys were combined in order to provide a large enough statistical base for breakdowns by subgroups. This question was asked, as in all previous surveys since Nixon took office:

Do you approve or disapprove of

the way Nixon is handling his job as President?

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

	Views of Blacks		
	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Jan.-May, '69 ...	40	17	43
Mar.-June, '70 ..	26	55	19
Sept., '70-			
Jan., '71	28	53	19

	Views of Whites		
	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Jan.-May, '69 ...	64	9	27
Mar.-June, '70 ..	59	29	12
Sept., '70-			
Jan., '71	57	29	14

Disapproval is most pronounced among better educated and younger

blacks and those living outside the South.

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

	Views of Blacks By Sub-Groups		
	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
NATIONAL ...	28		19
College & High school ..	22	62	16
Grade school ...	36	41	23
21-29 years	19	65	16
30-49 years	24	64	12
50 & older	36	41	23
South	42	38	20
Non-south	19	62	19
Men	29	55	16
Women	27	51	22

TAB G

ELECTORAL IMPACT OF BLACK VOTERS BY STATES AND REGIONS

State	Electoral Votes	% Blacks In Total Pop.	Number of Voting Age '70 (Thousands)	Estimated Proportion Voting '72 (3)	Estimated # Voting '72 (4)	Repub. Deficit if	
						20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere (5)	1968 Repub Plurality
<u>DEEP SOUTH</u>							
Miss.	7	36.8	490	42	206	<124>	<265>-AIP
La.	10	29.9	650	45	292	<175>	<273>-AIP
Ala.	9	26.4	550	42	231	<139>	<542>-AIP
Georgia	12	26.0	715	36	257	<154>	<155>-AIP
Arkansas	6	18.6	215	43	92	<55>	<47>-AIP
	<u>44</u>						
<u>BORDER STATES</u>							
Maryland	10	17.9	420	47	197	<178>	<20>
Virginia	12	18.6	520	42	218	<130>	148
W. Virginia	6	4.2	45	58	26	<16>	<66>
D. C.	3	71.1	320	36	115	<100>	<109>
N. Car.	13	22.4	680	45	306	<124>	163
S. Car.	8	30.5	475	38	180	<108>	57
Kent.	9	7.5	145	43	62	<37>	65
Flo.	17	15.5	630	48	302	<181>	210
Tenn.	10	16.1	380	44	167	<100>	121
Mo.	12	10.3	290	58	168	<151>	20
Okl.	8	7.0	110	52	57	<51>	148
Texas	26	12.7	860	40	344	<206>	<39>
	<u>134</u>						
<u>INDUSTRIAL NORTHEAST</u>							
N.Y.	41	11.9	1300	52	676	<608>	<370>
N.J.	17	10.7	460	59	271	<244>	61
Pa.	27	8.6	610	59	360	<324>	<169>
Del.	3	14.2	47	63	30	<27>	8
Ohio	25	9.1	580	57	331	<298>	90
Indiana	13	6.9	215	65	140	<126>	261
Mich.	21	11.2	600	60	360	324	<222>
Illinois	26	12.8	860	63	542	488	135
	<u>173</u>						

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

TAB H, Continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>% Blacks In Total Pop.</u> (1)	<u>Number of Voting Age '70</u> (2) (Thousands)	<u>Estimated Proportion Voting '72</u> (3)	<u>Estimated # Voting '72</u> (4)	<u>Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in 1968 Repub. South-5% Elsewhere Plurality</u> (5)	
<u>PACIFIC STATES</u>							
California	45	7.0	840	55	462	<416>	223
Oregon	6	1.3	16	60	10	<9>	50
Washington	9	2.1	45	64	29	<26>	<27>
Alaska	3	3.0	5	49	2	<2>	2
Hawaii	4	1.0	5	50	2	<1>	<50>
	<u>67</u>						

NOTES ON TAB "H"

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

Data on vote participation by state:

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

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

Importance of Black Vote in States

With Large Electoral Votes

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

Caucus heads Assail Nixon

DETROIT COURIER 5/29/71

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

Reps. Charles C. Diggs, Agustin F. Hawkins and William L. Clay said they were totally dissatisfied with the 115 page report issued last Tuesday by the President, particularly his positions on desegregation of housing and schools and appointment of black judges.

Diggs, D. Mich., said the recommendations — covering a broad spectrum of social and economic issues — were submitted earlier in the year to get the administration "to move into the 20th century to recognize that we have some problems here that need some innovative attention."

But "all we ended up with, with very few exceptions, was simply a codification of what the administration had already been doing," he said, and the 12 House members comprising the Black Caucus found the report "very disappointing."

Hawkins, D. Calif., recalling that the President had asked his critics to look at his deeds rather than his words, said "I can now understand because his words have very little meaning." He claimed the Nixon report was primarily designed "to justify revenue sharing" with the states.

Clay, D. Mo., agreed that the President appeared mainly to restate his commitment to policies that "are having a devastating effect on poor and black Americans."

The three black politicians were interviewed on the NBC-TV program, "Meet The Press."



REP. DIGGS

On particulars, the President spelled out that the administration had done or was planning in each field. In several instances, while maintaining a conciliatory tone, he disagreed with the Caucus on Methods of bringing about such things as crime control and a guaranteed minimum wage.

Nixon rejected suggestions that the Administration abandon its "no knock" entry and preventive detention policies in fighting crime. And he stood by his proposed \$2.410 guaranteed minimum an-

See Page 4

actions already taken, but declined to cite any new initiatives contained in it. He added, however, that the process of preparing the statement intensified the Administration's attention of programs and policies.

Replying to the demand for ending involvement in Indochina, the President reviewed actions taken so far to wind down the war and told the Caucus: "Fixing a unilateral date... would eliminate Hanoi's strongest incentive to negotiate and would jeopardize the progress made to date."

Continued From Page 4

nual income for a family of four, which the blacks want increased to \$6,500.

Shultz told newsmen at a White House briefing that the Administration stands on its record on civil rights and equal opportunities. "The record shows that the administration has been trying to deal with this problem in a steady and strong way," he said.

Shultz said the President's reply "codified" statements already made and

CHARLES BARTLETT

Col.
WASHINGTON STAR

Nixon and the Black Congressmen

5/21/71
The extent of the gap between President Nixon and the 13 black congressmen will not be diminished by their sharp derogation of his most positive statement to date on the subject of the black urban poor.

The congressmen are speaking, of course, in public terms to black constituencies where they are counted on to denounce the President for his lack of urgency and commitment. But they might have served their voters better if they had accorded him some credit for his turn away from the cautious reserve which made him seem anxious, during his first two years in the White House, to avoid acknowledging that he had any real concern for the urban poor.

The fact is that Nixon, in this exchange of viewpoints, strayed further from his political base than the black congressmen did. His turn marks a belated recognition that reelection will require some show of sensitivity toward the blacks' problems, some attempt to persuade Republican liberals that he is working to be President of all the people.

But his new strategy does not entail any real hope of Negro votes, so the extent to which he tried to accommodate the 61 demands for specific actions is surprising. For

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

Nixon appears to have put behind him the "Southern strategy" and "benign neglect" in order to reassure the ghetto blacks. The President is not making catchy promises; his response did not carry the burning sense of urgency which many feel about the urban crisis, and the administration's dollar commitment is far short of what the congressmen asked. But it was a positive statement describing positive actions.

With 7.6 million blacks concentrated in 15 cities, conflict is unavoidable between their congressmen and the Nixon-backed version of welfare reform. Family assistance totaling \$2,400 will not do much for most big city poor. Its great contribution to city life may be to discourage the rural poor from moving to the city.

But the black legislators' advocacy of a \$6,500 level of assistance and their criticism of the welfare recipients' obligation to register for work will not gain broad public support for their position. Their problem, in serving as a collective voice for the blacks, is that they will be tempted to polar-

ize issues to serve private political ends.

Their denunciation of the Nixon response bore a political ring because they neglected to concede any merit to what the administration has been doing. The President claims, for example, that he can come up with 892,000 summer job opportunities. This is close to the million which the Black Caucus proposed.

The rioting in Brooklyn makes the point that there is something to be said for the Nixon style of underpromising. The Brownsville section has known a \$50 million Model Cities program, an Urban Action Task Force run by the city, and a lot of high rhetoric. It is still a miserable piece of urban real estate and the impatience of its inhabitants is not surprising.

The explosion in Chattanooga makes once more the point that this impatience can blow into an unruly, destructive force, an embittering eruption in what Daniel P. Moynihan has called "an era of bad manners." This impatience is so volatile that black spokesmen will resist it if they are realists.

The point which the black leaders missed is that Nixon, perhaps with his finger to the wind, has moved closer to their concerns. He deserves some encouragement.



WEST ADAMS COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

HOWARD S. KAATZ
ADMINISTRATOR

June 28, 1971

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

Dear Mr. Fletcher:

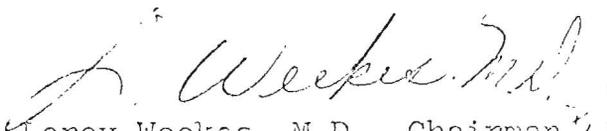
Forgive the delay in communication, but due to so many pressing matters, I was unable to follow through during the time period I indicated to you when I was in Washington. I would just like to reiterate that the non-profit organization, West Adams Community Hospital, would like to have a large luncheon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

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,


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

LW:ml

Enclosure: (2) WACH Brochures

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

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a memorandum
from Ken Rietz to Senator Brock on the National Movement
for the Student Vote.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

July 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: SENATOR BROCK
FROM: KEN RIETZ
SUBJECT: National Movement for
 the Student Vote

I don't think we should be overly concerned about the National Movement for the Student Vote.

They plan to concentrate on 283 campuses where they estimate 60% of the non-registered college students attend. This, as you know, is a low priority area for us.

The people participating in the NMSV headquarters are liberal and Democrat, and make no effort to conceal their feelings. They are running a partisan effort under a non-partisan label.

I think through informal conversations, you should inform the Republican members of the NMSV National Advisory Board (Senator Brooke, Senator Scott, and Senator Margaret C. Smith) of our feelings and encourage them to quietly withdraw. This would open the way for a public exposure at the proper time if we felt it necessary.

We will be keeping track of all NMSV activities and will keep you informed.

bcc: Jeb S. Magruder

June 21, 1971

To: National Advisory Board

From: Morris B. Abram, Jr.

Summary of Progress

Establishment of Washington Office -- Sufficient private funds raised to pay costs eight interns, including Mike Aguirre, student Arizona State responsible registration campaign 5000 students in three week periods. These will lay the groundwork for a voter registration campaign -- initially focusing on 300 of the nation's college campuses.

Research office -- While our permanent office is to be located in Washington, research division will be centered in Cambridge, Mass. where NMSV will benefit from UNITEL-Joint MIT-Harvard Census Program.

Board of Directors - Now includes Bill DeWind of Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; Bill Coleman, President NAACP Legal Inc. Fund; Franklin Roosevelt, Jr.; David Riesman, Henry Ford, II, Professor of Social Sciences, Harvard University; John Lewis, Executive Director, Voter Education Project. This group continues to expand.

Public Relations, Advertising -- John Moynahan, Chairman of the Board of John Moynahan & Co., one of the nation's most prominent public relations firms, has agreed to work with the NMSV for a nominal fee. Remar Sutton, Vice President of Richard K. Manhoff, the New York advertising firm responsible for the media campaign of Off-Track Betting, is preparing our newspaper, radio and television advertising.

Finances -- We have received generous financial support from prominent individuals of widely different political viewpoints. In addition, many foundations, churches and corporations have expressed interest in our undertaking, and are awaiting clearance of our application for tax exemption.

Tax-Exemption -- Adrian DeWind, senior partner, Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, and Kenneth Bergen, senior partner, Bingham, Dana and Gould have assumed powers of attorney for NMSV. Clearance expected soon.

Assistance of Corporations -- General Lucius Clay of Lehman Brothers, and Richard Gelb, President of Bristol-Myers Corporation have agreed to assist us in fund raising and advertising.

TALENT SEARCH

The Student Vote (The National Movement for the Student Vote), a non-partisan organization, was established to fill a vacuum in the voter registration field. Now headquartered at 530 Seventh Street, S.E. Washington D.C., The Student Vote plans to initiate and assist voter registration drives on the nation's college campuses.

Over the summer months the Student Vote plans to:

---establish a comprehensive file on each of the respective campuses, including a) a student body geographical profile, b) a listing of local organizations and individuals planning to involve themselves in voter registration, c) cooperative administrators, state officials, and civic leaders.

---initiate a thorough and ongoing study of the intricate legal problems particular to students. Though the Student Vote will not itself be involved in the litigation of domicile and residency questions, it will act as a conduit for organizations which are active in this area.

---design and coordinate a media campaign to publicize voter registration on the campus.

---establish eleven regional offices to be staffed by experienced voter registration field coordinators.

We are presently interviewing persons (previous experience in this field is not a prerequisite) for a limited number of paid and volunteer internships. The available tasks are many; this is an opportunity to be part of a national program of historic significance.

Our needs:

- media and press relations
- clerical assistance
- managerial skills (particularly interested in persons with office experience)
- research associates
- accounting
- political organizers
- legal research

Ask for Mike Davis or Mike Aguirre--547-3429. We look forward to hearing from you.

Mike Davis

National Advisory Board

Hon. Julian Bond
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Thomas D. Cabot
Senator Clifford Case
Rep. Ronald Dellums
Robben Fleming
Arthur Goldberg
Alexander Heard
Rev. Theodore Hesburgh
Senator Edward Kennedy
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CAMPUS VOTER PARTICIPATION**A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A PILOT PROJECT**

We are on the threshold of an historic test. A rising generation has come of age early, and their mandate shall soon be heard. Legislative action has swelled the federal electorate, giving America's young people awesome power and responsibility. But now that the vote is theirs, will it be cast?

The precedents are not encouraging. In 1968, three states allowed 18-20 year olds to vote. Yet in the election of that year, only 35.6% of whites and 25.3% of blacks in this age group actually voted.¹

Why College Students?

Voter participation is the fundamental process and sanction of a democratic society. Civic spokesmen, labor union officials, elected representatives, and minority group leaders are each concerned with the level of voter turnout in every election; all of these men work to promote voter registration within their own area of authority or influence.

Several groups are active in black communities. The Voter Education Project, with seven offices in the South, conducts drives in thirteen states. Frontlash, with offices in New York and California, assists minority groups in Northern ghetto

1. Bureau of Census, Technical Studies, "Characteristics of American Youth," series p-23, Feb. 6, 1970, page 23

communities. In addition, the N.A.A.C.P. has long worked in the area of voter rights-- as a principal in litigation and voter education.

American labor, given the lead by George Meany of the AFL-CIO, sponsored the massive voting drive amongst its own membership which, it may be recalled, nearly brought Hubert Humphrey victory in the last Presidential election.

State officials in many locales have already begun to enlist governmental machinery to educate and involve high school students in the registration process. The Youth Citizenship Fund, an outgrowth of a group that campaigned for the 18 year old vote, has concentrated its efforts on eligible high school students. In a recent Massachusetts drive, with the assistance of the League of Women Voters, it attracted public officials to high schools to address students in their auditoriums.

Amongst many identifiable groups, only the college campuses have been neglected.

Won't College Students Register Anyway?

This wide cross-section of the country, six million students generally between the ages of 18 and 22, has not received the attention of any voter registration organization. And while college students are spoken of in the mass media as a significant political force, no records of previous student registration have even been kept up to now. Indeed, there is probably no other group whose electoral habits are so unknown.

register in greater numbers than citizens lacking such education. No statistics are available, however, which correlate the voter's educational level with his age at the time he casts his ballot. Because high registration levels have characterized college educated persons in the past, it can not be assumed that this pattern will be repeated in the ranks of young voters presently enrolled in universities. There is even evidence which suggests the contrary.

Campus Alienation

Thomas Jefferson decried the notion of extending the franchise to those lacking the education he felt prerequisite to a sustained interest in the electoral system. It would have been a surprise and disappointment to him, no doubt, to discover that many citizens of a later day felt less drawn to this democratic cornerstone the longer they remained in centers of higher education. While it is impossible to say how widespread is alienation from the democratic system on the college campus, it is certain that unless remedial steps are taken soon, the cynicism that permeates America's classrooms will take a heavy toll as election day approaches.

Census figures reveal that in 1968, 218,000 eligible persons between the ages of 18 and 20 did not register to vote.

What was their explanation? 144,000 of these young people said they were "not interested."² There is no way to determine

2. Bureau of Census, Population Characteristics, series p-20, no. 172, May 3, 1968, page 53.

how many of the non-voters were college students, but Daniel Yankelovich in his report for the Task Force on Youth provides us with a basis for speculation.

Amongst "forerunner youth," the influential and expanding group which Yankelovich identifies as the campuses' mentors and conductors of new social values, skepticism about the nation's institutions runs high. In 1970, 50% of this group "strongly agreed" that the two-party system does not offer any real alternatives, and 33% expressed the belief that the American system of representative democracy can not respond effectively to the needs of the people.³ Clearly these attitudes augur resistance to voter participation amongst large numbers of college students.

Voting--the Initial Commitment

We believe that there could be no greater blow to the democratic system than the failure of millions of young voters to make use of their newly acquired franchise. The unproductive despair which is so widespread on America's college-campuses will only diminish as students begin to understand that it is their power to bring substantial social change through the electoral process.

Equally important, voting is a first step for other forms of political involvement. The student who casts his ballot for a particular candidate will undoubtedly follow the

3. Youth and the Establishment, JDR3rd Fund, Inc., 1971, pages 56,60

policies of the elected official more carefully than the person who did not go to the polls. Voting is one of the initial symbols of commitment to the democratic process.

Need for Assessment

Because so little is known about voting participation amongst young people, any registration drive conducted amongst this newly enfranchised group will assume the role of a significant test. It is difficult to speculate on the success which a well planned and tightly administered campus voter registration drive might have. A careful assessment of the techniques used on each campus, and the kinds of responses which resulted would be indispensable for future work in this and related areas of voter registration work.

A Pilot Project

The drive which the N.M.S.V. is proposing in these pages has importance beyond the millions of college students which we hope to register and get involved in the political process. This is a pilot project. The information which is compiled and statistically correlated will benefit at least three groups:

- 1) Students --- Registration and voting is an important, perhaps the fundamental, responsibility of a citizen in a democratic society. The American college community would profit from informational data which indicated the degree to which it accepted this responsibility, and the reasons why some of its members choose not to participate.

2) Political parties ---

Political parties are national institutions. Academies formulate many of the ideas which are later promoted by political parties as public policy. Both parties have an interest in learning about student receptivity to their ideologies--- as demonstrated in registration patterns on specific campuses.

3) National Community---

The nation as a whole would benefit from a thorough exposition of campus voter participation. Responses to voter registration efforts as documented during the drives will be a good measure of the degree of student estrangement from the democratic process. The depth provided by such a study would far surpass existing surveys and would help to promote better understanding between the country and its 2500 campuses.

DEMOGRAPHICS

6,045,000 Americans attend four-year colleges and graduate schools. If these students were distributed evenly over the 1600 or so universities in the United States, we would face what might be an insurmountable task in seeking to register these students to vote. Fortunately, our research indicates that 3,640,000, or roughly 60% of these students attend a mere 283 campuses with enrollments over 5,000.⁴

4. Characteristics of the College Market, National Educational Advertising Service, 1970.

In order to register substantial numbers of black students, one should include 21 additional black colleges with enrollments over 1,500 in a student voter registration drive. These campuses have a total enrollment of over 61,000.

The National Movement for the Student Vote will attempt to organize these 304 campuses. The large campuses show a high degree of concentration in a few states such as New York and California. The smaller black schools are located primarily in the South.

With a keen eye toward effectively decentralizing our drive, we shall divide up the United States into the following regions:

(Figures in parentheses indicate number of campuses to be organized.)

Region I

New York (25)

Region II

Massachusetts (7)
 Connecticut (6)
 Vermont (1)
 Maine (1)
 New Hampshire (2)
 Rhode Island (3)

—
(20)

Region III

Pennsylvania (12)
 New Jersey (9)
 Virginia (7)
 District of
 Columbia (5)
 Maryland (4)
 Delaware (1)
 West Virginia (2)

(40)

Region IV

North Carolina (8)
 South Carolina (3)
 Florida (5)
 Georgia (5)

—
(21)

Region V

Tennessee	(7)
Kentucky	(6)
Alabama	(6)
Mississippi	(5)
Arkansas	(3)
Louisiana	(10)

(37)

Region VII

Illinois	(14)
Wisconsin	(8)

(22)

Region IX

North Dakota	(2)
South Dakota	(2)
Nebraska	(3)
Minnesota	(4)
Idaho	(3)
Montana	(2)
Wyoming	(1)
Colorado	(4)
Nevada	(1)
Utah	(4)

(26)

Region VI

Ohio	(14)
Indiana	(7)
Michigan	(9)

(30)

Region VIII

Missouri	(11)
Kansas	(5)
Iowa	(4)
Oklahoma	(5)

(25)

Region X

Texas	(20)
Arizona	(3)
New Mexico	(2)

(25)

Region XI

California	(24)
Oregon	(3)
Washington	(5)
Hawaii	(1)

(33)

METHODS

We cannot yet discuss in detail the techniques to be employed in registering prospective voters: these depend a great deal on voter registration laws on every level, which are changing monthly because of the recent enactment of the 18-year old vote. Below, our methods are set out in general terms:

To begin with:

Student apathy and even cynicism about the electoral process must be overcome. Speakers, as well as advertisements and posters, should help convince students that voting is one of the most effective, even radical actions they can take. Students of differing political attitudes should learn that they each have a stake in the electoral process.

First concrete steps

According to the League of Women Voters, "citizens," i.e., in this case our volunteers, in at least 16 states may be deputized to register voters. We will undertake this approach wherever possible, since it proved so successful for the Voter Education Project.

Role of the Central Office

In about 25 states students may register in absentee. In some states, students are required by law to request registration forms personally. The local practice of the law varies: although most states and counties will not provide us directly with a

stock of forms, New York City's Board of Elections, for instance, will give as many as requested. In order to register a Boston University student with residence in New York, all that would be required is to give him the form. Regarding those states requiring a personal request from the would-be absentee student voter, we plan to provide each student, along with a possible form letter, the address of the office he should contact.

In states where students are eligible to vote and where they can register close by the campus, we can simply direct students to the right authorities.

Coordinators--What Manner of Men?

It would be easy to ask the student government president or the newspaper editor to head the registration drive on each campus. Unfortunately, these men do not usually have sufficient time available to do a good job for NMSV. There is an additional problem. As Remar Sutton, who helped organize the Movement for a New Congress, put it, "Most of the old campus politicians are burned out and useless--just plain ineffective." We shall look for fresh talent; students who are imaginative and dedicated.

Promotion

Neither a Time article on our Cambridge office nor an ad in The New York Times explaining our drive will help us register students to vote at North Carolina State. We believe it is essential that national publicity on the NMSV be directed towards

local campus efforts, rather than the activities of the central office.

The central office will provide each campus with several hundred posters, which will seek to give voter registration the necessary "cutting edge." Where the local coordinator finds it appropriate flyers will also be provided for door-to-door leafleting. Fraternities, sororities and service organizations (Green Key, etc.) can be engaged to help distribute such literature. The support of these groups will be enlisted in the early organizational stages of most drives.

Hopefully, college newspapers will give NMSV free advertising space in addition to the 1500 paid lines we have budgeted for each campus. Experience indicates that it will be more fruitful to approach these newspapers on a national level. We shall engage the president of a large advertising agency to write all newspapers, once we have been approved by the Advertising Council.

Steven Hochschild, a doctoral student in planning at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has done research which indicates that there is no more effective way to engage the interest of students on a campus than a "telephone blitz." On a campus where individual or roommate group phones are standard fare, one can reach 5,000 plus students in 10 hours (two evenings) with 25 student volunteers manning phones.

The Role of Student Governments

We cannot thrive on a campus without the cooperation of each college's administrators. While initial reservations can be overcome by a letter from an educator on our advisory board, considerable personal contact will be necessary to build trust. Student governments will hopefully facilitate good relations with campus administrators.

We shall require permission to set up registration centers in the student union and in dining halls. Also, we would be helped by a master list of students, particularly if it indicates phone numbers.

Student government officials are competent judges of the mood of their campus, and they can advise our coordinator on issues such as which, if any, speakers should be brought on campus to arouse interest in registration. Our speakers bureau thus will not be so liable to send a man to New Mexico State who is unpopular there.

Putting the Names on the Dotted Line

Ideally, we should move one or two mobile registration booths onto a campus, and have in-state students register there. (Out-of-staters can be handled at nearby tables.) John Lewis of the V E.P. reports, however, that only large cities provided his group with mobile registration vans. He suggests, though, that some of the problems he encountered might have been peculiar to the South. Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign workers, for example,

used mobile boxes throughout Indiana with considerable success.

While we shall exert as much bipartisan political pressure as possible to loosen terms on mobile centers, we could alternatively set up centers around the campus where out-of-state students can be given absentee registration forms (or form letters), and in-state students can be pointed in the right direction.

Possibilities for Mass Registration

We are investigating the possibility of having students register to vote at the same time as they register for school or as they pick up their selective service forms from the registrar. Toward this end, we have initiated discussions with the American Association of College Registrars and Admissions Officers.

Problems

There can be little doubt that we will meet local resistance to our efforts in some towns, particularly in potential Berkeleys. John Lewis, for example, has run into several county officials in Mississippi who refuse to register 18-year olds because "they lack necessary facilities." Again, we shall seek to employ some political clout to overcome such hurdles. If necessary, however, we shall activate our legal arm.

LEGAL

One problem that will tend to thwart our efforts to register college students is the autonomy given to county clerks in interpreting state law. One aspect of this problem will be

two-fold. First, it will be important to know in advance the ways in which specific statutes can be used against the students seeking to register. Second, NMSV will maintain close contact with organizations capable of testing the legality of the more unfair laws; in this way, we will be able to give concrete aid to students having difficulty registering, rather than fruitlessly exhorting them to do so.

Our central office, in cooperation with other organizations active in the field of voter participation, will compile a summary of existing statutes and possible problem areas. This booklet, sent to all NMSV personnel, will serve as indispensable background information. We recognize, however, that it cannot serve as a substitute for information gathered in the field. To remedy this situation, law students recruited from each state will report to their regional coordinator on the nature of problems that students are encountering. All information concerning difficulties with local officials will be forwarded to the central office where the material can be correlated with other data to analyze the basis and location of major student registration problems. All campus coordinators will receive the reports pertinent to their locale.

It will be imperative for all NMSV personnel to have a complete understanding of potential legal problems, since confidence in their own position will make dealings with local officials easier and more productive. In areas where the NMSV will not be able to assist directly in the registration process, it will be important for each registrant to have easy access to the same knowledge.

In cases where a student's right to vote is clearly being denied, the central office will act as a conduit - referring complaints to organizations which have the experience and resources to litigate. Hopefully, the threat of suit will discourage discriminatory practices in some areas. As evidence of our concern and sincere intent in this matter, legal counsel will be attached to each regional coordinator.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

We are now trying to create the most effective organizational structure for registering the maximum number of student voters possible. We do not plan to run a centralized campaign from Cambridge, Mass. Doing so would require at least 300 "line managers" reporting to one office. (The Movement for a New Congress, trying last year to organize a large number of campuses, failed when they set up such a structure.) On the other hand, it would be inept to send 20 Harvard "missionaries" around the country trying to organize a campus a week. Each campus requires the attention, the knowledge of local conditions, which only the students there can provide.

Regional coordination promises to be the best approach. Each regional coordinator will be responsible for the thirty or so campuses in his area. Our central office will provide him with information of timetables, laws, and methods. The Cambridge office can also help when appropriate with absentee registration forms and form letters, and can also supply a variety of promotional

materials and opportunities, ranging from ad glossies to posters. A central speaking bureau could arrange to have a Senator or other respected local figure initiate the local registration drive. The Harvard-based staffman covering the region will consult with the local and regional coordinators and serve as their link with the information NMSV will have accumulated.

The attached organizational chart outlines the plan for the central office.

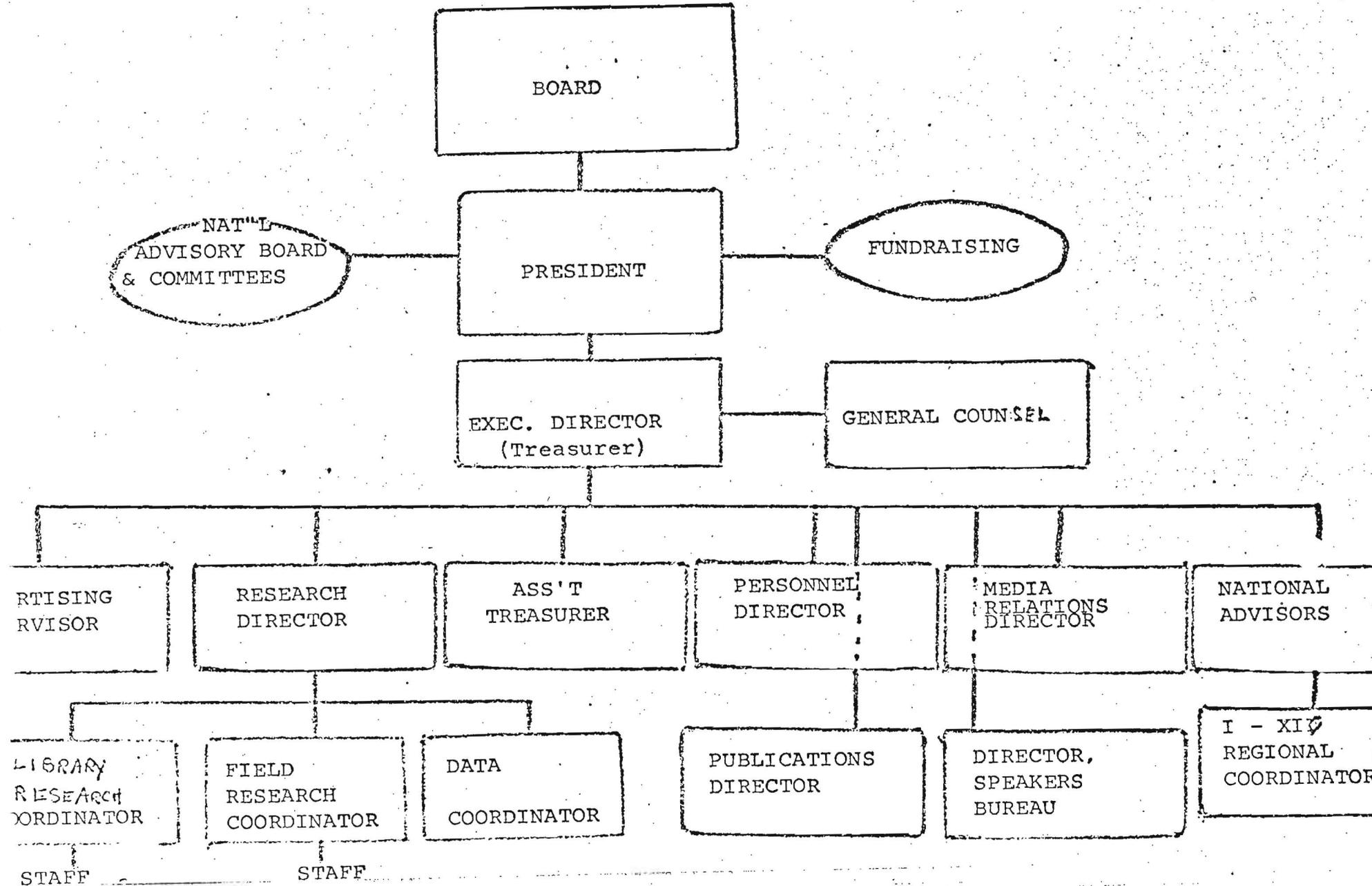
THE RESEARCH EFFORT

While MNSV hopes to rely on other organizations in assembling much of the information for successful registration drives, our Cambridge office nonetheless anticipates carrying on a substantial research effort this Spring. The research staff will work closely with The League of Women Voters, Common Cause, The Legislative Reference Service, and other groups so as not to duplicate their efforts. Five interns will spend their summer in Washington doing research on registration laws and other important factors in the drive.

We shall contact Secretaries of State, and where necessary local election boards, to ascertain:

- * Where absentee registration is permitted and where bulk forms are available.
- * Where mobile registration booths can be set up on campus.
- * Where volunteers can be deputized as registrars.
- * During what time periods voters may be registered.

National M'vt for the Student Vote



* What constitutes residency.

From university administrators we hope to find the following:

* The university's student enrollment by state.

* The academic calendar.

* Names of heads of Young Democrats, Young Republicans, fraternity councils, student government, etc.

* Where students eat.

* Names and addresses of campus newspapers.

* Where booths may be set up.

We will write to all the students whose names we obtain. In addition, many U.S. Senators have pledged to provide us with the names of all students applying for summer internships; our research staff will be in touch with all of them.

Analyzing our data will pose an important and critical task. Computer programs will coordinate academic and voter registration calendars, giving as output the weeks liable for an intensive registration drive on a given campus. The student enrollment of each campus, broken down by home states of students, will be entered into our computer storage space. A simple program can then indicate how many absentee registration forms and form letters we need from each state, and which campus we shall have to ship them to.

BLACK STUDENTS

There are now 492,000 Black students attending American Universities. One-third of these students are studying at the nation's 105 Black campuses; the rest are located at other institutions across the country.

Bureau of Census statistics have been cited that reveal the small number of black students registering to vote in states where the 18-year old franchise has been in force in the past. We know that registration in the nation's Black areas has been historically much lower than in white communities. There is no evidence, however, that Black campuses are subject to the fear which has been reported by V.E.P. registrars as being always one of the chief obstacles to registering Blacks in the South.

Conversations with Black community and student leaders around the country suggest that there may be other reasons discouraging Black student registration. Dean Monroe of Miles College has remarked on the bitter frustration and anger felt by many Black students at their seeming inability to alter the circumstances around them. This frustration need not continue, however, to express itself in political alienation. Lee Daniels, Managing Editor of the Harvard Journal of Afro-American Affairs, notes that while many Blacks are not impressed with short-term projects such as the Committee for a Moratorium, they are increasingly committed to measurable political and social progress.

Some might ask why we consider the participation of these

... .. worthy of special

attention. Even if not numerically overwhelming, Black students have a particularly vital role to play in the future. This group, more than their white counterparts, will in these next years come to influence and direct the political outlook of their communities. The commitment they adopt to the electoral process now will undoubtedly bear on their effectiveness in promoting future social change.

Obviously, Black students are among the most alienated from the traditional political machinery. While receptive to involvement in the electoral process, they distrust appeals from white organizations lacking roots in their own communities. We believe that no successful campus registration drive can be mounted on Black campuses or even amongst Black students attending predominantly white institutions without carefully considering the activities of established community organizations. With this in mind, the NMSV has already begun setting up contacts with such organizations as the Urban League, Voter Education Project, and Frontlash. In addition we have engaged a range of Black advisors including Julian Bond, Senator Edward Brooke, Congressman Ronald Dellums, and Vernon Jordan. We hope that the presence of these individuals will lend support to our efforts, serving to remind students of the profoundly activist antecedents of voter registration drives in the South during the early 1960's.

CAMPUS COORDINATOR 16

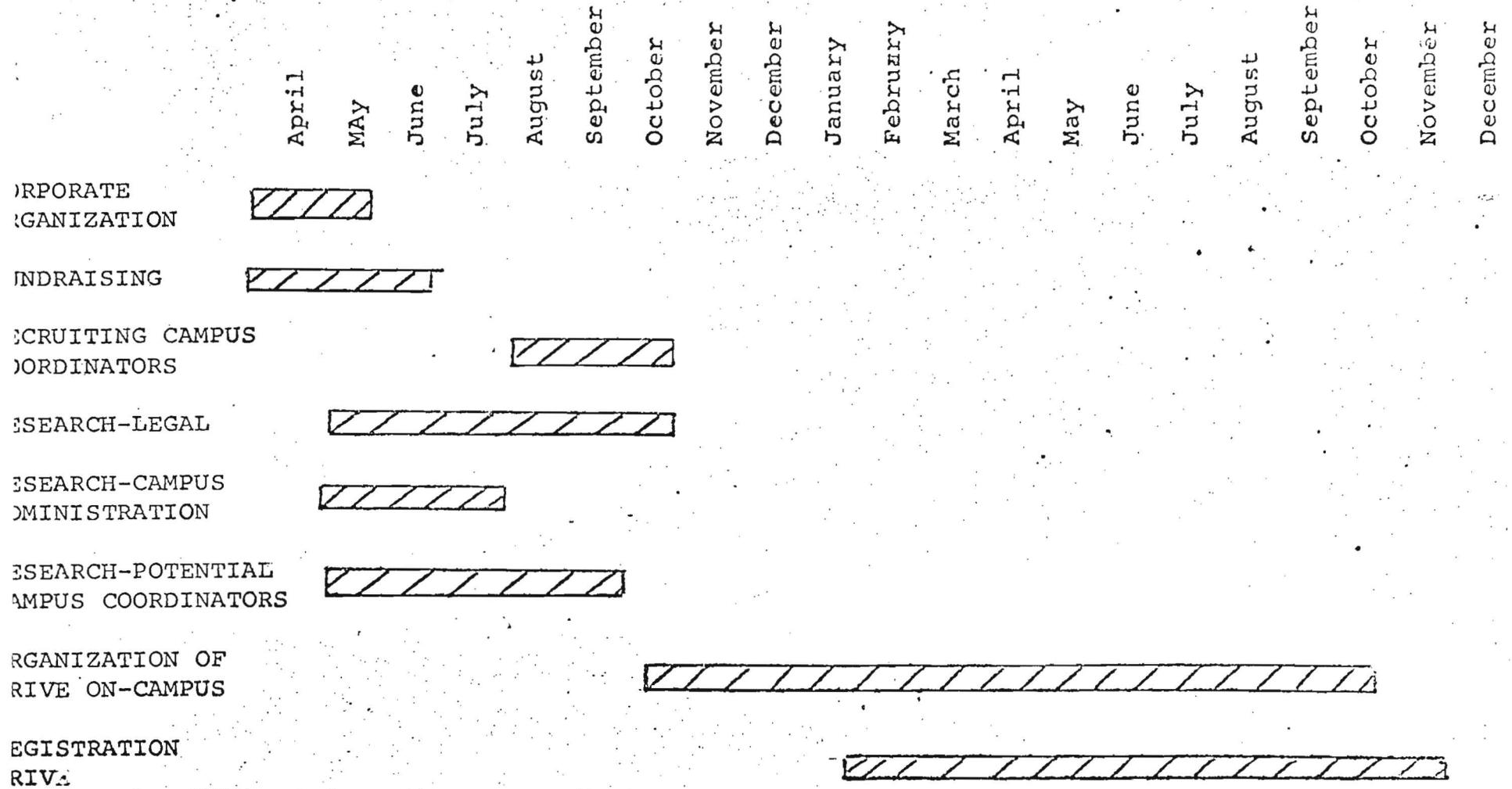
There is no Black organization which has branches on a significant number of campuses. Where there are AFRO or O.B.U. groups, we will seek to involve them. In other cases, we will search out individuals who have been politically active in the past.

We believe, however, that any attempt to establish a separate arm of the NMSV to work with the Black student community would be a mistake. This would only tend to splinter our effort and promote division. Our initial Cambridge group includes several Black students, and we anticipate little difficulty in attracting others as national coordinators.

1971

Timetable

1972



Projected Expenses of NMSV
 April 1971 - December 1972

	<u>Apr.-May 1971</u>	<u>June-Aug.1971</u>	<u>Sept.1971-Dec.1972</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Computer Time and File Space		\$1,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 6,000
Telephones	\$1,000	6,000	30,000	37,000
Postage	500	900	4,500	5,900
Secretarial	600	1,500	7,500	9,600
Legal	1,500		5,000	6,500
Travel	1,000	2,500	25,000 ¹	28,500
Stationary, Office Supplies	600	900	4,500	6,000
Summer Office		1,200		1,200
Advertising - College Newspapers			90,000 ²	90,000
Summer Interns - Stipends		5,000 ³		5,000
Flyers, Brochures, Posters	500	500	19,500 ⁴	20,500
Form Letters, Addressed Envelopes			10,000	10,000
Campus Coordination- Stipends			45,600	45,600
Capital Expenditures	2,000			2,000
	<u>\$7,700</u>	<u>\$19,500</u>	<u>\$246,600</u>	<u>\$273,800</u>

- 1 - 3 round trips to areas at average of \$150 plus 30 days travel, room and board @\$20 for each of 11 coordinators. Additionally, \$2,500 for miscellaneous travel.
- 2 - 1500 lines per newspaper @ \$.200.
- 3 - \$1000/student for June-August.
- 4 - \$.01/student to be approached. 5 - \$150/coordinator.

One of the problems facing many student groups that begin community projects is a lack of expertise in the area in which they are working. The National Movement for the Student Vote has tried to assemble, and we believe with success, a core group of committed workers - all of whom have extensive backgrounds in fields related to our project. In putting together this nucleus of our operations, we have scrupulously sought a diverse, as well as able group. Republicans as well as Democrats, women as well as men, blacks as well as whites are extensively represented. The only viewpoint that all of us share is a deep commitment to the electoral process.

Another obstacle to student projects is the short period in which students are in school, and the amount of school work which occupies them during normal school terms. We have confronted this problem on two fronts. On the one hand, we have involved students who plan to remain in the Cambridge area for some time, whether they are enrolled at Harvard College or not. Other students who have heavy work schedules have offered to take leave of absences to make a full time commitment to the NMSV. Because we have brought together such a qualified group, we anticipate little difficulty in attracting other younger individuals who will replace the initial group and carry on our

operation in future years.

On this initial list, we have only included biographical sketches of Harvard and Radcliffe students. We are presently compiling biographies of students from other schools which will soon be available upon request.

- Morris Abram, Jr. - '71-'72, history; member, Harvard Policy Council, curriculum reform study group; founder and first president The Harvard Independent, a weekly student newspaper; campaign co-ordinator Peter Berle for New York State Assembly.
- Paul Anderson - Harvard night school; founder Massachusetts' Teenage Republican Club, aide to State Senator John Quinlan
- John Avault - '70, economics; Rotary fellowship, study abroad; Economic analyst Boston Redevelopment Authority; Industrial Development Commission - responsible for data analysis of Boston's Industrial Characteristics; extensive experience in computer methods, statistics.
- Paul Bloom - '70, government; precinct organizer Senatorial campaign of Joseph Tydings, Congressional race of Paul Sarbanes, and for Robert Embry, city concilor. Managerial experience, Colony Credit Corp., Baltimore.
- Jim Breedlove - '71, entering Harvard Law; intern Shawmut National Bank, responsible for business projects in black communities throughout the country.
- Kevin Carney - '70, government; campaign organizer Eugene McCarthy, Allard Lowenstein, Phillip Hoff; fund raiser Phillip Hoff for U.S. Senate; research ass't for William Blair and Co. investment banking firm; intern ed. dep't Chicago Daily News; Ed. ass't. Bostonian Magazine.
- David Cochran - '70, government; President Briggs House; co-ordinator McCarthy campaign, Washington office; ass't campaign manager for Richard Howes, candidate U.S. Senate Maryland, 1968; ass't accountant in charge of computers - Ace Electronics Co.
- Lee Daniels - '71, government; managing editor of Harvard Journal of Afro-American affairs; intern Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal.
- Mike Davis - '74, government; teacher remedial education program Hotchkiss School; permanent intern, Lowell Dodge Center for Auto Safety, Washington; advisor to Secretary of Transportation Volpe on Youth and Auto Safety.
- John DeTore - '71, classics; intern Mass. Attorney General's Office, Citizens' Aid Division; Chief organizer, Youth for Mass., a successful attempt to get high school students

throughout the state involved in political campaigns of both parties. Campaign manager, Richard Daley, Republican candidate for State Assembly; county coordinator, Sargent-Dwight campaign.

Hamilton Fish, 3rd. - '73, government; member, Republican Conference Research Program, task force on Earth, Population and Resources; organizer Congressional campaign of Hamilton Fish, 2nd. Advertising and press staff The Harvard Independent.

Mitchell Fishman - '70, Harvard Law '73; station manager WHRB; editor, The Harvard Crimson; press secretary for Joseph Duffey, candidate for U.S. Senate.

Lucy Freedman - Radcliffe '70, Harvard Education School; Chairman Radcliffe Grant-in-Aid; campaign organizer for Joseph Duffey.

Henry Hecht - Harvard Law School, '73, staff member, speech-writer for Senator Charles Mathias.

Robert Luskin - '72, government; Co-author, The Harvard Strike, Houghton Mifflin; Presidential appointee to Advisory Committee on Harvard University Gazette; reporter The Herald Traveler.

Tom McKean - '72, government; intern Senator Edward Brooke, Lt. Governor Frank Sargent.

Thomas Stenberg - '71, economics; entering Harvard Business School; member board of director Harvard Student Agencies; publisher, The Harvard Independent.