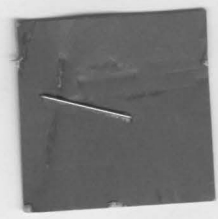


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BUTLER STREET YMCA
THE HUNGRY CLUB

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AVAILABLE ALTERNATIVE FOR BLACK VOTERS

BY

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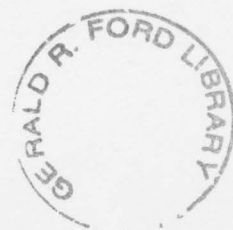
Black leaders of high stature and in surprising numbers have pledged support to President Nixon's re-election bid, and their endorsements require on our part a closer look at the Nixon record. In this election, Nixon campaigners have made a major effort to win Black votes. As independent, individual voters, Blacks should hear that case before deciding for which candidate they will vote on November 7.

The Nixon campaign has stressed the Administration's economic development programs for Blacks, its promotion of Black-owned business enterprises and its record on minority hiring practices, both in the federal government and in the private sector. There are Black leaders who reject all of this out-of-hand as an effort by the Nixon Administration to buy Black support. Their reaction is grounded more in deep-seated dislike than in a rational appraisal of the record.



Economics, after all, is what lies at the heart of the problem of achieving equality and guaranteeing the civil rights of minorities in housing, education and virtually every other area of human need. Certainly, if Blacks had enjoyed a proportional share of this country's economic power, the progress which has been made toward equality would have come much earlier and gone much farther than has been the case.

We have about arrived at the limits of what Blacks can accomplish through protest and appeals to the conscience of those who, in fact, have the huge share of economic power in this country. We cannot expect continued gains to come from the methods which have been used in the past. The time has come to look beyond the struggles of the 1960's and to adopt realistic goals -- and methods to attain those goals -- for the 1970's. The answer for Blacks -- as it has been for various white ethnic minorities in the past -- is growing economic independence.



THE PRESIDENT REACHES OUT FOR BLACK AMERICANS

When a candidate wins less than 15 percent of the votes from any group in an election, he is usually well advised to look elsewhere for support in his next bid for office.

But Richard Nixon isn't listening to that advice this year. The man who built bridges to China and Russia -- when they said it couldn't be done -- is even more determined to reach out to black voters in 1972, even though we gave him so little support four years ago.

Why?

Because the President and a growing number of others around the country, myself included, are convinced that his first-term performance has contributed so much to minorities in America that he deserves much broader support from them this year.

In truth, the President has tried to match promises with performance during his first term. In my opinion, his efforts have been extremely successful.



The Record in Education

More school desegregation has, for example, been achieved in the last four years than in the prior 15 years. Four years ago, 94% of all black children in the South were attending legally segregated schools; less than 8% are today. Four years ago, 40% of all black children throughout the Nation were attending legally segregated schools; less than 12% are today. And the Administration expresses a determination to reduce the remaining number to zero.

The Nixon Administration has, in addition, devoted more resources than any prior Administration toward fulfillment of the goal of a quality education for all Americans. The President has presented to the Congress a total budget of \$2.5 billion for fiscal year 1973 to help ensure equality of educational opportunity. He has recommended the targeting of at least an additional \$300 per pupil -- a "critical mass" -- to schools with a preponderance of disadvantaged children.



President Nixon has also recognized the importance of higher education to minority progress. Federal aid to black colleges has more than doubled under the Nixon Administration. Approximately 45% of this assistance consists of grants and loans to students; most of the remaining aid is in the form of institutional support. Black colleges will additionally be the target beneficiaries of increased construction support through the interest subsidy program of the Office of Education.

Civil Rights Enforcement

Significantly, more Federal effort has also been put into the enforcement of equal opportunity laws than ever before. The civil rights enforcement budget proposed by President Nixon for fiscal year 1973 is more than eight times greater than it was under the last year of LBJ. And the President supported and signed into law the Equal Employment Opportunities Act of 1972, which strengthens and widens the powers of the Equal Employment



Opportunity Commission against discrimination in employment, thereby making the EEOC a much more powerful body than it was under Democratic leadership.

Employment Opportunity

As of March, 1972, over 280,000 minority workers had been hired or upgraded under this Administration.

Job opportunities in the public sector have also been expanded. The President's Executive Order 11478 of August 8, 1969, called on the head of each executive department and agency to set up an affirmative program of equal employment opportunity. Implementing regulations by the Civil Service Commission have made this policy an integral part of personnel administration.

These programs and regulations have been successful beyond all expectations. Minority workers now make up 19.5% of the Federal workforce -- a higher proportion than under any prior



Administration. Even more significantly, minority hirings at the middle and upper levels have proceeded at a much faster rate than non-minority hirings. The number of minority citizens employed by the Federal government in the middle and upper grades (GS-9-18) increased by almost 7,000 between November 1969 and November 1971, despite a decrease in overall Federal employment.

President Nixon has also set a record in the number of black appointees to high-level jobs. The number of executive-level black appointments is more than double the number in previous years while the number of sub-Cabinet level appointments has tripled. Among the offices now headed by black appointees are the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, the Justice Department's Community Relations Service and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.



In the White House itself, the tradition of one black staffer has finally been shattered. In addition to a black Special Assistant to the President, there are now more than 30 blacks in other leading positions, serving on the Communications staff, the Office of Management and the Budget, the Domestic Council and the Special Drug Abuse Program.

Business Aid

The Nixon Administration has, in addition, done more than any prior Administration to encourage business ownership by Black Americans. Federal loans, grants, and guarantees to minority businesses have more than tripled under the Nixon Administration, increasing from about \$200 million in fiscal year 1969 to an estimated \$715.9 million in fiscal year 1973. And Federal procurement from minority businesses has increased even more dramatically -- in fiscal year 1973 it is expected to be more than 27 times greater than it was in fiscal year 1969 (\$350 million as opposed to only \$13 million).



The Small Business Administration has also been working to assist minority-group Americans, achieving significant increases in both Federal contract awards and business loans. Minority businesses are now receiving 19% of the SBA dollar -- more than double the proportion in 1968.

And in late 1970 the Administration began a combined public-private sector program to increase minority bank deposits by \$100 million. By June 30, 1972, this goal had been reached four times over, with deposits increasing by \$429 million -- an expansion of 108%.

Housing

Dramatic progress has also been made on the housing front, both in terms of increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing and attacking housing discrimination. Federally-assisted housing starts for low and moderate income families are expected to increase almost four-fold from 156,000 in fiscal year 1969 to 566,000 in fiscal year 1973. And over 100 suits have been brought



by the Justice Department to correct the effects of housing discrimination in the past and maximize equality of opportunity in the future. In addition, over 180 voluntary compliance agreements have been negotiated.

The President's record is, as we have seen, one of concrete accomplishment for Black Americans. Our Nation's historic goal of a free and open society has not just been given lip-service under this Administration -- it has been actively and forcefully pursued.

The President has pledged to continue to devote his most vigorous efforts to ending racial discrimination and achieving equal opportunity for all Americans. In his words: "These efforts will all go forward -- with vigor and with conviction. Making up for the years of past discrimination is not simply something white Americans owe to Black Americans -- it is something the entire Nation owes to itself."



Sickle cell disease, a painful and life-shortening inherited disease which afflicts our people has been given full attention by President Nixon. The President called attention to this dread disease in his 1971 health message to Congress. The result was the National Sickle Cell Disease Program. \$10 million dollars for Fiscal Year 1972, has been allocated for federal activities to find the cause and cure. In May, the President signed into law the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act which authorizes the expenditure of \$25 million dollars during FY 1973, \$40 million dollars in FY 1974 and \$50 million dollars in FY 1975.

The President's record, in just a few of the areas I have mentioned is one of concrete accomplishment for Black Americans. Our Nation's historic goal of a free and open society has not just been given lip-service under this Administration -- it has been actively and forcefully pursued.



Look at McGovern Record

One of the major themes which George McGovern is trying to develop is that he cares very deeply about the concerns and needs of our people.

His "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" performance over the last few weeks can be considered nothing more than blatant examples of the rhetorical syndrome of the early sixties.

If George McGovern cares so much about the problems facing the black community today then why has he virtually done nothing to help alleviate those problems?

Mr. McGovern campaigns in our urban cities and black ghettos and tells us how much he cares. Then he doesn't even bother to show up in the Senate to vote for Revenue Sharing, a bill that will return federal tax dollars to states and localities to be spent on such priorities as public education and easing of local tax burdens.



Mr. McGovern cares so much about education that he couldn't find time to be in the Senate to vote for the higher education bill that authorizes \$19 billion dollars for higher education programs, \$2 billion dollars for school desegregation aid and establish aid to needy students.

George McGovern says he cares about jobs and equality, but he didn't have time to come to the Senate to vote for the Equal Employment Opportunities Act of 1972. And he cares so much about quality education that he didn't vote on an amendment to provide special aid to schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In April, the Senator said "I think there is no other presidential candidate who has had a more consistent or committed record as far as the interests of black people... are concerned."

Mr. McGovern acting like the kindly Dr. Jekyll when talking about his concern over civil rights has only to remove his mask and we find lurking the insidious Mr. Hyde.



In the early 1950's it had become apparent that though the white primary was in theory, illegal, the Blacks in many parts of the South would never achieve their full voting rights unless the Federal Government intervened. It was during this period that Dwight Eisenhower began to push for the passage of what has come to be known as the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This became the first Civil Rights Law to be enacted since the days of Reconstruction. However, when one looks at the record, Senator McGovern was absent on the votes leading to the passage of the first Civil Rights Act.

In 1959, the Rooney Amendment was attached to the Justice Department Appropriations Bill. This Amendment was designed to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission. Senator McGovern was absent for the vote... and in fact he did not take a stand for the Record.



When the Civil Rights Act of 1960 came up for final House approval, Senator McGovern was not only absent, but again refused to take a stand for the Record.

Part of a School Construction bill known as the Powell Amendment which required that facilities built under that Act be open to all students regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or religion, came before Congress in 1960. Senator McGovern, this time, was not absent. He just simply voted against it.

In the fight to win the 1964 Civil Rights Act, we find that Mr. McGovern joined 22 other Senators in supporting a last-ditch effort to emasculate the voting rights provision of the Act.

It's also odd that Senator McGovern has waited until this election year to add minorities to his Senate Office staff. Could it be that he has just suddenly discovered that Black Americans exist?



I would like to turn for a moment to Mr. Shriver. From the moment he stepped from his yacht at Hyannis Port and was informed that he was to be McGovern's running mate... he too has been out travelling the country telling the people how much he cares about our race problems; how much he cares about our poverty; how much he cares about our hunger and above all our fight for equality.

Mr. Shriver's "commitment to equality".... to say the least... must be questioned.

I read with interest several weeks ago a feature story on the Shriver family. Mr. McGovern's running mate comes from a family of slave holders in Maryland, whose success in America came from the labor of its indentured servants.

Several weeks ago in Louisiana, Mr. Shriver noted that he had been raised with "an understanding of Southern qualities." He further boasted that of eight forebears of military age during the Civil War, six had served on Dixie's side... the other two stayed home, "...but none of them fought on the other side....".



It sounds to me as though Mr. Shriver is talking out of both sides of his mouth. On the one hand he tells a group in the Deep South that he is proud that none of his family saw fit to fight against slavery.... he even goes so far as to invoke the names of those "great Americans", Robert E. Lee and Jeb Stuart. On the other hand, several weeks later we hear Mr. Shriver stating that Mr. Nixon is not doing very much for the Blacks and that he"... is an insult to anyone who proudly calls themselves a Southerner."

For some reason I find myself very much confused. For one thing I am Black and very proud of my heritage and for another I am a Southerner. I was raised in Atlanta, Georgia. My family heritage goes back through the centuries when my great, great, grandparents were held in bondage.

One cannot help but wonder how Mr. Shriver who approves so highly of the slave holdings of his ancestors, which today, helped make his aristocratic life so comfortable, can in one state brag about this fact.... while in another, where a group of Blacks



are gathered, profess his concern for our problems by attempting to embellish Senator George McGovern's non-record of achievement in the area of Civil Rights.

If Mr. Shriver is so concerned with the needs of our people then why is it that when he managed the Merchandise Mart in Chicago for his father-in-law, the late Joseph Kennedy, Blacks in that area mounted protests against the giant company because Mr. Shriver refused to establish a policy of hiring Blacks above the janitorial level?

The time for rhetoric is over. We can't live on emotional pleas. Promises and excuses are not the order of the day. For years that is all we have been given.

The Black voter, in my opinion, is a political slave. Any candidate running under the Democratic Party banner... before he makes his first campaign speech... knows that he has a majority of the Black vote in his hip pocket. So, how can the Black voter bargain on a basis of political parity with a candidate who knows at the outset that he has that vote without a promise of solid



accomplishment in return?

Increasingly, I find Black Americans are opting for a two-party political system. The Black Americans are now attempting to collect on a century of inaction and indifference. The Black Americans are no longer willing to be ignored or taken for granted.

The essence of the two-party system becomes even more important to the Black man when we hear certain blacks accusing anyone who would support President Nixon of being a "political prostitute."

This rhetoric, in my view, does nothing to further the cause of black people or a two-party system in this country.

It is only when we all work together in educating our people to both sides of each party's record... with facts and with accomplishments... and not with the rhetorical syndrome that belongs in the years of the sixties, that we will truly find ourselves in the mainstream of American politics.



By automatically voting Democrat for the last 40 years, black voters have lost leverage in the political process. In effect, we have been political slaves. Because of such ill-informed advice as given by Louis Stokes, most Democrats fully expect a hip-pocket black vote of 85-90%. Given this certainty, Democrat politicians see little reason for doing anything to help blacks at the risk of losing their white constituency. Consequently, the Democrat politician shows up for his annual "ghetto appearance," puts away some ribs and greens, says his "right ons," and counts up his 90% black vote on election night like Midas counted his gold.

The result of such arrogant tokenism is that blacks are taken for granted by Democrat politicians.

I would guess that the real reason we have seen the recent outpouring of venom against numerous blacks who support Richard Nixon is that in 1972 blacks are waking up and are



shifting parties in order to gain the leverage the Democrats have denied them. This shift is striking fear into the hearts of the Democrat party because the Democrats know that once blacks leave the Democrat plantation for political freedom, they will have to come up with deeds instead of hot rhetoric.

I firmly believe that on November 7th that a large share of black America will opt for the two-party system...freeing themselves of political slavery, giving them real leverage in the political process.

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