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<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
57	7	n.d.	Report	The Los Angeles Negro Community. Prepared by The Charles Williams Company.
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THE
LOS ANGELES
NEGRO
COMMUNITY

Prepared by--The Charles Williams Company
851 S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles 21, California

LOS ANGELES NEGRO COMMUNITY

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The Charles Williams Company

PUBLIC RELATIONS

851 SOUTH CENTRAL AVENUE

LOS ANGELES 21, CALIFORNIA

MADISON 2-3815

LOS ANGELES NEGRO COMMUNITY

I. ITS PEOPLE

a. Its Professionals

As may well be the case with any frontier town awakening to find it has outgrown its two-block "Main Street", so it is with most Western Negro communities, they suddenly realize there is a need for direction.

Like any other ethnic group striving to stand erect in the face of weed-like growth, the professionals merge as the carriers of the town's burdens. The attorneys, medical doctors and dentists are set upon for nearly every sort of advice and are expected to council and fill the leadership need.

The Los Angeles Negro community is no exception, in that its professionals, in each category, are sought after by every type of club and organization to lend prestige to a particular program. Consequently, many professional names that appear on letterheads mean only window dressing.

With the expanding population within the Los Angeles Negro community, this group has been forced to spend less and less time in "Town Hall" and thereby curtailing, to some extent, the role of leadership assumed earlier.

With the appearance of the "New" professional Negro who can be found in modern offices from Watts to Beverly Hills, from Central Avenue to Malibu, using the latest in equipment and business techniques, the approach to each community problem has changed along with the Negro's stature in the scheme of things.

Several outstanding professional clubs offer regular social and charity programs to the local community each year. Almost to a man, all of this group belong to one of the prevalently popular organizations. The Langston Law Club is to date the only club dedicated to Negro attorneys in the Los Angeles Area; the wives not wanting to be left on the sideline, have organized the "Wives of the Bench and Bar Club".

In order that they may also have a place and a part in the expanding local social life, the Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Club appeared and functions, as does the Auxiliary of the medical group.

For the most part, the Los Angeles Negro professionals belong to what might be called the upper middle class owning homes ranging from 40,000 to 85,000 dollars, two to three cars, and some cabin cruisers.

Yearly trips to Mexico City, Hawaii and Europe are becoming ordinary. The newest trend is an interest in the free African countries and visits thereto, the entertaining of visiting African diplomats. Since the "Freedom Riders", new energy is being disbursed in the interest of representative government in city and state, and to support those public officials sympathetic to civil rights, and religious fervor in projecting a firm attitude of support to proven

political friends who fight obvious injustices.

This, then, is the pace and pattern of the "New" professional Negro and his relationship to the community.

b. Its Small Businesses

Small Negro businesses have organized a Chamber of Commerce in the Watts Area, the Eastside Chamber of Commerce, serving the Central Avenue Area and the Western Avenue Chamber of Commerce. The Watts Area Chamber of Commerce has met with the most success. Several other small businessmen's organizations have been attempted--only to disappear. The California Businessmen's Association, composed in the main by local retail liquor dealers and tavern owners, is at present sponsoring a boycott of the Lucky Lager Brewing Company for its discriminatory hiring policies. The boycott has gained the support of the community and local stores and bars have refused to sell or display the product.

The majority of local small businesses consist of real estate offices, beauty parlors, barber shops, cafes, liquor stores, cocktail lounges, dress shops, photography studios, miscellaneous record shops, and a limited number of grocery stores. Trade organizations include Professional Photographers of Los Angeles, about fifty members; the Creative Hair Designers and the Western Hair Designers, several hundred members, each; a barbers organization of approximately three hundred members found it too difficult to schedule meetings suitable to the majority of members because of the time factor, and disbanded.

Real Estate Brokers and salesmen have the Consolidated Realty Board and the Southwestern Realty Board, each boasting several hundred members. These trade groups offer opportunity for a concerted effort, if approaches are convincing with regard to community interest.

c. Its Civic Leadership

Organizations dedicated to the protection of and progression of the Negro civic structure are the local NAACP and the Urban League, the latter a "Red Feather" unit following a policy of unobtrusive yet diligent effort to upgrade the Negro citizen with the conference table as its media.

With an absence of Negro people in local city government where policy is determined, civic leadership, as such, suffers greatly and has given birth to several upheavals including the present 10th District Council Recall Movement.

The contention in the whole of the Negro community is that several qualified Negroes were available for the vacated post and were not chosen, purely for racial reasons. Petitions are now being circulated to bring about the recall of Councilman Hellingsworth and thereby causing the selection of a new councilman to go before the voters of the 10th District.

Civic leadership, therefore, is determined by the issues at hand and may emerge with a laborer, businessman, professional, minister, or a combination of all, at the helm.

The NAACP has joined in the recall, all ministers are assisting in the fund drives and bumper-strips for automobiles are being sold to further the cause and defray costs. It is expected that Dr. Martin Luther King will be called in to spark a fund drive.

In every political campaign, the one thousand
and one leaders are apt to be divided into as many
ways for as many issues.

d. Its Religious Leadership

Over three hundred Negro churches in the Los Angeles Area open their doors every Sunday morning to over 450,000 Negro citizens. Thus, political or other communications reach a captive audience each and every week by the minister, pastor, preacher, deacon, bishop or brother.

Needless to say, the repetition of a given message by these leaders tends to mold a concept difficult to change or modify.

Except for the fact that each of these heads of churches regards himself "the" leader, communication via the church would spell success in any civic or political program.

Ministerial organizations such as The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Baptist Ministers Union, the AME Ministerial Alliance, CME Ministers Alliance, Christian Ministers Alliance, the Independent & Community Church Alliance, the Western Baptist State Convention of California. The Ministers' Wives Groups: Baptist Ministers' Wives Council of Los Angeles and vicinity, Interdenominational Ministers' Wives Council of Los Angeles and vicinity, AME Ministers' Wives Alliance, and others, attempt to establish a policy of unity within their own particular group. There have been cases, however, that have been approved by the alliance but failed to reach the ears of the individual congregations due to a conflict of opinion or interests.

Questions of civil rights, etc., find no conflict of interests within the ranks of these leaders. It can safely be said that the majority of the ministers are, at present, either Democrats or have been conditioned to the Democratic Party through widely publicized appointments of Negroes in high places of the state and government.

II ITS POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS

a How it Votes

Summing up the political characteristics of the local Negro community, many factors come to light that give rise to the Democrat's successes. First we must, of course, realize that the past performance of either party is most assuredly a matter of record. Just as sure, but without benefit of formal record, is the performance of Negro mass movement to the Democrats.

It can truly be said that the Democrats did no more for the Negro in appointments and job opportunity, but got credit for doing more.

While Governor Brown has probably made a few more appointments than did his predecessors, the economic benefits to these appointees does not measure up. He has taken advantage of every opportunity to publicize those he has made and has added enough yeast to attract the undecided.

If one should spot-check the Negro community of California today for individual views and concepts, one would almost surely find that an inner-emotional resentment for the Republican Party exists. Those who were dead-set against the Democrats in the last election have begun to sing their praises.

Two of the three Negro newspapers in the Los Angeles Area were solidly behind the Kennedy Administration. The third held back their endorsement, waiting for the local Republican machinery to come forth with an advertising program.

When the deadline approached and no program was submitted, the Democrats made an offer that was difficult to refuse. The Republicans had "fumbled the ball again", just as they had with the Martin Luther King incident.

The Negro in Los Angeles is interested in factual civil rights sponsorship, equal job opportunity, education, and housing. Hence, in summary, one would be compelled to say the Negro in Los Angeles can be expected to vote for the candidate who uncompromisingly substantiates the policies he believes in, regardless of party.

b. Shortcomings in Political Approaches

One of the greatest mistakes is starting "too late". During the last phases of the Nixon-Kennedy Campaign of 1960, the Charles Williams Company was retained by an associate public relations firm, the Joseph V. Baker Corporation, to tour the Central California area as well as the Los Angeles area with special Republican literature geared to the Negro community.

The Negro community in Fresno, California showed no sign that a campaign was even being thought of. It was the opinion of the community that the Negro had been written off by the Republican Party. There were no headquarters, banners, posters on Richard Nixon, or any other evidence of Republican activity.

Bakersfield Negro community was somewhat better; still the cry was, "Too little, too late!"

Until the "Baker" literature was circulated, the Negro citizen had little knowledge of the vast number of appointments by the Eisenhower Administration of fellow-members of the Negro community.

Before the story could be told, Mr. Kennedy had already ordered the setting free of Martin Luther King, appointed a Negro as his direct aide, who was photographed with him at every conference. Other evidences by Kennedy toward the Negro desires forced even Republicans to admit that the young Kennedy might do alright as President.

It is unnecessary to post-mortem Mr. Knewland and his campaign. The ramifications involved in pushing aside Governor Knight are well entrenched in the minds of Republicans and Democrats alike. The records show that careless antics might spell suicide for all the Republicans in the forthcoming election.

Negroes, like all other Americans, hold a tenderspot for the underdog--yet, he must not be a weakling. Knight showed weakness while Brown shows an interest in the Negro with visual strength to carry out his plans in that direction. Naturally, Brown got the Negro vote.

In stressing the importance of proper communication to and for the Negro in politics, we offer for illustration the Martin Luther King incident aforementioned. The situation gained the attention of every Negro in the country. While the Republican Party was probably undecided or wading through the red tape of the State Department, the Kennedy machine made a telephone call and effected Reverend King's release, and---made sure that they got credit for it in every Negro publication in the nation. At that point, the Republican stock dropped to a new low within the Negro Communities of the country and took Mr Nixon along with it.

Incidents of this nature occur many times on the local horizon. While the script is usually re-written, and the actors change their garb and play new roles, the plot remains the same as far as the Negro is concerned.

One of the greatest mistakes the Republican Party makes in their approach to the Negro of today is the constant reference to the "freedom of the slaves by Abe Lincoln".

The reference is the one thing the "New" Negro wants to forget. The Republicans have sung the slave song too long and the Negro of 1961 finds he is still not free.

New approaches must be brought to the fore. Window dressing is easily recognized for what it is. Old line Republicans tend to "elbow" young ideas in an effort to hang onto yesterday's diminishing power. The time has passed when the party could go to a well-known preacher or the community's most outstanding businessman and for a hundred dollars enlist his aid in getting the community to follow his vote.

The support of the wrong person, businessman or leader, even minister, might not get the support of his own following or congregation and could easily cause the loss of many other businessmen or ministers and their congregations.

c. Isolation of the Community from Basic Planning

The Wall Street Journal, Fortune Magazine and many analysts on business trends, agree that the Negro community is an important one--but a very COMPLEX one. There are as many degrees of variation within the neglected annals of the Negro community as there are variations in skin-tones of the "Negro", which, of course, range from white to black. It is imperative that the approaches to this multiple voting giant be approached by the same deciding method as the general over-all program is approached.

Recognize and retain a reputable Negro Public Relations firm to handle the campaign in the Negro community at least, if not the general campaign. There is no doubt the knowledge and experience possessed by these people will be superior to that of the layman it has been the practice to contact.

Another illustration and case in point: The Charles Williams Public Relations Firm was retained through one of two general firms in charge of the recent Mayor Poulson campaign, two months prior to the primary election. General planning had already been established and some programs set in motion. Contact had also been made with a few select leaders in the Negro community who would do no work but only lend their names to the roster.

Aside from hampering the operation of the community public relations program because of revamping of the proposed program that had to be done, intra-community personality clashes at the executive level

added to the problems to be surmounted. To make a long story short, we were successful in showing the community what had been done by the incumbent and regained some lost ground.

We were not retained for the general election, however, since some of the leaders felt they could carry the ball through the general election. That mistake contributed to the loss of the election by a mere 7,000 votes.

In retrospect, basic planning should have included the Negro public relations firm, and the entire community program should have been his responsibility. Too, to have continued the most important part of the campaign without professional Negro guidance was sheer folly. The Negro community witnessed no concentrated activity after the primary election and assumed another write-off.

d. The Error of Imposed Leadership

In a community as closely-knit as the Negro area, everyone knows the movements of those in the public eye. The laborer rubs elbows with Mr. "X", who is the chairman of the Board of ABC Company at most community social affairs. The garbage collector's wife is a close friend of Mr. T's wife, and Mr. T is one of the "biggest" men in XYZ Corporation.

The opportunity for complete class distinction within the Negro social life is almost out of the question, as one can readily understand. "The man in the street" in a Negro community can truthfully say that he knows a Mr. Paul Williams. His opinion of Mr. Williams will not be based on the fact that Mr. Williams is a very successful business man, or that Mr. Williams was appointed to an office back in 1932. Or even that Mr. Williams is Chairman of the Los Angeles Art Department. None of these accomplishments, though outstanding, will erase the fact that Mr. Williams has Caucasian employees in his office on Wilshire Boulevard, in his home he has foreign-born domestic help, and that Mr. Williams does not have time for too many Negro community activities. Though proud of Mr. Williams as a Negro "success" story, he isn't apt to follow a program simply because a Mr. Paul Williams endorses it. More often than not, he will go the opposite direction.

Community factions and their tie-ins should be left in the hands of the professional who comes in contact with many different personalities and understands the proper use of such contact.

III RECOMMENDED APPROACHES

a. The Closed Conversation Pieces

Closed conversation meetings with small groups of 6 to 8 key persons should be arranged for Mr. Nixon within the Negro community.

These groups would get to know Mr. Nixon first hand and as Joe Baker so aptly phrases it, "They will understand that Mr. Nixon is a man who eats with a knife and fork". Photographs could be taken for use later but no publicity connected directly with the talks.

These meetings would afford a community "word-of-mouth" conversation piece that would circulate wider than newspaper publicity and twice as believable.

Special appropriate printed literature geared to the Negro Community could be handed out at these meetings by Mr. Nixon.

The Negro community has seen little of Mr. Nixon and much of the anti-Negro bias charged to Mr. Nixon could be expunged.

The Charles Williams firm could arrange such meetings to include every segment of the community.

b. The Larger Exposure

Mr. Nixon's future plans, as regards the Negro, could be clearly outlined at planned larger meetings within the community, open to the public.

Many, naturally would come to view Mr. Nixon in action for the first time. Others would come merely to criticize the party as such, and still others would come because they were truly undecided which way to vote. In either case, Mr. Nixon would create an element of excitement, impart knowledge of the future acceptable to Negroes and for the first time, a catalytic quality will be injected into the local community's GOP camp.

Essentially, the measurement of Negro attitudes can be prognosticated as regards group endorsements. The Republican approach is far afield of ordinary campaigning in the Negro areas. Its programs have neglected the Negro community for many years. Consequently, the cure cannot be effected, one or two "Adrenalin" injections being belatedly prescribed. It's going to take some "doing" and a lot of "selling" to bring about a noticeable revision in party affiliation, and for Mr. Nixon, throughout the State.

We believe the Republican Party in California may be in the unique position of having no place to go but up. There is every indication that the Negro segment program must be a concentrated push, in concert with and even apart from the General effort.

Programming for Negro Exposure should be underway
now, nay!-yesterday.

Larger Negro exposure is necessary and a must, and
many times a must.

c. Appearances in Select Churches

It has been the practice of the Republican Party to refrain from any act of favoritism or condescension as regards the Negro community until election, at which time the wooing and back-slapping starts.

It is our intention to show the community through church audience meetings that the issues Negroes are interested in demand valuation. Not only will they be told that Mr. Nixon wants their vote, but that he deserves it.

Appearances in select community churches will serve many purposes:

1. To overcome potential anti-Nixon sentiment and to convert it to pro-Nixon convictions.
2. To secure actual endorsement of Negro ministerial alliances locally and state-wide.
3. To mobilize individual participation in the campaign by ministers, utilizing their talents and contacts.
4. To provide resources and materials geared to this particular audience.
5. To develop volunteer machinery within the church, coffee hours by women "volunteers", a "Get Out the Vote" Campaign Program, etc.

d. **Appearances Before Select Civic and Social Groups**

The appearances of Mr. Nixon as well as Mrs. Nixon before select Negro civic and social groups will mobilize this segment of the community, through the greatest media of all--"Woman-to-Woman" contact.

Over 600 civic, social charity clubs and organizations offer excellent opportunity for select meetings, both formal and informal.

Heading the non-partisan groups will be such organizations as: the Elks, I.B.P.O.E. of W., Masons, Shriners, Auxiliaries in each.

The national Negro community raised President Kennedy to a new high level several weeks ago when he attended, without invitation, a debutante ball at the Beverly Hilton. The Ball was being sponsored by a local Negro community social and charity club. The President was introduced to each debutante personally, shook hands with each, and was photographed. Metropolitan and Negro press carried the story nationally.

IV THE USE OF COMMUNITY MEDIA

a. A Sounding of Probable Policy

The use of local media is an important step and must be approached carefully as certain pitfalls do prevail.

The leading newspaper for all intent and purposes is Republican. Its publisher is, and has been for many years, dedicated to Pat Brown.

The second largest publication in the community is openly dedicated to the Democrats by virtue of the fact that the leading paper was Republican and the logical spot was with the Democrats.

The third paper is in policy, Democrat, but may find itself on either side as the crow flies, or in some instances, on neither side.

Soundings for policy action should be instituted early and the necessary follow-thru advertising and publicity-wise is important, in any case.

b. Substitution of Direct Effort

In order to off-set any possible media surprises, and there have been many, a direct printed material effort should be instituted in conjunction with, or as a substitute for, any lack of cooperation from the local media. Needless to say, the material would be of local Negro interest with regard to the southern part of the state, as well as local interest to the northern part of the state.

In speaking of a concerted effort to reach each Negro household with a special material, we are looking at approximately 110,000 housing units in the Los Angeles area, 75,000 in the San Francisco-Bay area, 2,000 in the Fresno area, another 3,000 in the San Diego area, with approximately another 2,500 in the out-lying areas.

Hand-to-hand pieces should also be considered as "attention-getters" to be distributed over and over again in every audience.

Printed material naturally would be under the direction of the Joseph V. Baker firm.

This report represents a cursory preliminary study of the local Negro situation.

A more thorough study of the present minority concept could be made to reveal additional data.

Steps in this direction should be taken immediately, we feel; and definite remedial plans effected in the interest of your aims and desires in the forthcoming gubernatorial election.

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Prepared by

THE CHARLES WILLIAMS COMPANY
851 South Central Avenue
Los Angeles 21, California

Negro file

Our feeling is that if the election were to be held today, there would not be a strong pro-Brown vote but that the anti-Nixon vote would bury us in a defeat. This anti-Nixon vote seems to be based upon an emotional dislike and distrust of the man rather than in a lack of respect for his administrative and leadership abilities. A large percentage of the Brown vote will also, of course, come from those who have a strong personal affection for the Democratic Party. It is upon these premises that we base both the structure and the strategy of our campaign.

Because of Nixon's extended exposure to the people as an able administrator and leader, we do not feel that continued concentration on these areas will bear much fruit at the polls. Very few persons who do not already respect him for these things after all these years are going to gain such respect in these next weeks.

Thus, our main objective is to water down the anti-Nixon vote through a complete personal campaign. Though it is human nature to be interested more in men than in issues, we find this trait to be exceptionally true for the Negro populace. Perhaps this is true because their entire lives have often been spent under restrictions imposed by caucasians and they have developed a natural distrust, a natural defense-mechanism if you will, towards those to whom they do not feel personally attuned to emotionally and psychologically. If we can break down some of the anti-Nixon feeling, we believe that, lacking a strong pro-Brown identification, a fair number of what would otherwise have been Brown votes will stay at home on election day.

In order to encourage this, we feel that we must attack Brown, that we must create a segment of voters who, though they cannot see their way clear to vote for Nixon, will not vote for Brown. We feel that our number one issue is the two and four reapportionment plan controversy. The Negro populace, particularly the Negro press, strongly attacked Brown and the Democratic Party on this issue and we plan to make full use of their criticism to nail Brown to the cross. For tactical reasons, we want to delay our main attacks until the closing days of the campaign when we shall build this part of this campaign to a crashing crescendo.

The third type of voter which we will encourage to stay at home is the man who votes Democrat largely because he feels it is the party which does the most in the area of Civil Rights. On this, we may be able to sway his allegiance through quoting anti-Negro statements of Truman, through showing Roosevelt's complete lack of action in this area, the restrictions imposed upon the Democratic Party by their Southern committee leaders which makes impossible effective action for the Negro as a member of an oppressed minority group, and through an attack on Kennedy for his Jury-Trial Amendment vote in addition to his administration's statements that "other legislative areas have priority". We

want to crucify him on this statement, for we do not believe that any other single issue has priority over the right of all Americans to equal opportunity and dignity. In this area, we also want to stress Nixon's strong stands on this issue and also on his and Eisenhower's impressive record of action in this area.

As we weaken the Kennedy image, thus partly nullifying any good which Brown might have accrued to him through a "party" identification with him, as we create anti-Brown feeling through a strong presentation of the two and four issue while shying away completely from his strong points (such as the FEPC), eliminate a large part of the emotional anti-Nixon feeling, we will set the stage for a tremendous gain by the Republican forces in this area. But to make all the above pay off, we must get the Nixon vote to the polls. Thus, our effort is crystallized: Locate, register and vote every Nixon citizen while encouraging a strong stay-at-home bandwagon among the Democrats. We shall also aim a good part of our efforts to the normally non-participant in political affairs. Needless to say, our type of campaign, based on social contacts and good will, is ideally geared to this type of potential voter. This is particularly true among the Negro population who, regardless of other efforts to organize effectively, have always shown the way in social organization.

Inherent in our thinking is the need to make no strong show of organization or attack until the closing ten days of the campaign. If there is little immediate visible organizational effort on our parts, Democratic money and efforts should find their way into other areas as they again take the Negro vote for granted.

Entertainment

Fashion Shows (Mrs. Nixon host for two and daughters for one)	\$ 750.00
Kick-off-the-work boat excursion for workers campaign	600.00
Labor Day picnic for underprivileged children, block parties, jazz parties, lawn parties, teas, coffee hours, barbecues, entertainment expenses (if necessary), large hall for climax party	6,500.00

Printing Expense

Reprints of magazine articles, 100,000	600.00
2000 Indoctrination booklets for workers, 8pp	200.00
Leaflets, printing expenses, cartooning	700.00
Tickets and Invitations	200.00

MASS MEDIA

Radio Stations, special copy, KDAY and KGFT, saturation the last week	1,600.00
Recording costs for Negro radio stations, dubbs	150.00
Impromptu man on street film--film clips of Nixon-Kruschev debate, Caracas blow-up to 35 mm	1,840.00
Booking for film clips	1,500.00
Sentinel and Eagle advertising - also contact GOP advertising agencies to allow us to place their ads in negro papers for them	5,000.00

<u>Motivational Research and General Public Relations Counsel</u>	2,500.00
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House and Headquarters Expenses

Rent	2,500.00
Rental of folding chairs, music system, P.A. and playback and any additional furniture for headquarters	350.00

Paid Personnel

John Paul Clay	1,500.00
Secretary	1,500.00
Part-time clerical	500.00
Photographer (including expenses)	2,000.00

Expenses Projected for John Paul Clay

Entertainment of auditors, ministers, lawyers, doctors (professional groups for Nixon) prominent GOP Negroes....	
1st two months	1,800.00
last two months	700.00

General Office Expenses

Telephones (3 lines)	\$ 800.00
Stationery, mimeo bond	200.00

Miscellaneous

Minister's Funds, if available.	
Car expenses (try to arrange the use of the PI co. car)	
Painted bulletin board request from headquarters	
Car stickers, match books from headquarters	
Sound truck equipment (tape recorder on loan)	600.00
Office equipment, typewriters, dictaphone on loan and anything additional at all by donation.	
Flags, banners, donated	
Posters from overall campaign material	
University Research Grant	600.00
Election Day expenses - telephone, transportation	500.00
General Reserve Fund	1,000.00

NIXON MINORITY CAMPAIGN PROGRAM PROPOSAL
for
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AREA

INTRODUCTION

Our feeling is that if the election were to be held today, there would not be a strong pro-Brown vote but that the anti-Nixon vote would bury us in a defeat. This anti-Nixon vote seems to be based upon an emotional dislike and distrust of the man rather than in a lack of respect for his administrative and leadership abilities. A large percentage of the Brown vote will also, of course, come from those who have a strong personal affection for the Democratic Party. It is upon these premises that we base both the structure and the strategy of our campaign.

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INTRODUCTION (Cont'd)

"We could have been saved to an extent in dealing with all of these issues if we had been more effective in stating our case, if we had used more showmanship as well as leadership . . ." . . . Dick Nixon

"I believe in personal appearances and think the personal touch is still the most effective way of campaigning. I believe in a campaign of motion. I also think the most effective appearances of a candidate are before nonpolitical forums where he has a chance to really make converts . . ." Dick Nixon

One of the basic problems of Dick Nixon is that he has been out of the state for a long period. Though he can quickly become acquainted with present state issues, becoming acquainted with local leaders and voters is a more difficult and challenging problem. Knowledge of the man's ability is widespread throughout the state; it now becomes vital to effect a similar situation in regard to the man's personal life and responses. This is the job which our campaign will undertake. To do so, we must stir up that most vital of all political assets: vicarious identification.

Though it is human nature to be interested more in men than in issues, we find this trait to be exceptionally true for the Negro populace. Perhaps this is true because their entire lives have often been spent under restrictions imposed by Caucasians and they have developed a natural distrust, a natural defense-mechanism if you will, towards those to whom they do not feel personally attuned to emotionally and psychologically.

You talk to the average Negro on the street about Nixon, and the response all too often is immediately both negative and emotional. They simply do not like or trust the man. If they vote in this election they will, to a large degree, not be voting for Brown but rather against Nixon. To get this voter to be pro-Nixon would take too much time and effort to be worthwhile: so we do not plan to make a serious effort to do so. The voters we want are those who voted for Nixon in 1960 and for Ike in 1956. If we can get them to the polls we are on our way. We also want the normally non-voter. We tried to win in '40, '44, and '48 with the Independent voter. In '52 we went primarily for the citizen who normally did not vote and we won. Thus, in this campaign, we want to locate, cultivate, and get the pro-Nixon people to the polls who would

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normally not have voted. As for the Brown people, we hope that by destroying the image of Nixon as a stuffed shirt, as an opportunist, that the anti-Nixon voter will soften and, without any inherent pro-Brownism in him, will stay home.

We plan to carry this strategy of campaigning to strength over into all parts of the campaign. The FEPC is Brown's strongest point. To attack him on this in anyway whatsoever is to invite defeat just as Douglas invited defeat in 1950 by trying to fight Nixon on the Communism issue. This was Nixon's baby, there was no way in the world he could take it away from him. So we leave the FEPC alone. We instead stress Nixon's activities as Chairman of the Government Contract's Committee, Nixon's strong Civil Right's background, etc. Still, these are not our main points. After all, few of those who aren't convinced of Nixon's abilities by now, after all the attention his ideas have received, aren't going to change overnight. So we concentrate on attacking Brown, and in this area we nail him to the cross till his body runs dry of blood on the Two and Four reapportionment plan.

And we make the people feel at home with Dick Nixon. All Americans like a good guy, not all like a man who is always ready with an answer for everything. All Americans have a heart, not all have intellect. It shall be our job to show Nixon as a personality that is warm and responsive, while never letting them escape from the basic strengths of this man. The people must be convinced that Nixon is a man who will fight and conquer not for but with them, while, in contrast, Brown is a man who will talk and flounder for them as he did over the Two and Four plan.

How do we hit the two and four plan? Perhaps this paragraph, subject to change, gives a hint of the psychology we think will be effective:

It all comes back to residential segregation. You can't get around it. They can segregate schools and hospitals by putting them in Negro areas, and then say, well, they are open to anybody, but of course only Negroes go there . . . It shows up in education, where

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the school board is very flexible about adjusting school district lines to keep it all-Negro. . . Residential segregation is the big problem that must be answered first. Residential segregation is the thing that creates the void, that destroys Negro-white communication. The people don't know the problems of the other group. And the Brown administration's refusal to even listen to the Negro pleas, the Brown administration's refusal to even listen to Donald Harris of the Committee on Representative Government, the Brown administration's unbending determination to segregate the Negro into a political ghetto in the reapportionment of 1961, is the first step towards developing the residential segregation which I feel must be avoided at all costs if we are to have the kind of state, if we are to have the proper relationship among all our peoples, that is so vitally necessary to a free and prospering America.

And we use the Sentinel's own words:

The Democratic party by their flagrant rejection of the plea of minority groups to not segregate them in the redistricting of 1961 have denied the minority groups their dream of being wooed as a person, being wooed to on issues, rather than on racial lines. It has the affect of building minority ghettos in our town.

To sum up, we feel that the campaign of 1962 for the Los Angeles Negro vote must be one of Attack and Good Will. If we can break down the image of Nixon as a man without sympathy and comradeship for the working man, for the minority man and at the same time picture Brown as not only a bungler but also, one who has betrayed the trust of the liberal minded people, we can obtain for Dick Nixon a substantial increase over any vote count he has ever before gained in our area. With proper support and effort, I anticipate our campaign in this area gaining national attention. The entire country knows that the Republican Party is planning a big drive for the minority vote, and they are waiting to see how we are going to go about it. I, for one, do not believe that traditional methods will do the job. The people must be stirred. Anyone who has ever lived among the Negroes know that they are the most organizing race in our country, but they also know that his ability to organize has been for the most part confined to his social life. We are prepared to illustrate how our program as planned for this campaign, with additions which are outlined already for operation as soon as we have done our job for Dick Nixon, is the type of program which will gain us friends and converts 365 day a year, every year. When the success of this program is seen, it is anticipated that it will be studied and adapted for use in other large metropolitan areas. But we must make it spectacular enough to gain this

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attention, to make it operate successfully for Dick Nixon. Time, Look, Life, Ebony, Jet. . . all the national publications know there is news in the California campaign, they all know that there is news in what the GOP will do to gain the minority vote, and all they need to run a feature story is an angle. We have it for them: "The New Look in GOP Politics." But the real angle is that the "New Look" is only an application of an old political principle: that every friend is a voter.

NIXON MINORITY CAMPAIGN PROGRAM PROPOSAL
for
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AREA

The original concept of this report was to provide a detailed outline of our approaches to all aspects of our campaign, running the gamut from how we plan to approach working the precincts to the anticipated uses of mass media facilities. We found, however, that the volume of material was far too massive to properly condense into anything less than a forty-five to fifty page report, as each aspect of the campaign has its own personal slant.

Out of necessity, we are thus presenting only general concepts in the anticipation that in personal audiences we will be able to describe our approaches in more detail. Once our part in the over-all program is approved and defined, we will be able to present our specific ideas to the various co-ordinating chairman of the campaign and thus work them out.

A point that we cannot emphasize too strongly is the absolute urgency of getting the program underway. We realize that other segments of the campaign will not move into high gear for several weeks, but we can do the most good in the near future because of the peculiar approach of our program.

To begin with, we want to send a researcher into the area to contact all community leaders for their ideas as to the nature and possible solutions to the problems of the area. Such an effort will not only create good will, as the people realize that Mr. Nixon is interested in how they think, but will also provide us with valuable motivational research information and inform us as to which community leaders (many heretofore not approached to become active in political campaigns) might work for Mr. Nixon's election. Such leaders will be later contacted by another man to form professional groups for Nixon. This must be done now to assure maximum effectiveness.

We also want to use the Murray Chetner technique of contacting people under the guise of conducting an issue or candidate-preference poll in order to determine where our voters are and which of our voters are not registered. This has to be done now as the registration deadline is drawing near!

In 1952 we went after the voter who normally did not vote and in 1960 many of these voters returned to their old stay-at-home habits. This trend will be even more apparent in the off-year elections. Thus, we want to locate all the people who voted for Eisenhower, who did take the trouble to vote, make sure they are registered, and make sure that they go to the polls if they are for Mr. Nixon.

We want to get our headquarters opened up immediately, and we do not refer to the traditional type of headquarters. Rather, we want to rent one of the old empty mansions in the Adams Boulevard area and use this for daily (afternoon and evening) social events. There isn't a chance in the world to get any sizeable portion of the Negro population to come to partisan Republican events. Thus, we must create party atmospheres in a setting which will be receptive to any messages we wish to convey and anticipate a minimum of 1000 visitors to our headquarters per week. Perhaps the closest historical counterparts of this were the old Tammany Hall neighborhood political clubs. Some of the things we expect such a headquarters to produce are:

1. To build good will in the community.
2. Provide us with an opportunity to put across the Nixon message in a relaxed atmosphere.
3. To get the Republicans down among the people, thus breaking down the stereotyped image of the Republican as aloof and "not one of us."
4. To allow us to gain exposure with Democrats Independents and non-voters who would normally never come to a strictly partisan Republican political affair.
5. Enable us to locate and recruit workers for the Nixon cause.

6. Provide us with a vehicle for obtaining coverage in the social sections of the Negro newspapers.
7. To set up a non-political atmosphere for Mr. Nixon to drop in on whenever he is in the neighborhood "not to politic per se, but rather to relax and mingle among the people."
8. Serve as fund-raisers. We anticipate that the house will be completely self-supporting, even though many of the affairs will be free.

We must break down the image of Nixon as a stuffed-shirt. It is simply not a true image, but wherever you go in the Negro community this is the most consistent criticism of him. No matter what policy statements Mr. Nixon later makes in the campaign, no matter what pamphlets are later distributed and what advertising methods are employed, they will all fall on deaf or unbelieving ears unless the attitude towards the man as a person is changed. This idea of preparing the people for an advertising campaign is the first rule of public relations in the business world, and it must be applied and now in the Negro area.

This brings us to what personal part we feel Mr. Nixon should play in the campaign. William James once called "prestige" the deepest principle of human nature. This principle is imbedded even deeper into the Negro's way of life, as many of the normal channels for showing off personal successes in the Caucasian world are not open to him. Witness, for example, their purchasing of higher priced cars than they can often afford because these are visible evidences of their success. Visit Leon Washington at his office (he is the publisher of the largest Negro newspaper and ask him what he thinks of Pat Brown. Your answer will center around the pictures of him talking to Brown which are hung on all four walls of his office and comments on how Brown has been coming into the district since 1946. Hardly a word about issues.

Thus, we want to expose Mr. Nixon personally at every opportunity, we want eight by ten pictures of him and leaders of the community sent to them at an early enough date that exposure on their walls and desks will do us some good, and until the last two weeks of the campaign we don't think it is important for him to hardly mention an issue. Every time he meets someone, we want it followed up with a letter signed by "Dick Nixon." We'll take care of the typing of the letters, but we need him in the area now even if for but half-hour appearances at parties on his way home from other more formal political activities.

We want to put together some man-in-the-street type films. The image of Nixon behind a desk in a conservative setting is strong enough, so instead of having question and answer periods in such an atmosphere, we want to have him on the street and in the center of a crowd of people. Then we'll film and tape his answers to questions from this group and circulate these in decided upon media.

We also want to put a short film together on Nixon's history to be shown at coffee hours and various club meetings in lieu of a personal appearance by him. This approach seems, to us, to be much better than sending regrets to such groups because of lack of time in the schedule. In the film emphasize the Caracas incident, the Khrushchev debate, his Government Contract work, his Quaker background (the Negroes have a great respect for Quakers because of their historical tolerance, but I have found that only a nearly non-existent segment of the population are aware that Mr. Nixon is of the Quaker faith. When they were informed of this they had a very favorable reaction as they said "why I never knew that!"), his successful efforts to get his Negro high-school friend into his fraternity to show that his non-prejudice is no Johnny-come-lately response designed solely to gain votes (again the Negro masses have no idea of this part of his background and when informed, they were impressed).

Charles Farrington suggested what seems to us really sensational connection with these films. Whenever, for example, Mrs. Beverly

Jones volunteers to have a coffee hour in her home for Mr. Nixon but we can find no way to fit it into his schedule, we film a few feet and add it to the beginning of our stock film. In these few feet, Mr. Nixon will say hello to Mrs. Jones and her guests and then apologize for his being unable to join them for their coffee hour. This adds the vital personal touch to the film. Along with the film we send a man who will act as Nixon's emissary and answer any questions the people might have as well as make as many friends as possible and make any pitches for help which are later decided upon.

We also have our suggestions for how we feel certain issues might be best approached. On the Civil Right's question, for example, we feel that the mood of the Negro is today one of militancy and that any talk or even use of the word "gradualism" will have an adverse effect. They've heard it all their lives, and, though great strides are being made, they are sick of the phrase. It is connected by them with a man who is afraid to take a stand, a man afraid to act, a man afraid of the race issue.

Since Mr. Nixon is a moderate in this field, we are presented with certain problems, as just as soon as he mentions moderation he is going to lose votes. Yet, we would not want him to take a stand in which he does not believe. Our suggested solution is to have him talk about specific issues rather than the over-all philosophy of Civil Rights. Let him mention with vigor the past accomplishments of the Republican Party in contrast to the all-talk no-action Democratic Party, let him tell the people the things the Democrats have failed to do in specific hard hitting language in order to convey the impression of a man who feels emotionally about this issue and will fight for equal opportunity and dignity with all his strength. Let him talk about his own personal activities such as work on the Government Contracts Committee, let him talk about exactly what he is going to do as soon as he takes office. Let him present a gradualist approach, but for heaven's sake have it presented in terms of concrete action-programs rather than broad platitudes.

Time and time again in this report we have emphasized the time factor. Only last week we may have missed a tremendous opportunity for local and national publicity within the Negro community when, because of lack of sufficient notice, Mr. Nixon was not able to take part in the crowning of Miss Bronze of California. (Incidentally, Mayor Christopher was fortunately free to make an appearance so we did get substantial good-will and exposure mileage for the Republican ticket and Mr. Christopher personally.) But deadlines for other events and programs are closing in on us. A local counterpart of Jet magazine, Iq1 magazine, for example, is ready to support Nixon as soon as I can put the program into operation. The same is true for Ad magazine and for a group who want to start up a local newspaper. We have developed extremely good relations with the Editor, Publisher and Advertising Manager of the Sentinel. Though they are for Brown and strongly anti-Nixon, they have pledged their personal support to help one of our group, John Paul Clay, in whatever way possible.

We have also received a firm commitment from entertainers such as Jimmy Witherspoon (one of the most popular Negro entertainers in the world) to assist us in whatever way he can. We have received offers of help from ministers and one of the nation's largest producers and distributors of quality wigs has offered us free models and use of their wigs for fashion shows. Several hosts for various parties have been lined up, an appearance has been negotiated for Mr. Nixon's appearance at the Afro-American Business Show at the Shrine Exposition Hall under whatever circumstances we desire if Mr. Nixon will be available, and a three-day attendance figure of fifty to seventy thousand people is anticipated for the event.

Initial contacts have been made for possible national magazine news coverage and feature article coverage of this segment of the campaign. Several Young Democratic leaders of the community have been tentatively swung over into the Nixon and Republican camp within the past week, including the first Negro President of the Whittier student body.

All these people have become excited by our approach, but it is nearly impossible to sustain their enthusiasm and to insure their continued support if we do not become activated soon. All they have heard thus far is talk and they will lose their faith if action is not soon produced. We have been patient with this program, realizing the many complicated factors which enter into any final approval or disapproval of projects of this size and in areas of this importance. But for the good of Mr. Nixon, we now feel that we must insist upon an early decision. Every day that goes by without its implementation is to us a wasted day, a day which might have been put to use in gathering together good will, workers, and votes. We designed the program specifically for the Nixon campaign because it is his victory which we are most interested in, but if such a program does not fit into the over-all needs and personalities of the Nixon campaign staff we plan to adapt it and present it to other Republican candidates because of our faith in it.

Our program is not only vital for the immediate campaign, but we feel it can be adapted to a 365 day a year Republican effort in the community. To begin with, a plan has been formulated for organizing a minimum of 2000 new members into Young Republican Clubs before the County Convention in December. These votes will be Nixon votes and will insure a successful campaign against the Gaston forces now in control. We are also developing a complete file on every major and minor leader and organization in the community for future reference. We plan to develop Republican social clubs throughout the community and these will be self_sustaining. (In a sense, Southern California can be compared to the New York of old as an immigration center, the only difference being that our immigrants are from other states. As the new people come into the community we want to be at their door immediately in the best of political tradition, offering to help them become acquainted. What better way to welcome them than to have a social organization where they can meet new friends while they are still at loose ends emotionally. We also want

to set up an employment service in the area. To begin with, we can concentrate on part-time, domestic, and yard help. People who normally hire such people have been contacted and asked how they normally find their help. The reply was, "through word of mouth." When asked if they would make use of the Republican Party as a screening organization without fee, in order to give us the credit for getting these people the jobs, the answers were unanimously affirmative. We want our social clubs to sponsor basketball, bowling, and other such teams in leagues around town to keep our name in the public eye. We want to promote local charities the year around. We want to do all the above and more as part of a permanent area program.

The main personalities involved in the program thus far are:

Mal Riddle: Mr. Riddle has served as Governor Knight's Executive-Secretary and worked closely in Mr. Nixon's campaign in 1960 in addition to numerous other political activities. He was also Assistant Chairman of the Republican can State Central Committee. It appears that he may head the Speaker's Bureau for Mr. Nixon in this campaign.

Fred Vanderhurst:

Mr. Vanderhurst is an associate of George Milan Fuller and President of Advertising System International. His firm will act as Public Relations Council, direct the motivational research, and provide equipment, facilities and technical direction for filming and recording, with Mr. Vanderhurst taking an active part in servicing the account.

John Paul Clay:

Mr. Clay will be the field-manager of all the activities involved in the program, and will co-ordinate such activities with the various specialized staff members of the

Nixon campaign group as well as working directly under Chris Wright. He was the campaign manager for John Westburg in the 15th Congressional District of Texas, was President of the nation's largest Young Republican organization and also of his college student body. He has had substantial additional experience in political organization. Most importantly, he is extremely well-liked within the Negro community and has contacts with the kind of people which will make this kind of program work.

Lena Washington:

Executive-Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. Although Mrs. Washington will not have the time to devote to this segment of the Nixon campaign, due to her State Committee work, she has discussed the program in detail with John Paul Clay and Hal Riddle. She is extremely enthusiastic about it and has volunteered her services and knowledge of the area in whatever way she can and whenever she can. She is of the conviction that this is the type of campaign that needs to be waged if we are to gain any substantial portion of the Negro vote.

Other men in the Republican Party who have some knowledge of our program are: Chris Wright, Herb Kambach, Dick Ferts, and Charles Farrington. The program was discussed in greater depth with Mr. Wright and Mr. Farrington than with the others. It was our impression that these people found no fault with the plan but that the budget was the stumbling block. This we anticipated and are anxious to whittle out a workable budget with the proper people if Mr. Wright, Mr. Kambach, and Mr. Nixon give final approval of the project.

BUDGET

It should be noted that in the presentation of this budget we are concerned only with expenditures, and that all avenues of fund-raising will be explored and exploited. We realize that it is a big budget, but it is also a big project. We feel that justification can be shown for all listed items and amounts, but, as in all such cases, we are ready to listen to argument. The essential point to get across is that we need some immediate funds to get out into the field with and, from there, our fund-raising activities should carry us most of the way on our own. Also to be noted is the fact that some items listed in the budget, such as the Fashion Shows are expected to be prime fund-raising activities.

Printing Expenses

Reprints of Ebony Magazine Article, 100,000	\$ 600	\$1700
2000 Indoctrination Booklets for workers,	200	
Opp Sentinel Editorial Reprinting, cartooning	700	
Tickets and Invitations.	300	

Mass Media

Radio Stations, special copy, KDAY and KGFT, saturation the last week	1600	9590
Recording costs for negro stations--dubbs	150	
Impromptu man of street films--film clips of Nixon-Khrushchev debate, Caracas incident, etc. blown up to 35mm.	1840	
Booking for film clips and camera expense for coffee hour, etc.	1000	
Sentinel and Eagle Advertising, other advertising, also contact GOP ad agencies to allow us to place ads for them in Negro papers.	5000	

House and Headquarters Expenses

Rent	1800	2075
Rental of folding chairs, music system, P.A. and playback, and any additional furniture for headquarters.	275	

<u>Paid Personnel</u>		5100
John Paul Clay	1300	
Secretary	1300	
Part-Time Clerical	500	
Photographers (including expenses, on call day and night for entire campaign).	2000	
<u>Expenses projected for John Paul Clay</u>		2550
Entertainment of editors, ministers, lawyers, doctors (professional groups for Nixon) prominent GOP and other friendly Negroes...		
1st seven weeks	1600	
Last six weeks	600	
Transportation Expenses	350	
<u>General Office Expenses</u>		1000
Telephones (4 lines)	800	
Stationery...mimeo bond	200	
<u>Entertainment</u>		4850
Fashion Shows (Mrs. Nixon host for two and daughters for one if permitted)	750	
Kick-off-the-work boat excursion for workers (final indoctrination and morale session just prior to beginning the blitz segment of the campaign.)	600	
Labor Day picnic for underprivileged children, block parties, jazz parties, lawn parties, teas, coffee hours, barbecues, entertainment expenses (we expect most of this to be donated), large hall or auditorium rental for climax party.	3500	
<u>Motivational Research, General Public Relations Counsel, use of film studios and equipment, and media technical direction.</u>		2500
	2500	
<u>Miscellaneous</u>		3700
Sound Truck	600	
Office Equipment, typewriters, dictaphone on loan and anything additional by donation		
University Research Grant (for contact work with Negro leaders as explained in outline)	500	

Election Day Expenses (mostly will be volunteer) telephone, trans- portation, etc.	500
General Reserve Fund, contingencies, etc.	1000
Political Internship Funds for African Students	600

TOTAL..... \$32,065

APPENDIX

Two items developed since the organization of the over-all report are, we believe, worthy of mention.

On Labor Day we would like to work with the ministers and promote a free picnic for the underprivileged children of the area. In addition to performing a good service, we expect that such an activity should gain us a great deal of publicity and good-will mileage.

Also, we want to set up an African Student Political Internship program. We believe this will accomplish the following ends:

1. Provide us with additional workers.
2. Gain for us a considerable amount of local good will and publicity.
3. Provide us with workers who, because of their special situation, will have entrees with sympathetic audiences to which we might otherwise not have access.
4. Men conscious of the isolation which many foreign students find themselves will find much to commend us for because of our attempt to bring them more into the mainstream of American life. Aside from their stands on the candidates, editors should give us much favorable editorial comment for this.
5. The Negro community is today very conscious of Africa.
6. All the above factors will help us and may even provide an angle for national news stories on our work in this area. But the best angle for such coverage is the stated idealistic aim of the program: To provide these students, which we expect to take their places among the leaders of the emerging continent of Africa, with experience in American grass-root politics so that when they return to their own countries they will take with them a greater understanding of the political problems faced by our leaders as they try to establish the policies of the United States.

We feel that this type of program ought to be done within every nationality area, but the African student is the only one which fits into our specific program.