

**The original documents are located in Box 25, folder “September 30, 1972 - Marion County Re-Elect the President Dinner, Indianapolis, IN” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Bettye L. Scott donated to the United States of America her copyrights in all of her husband's unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

MARION COUNTY  
RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT DINNER

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
SEPTEMBER 30, 1972

A V I A B L E A L T E R N A T I V E



BY

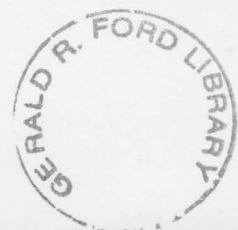
STANLEY S. SCOTT  
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR  
OF COMMUNICATIONS  
FOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH  
THE WHITE HOUSE

During the decade of the sixties we found Black Americans frozen in a perpetual state of political animation...on the one hand there was reason for great expectations and on the other.... a sense of deep frustration.

It was during this decade that Americans seemed to become increasingly aware of and sensitized to the abhorrent plight of Black America. Politicians vocalized empathy for blacks and began a rhetorical syndrome of promising end-all solutions to problems compounded by a century of inaction and indifference.

Blacks were promised an "end to poverty in a decade" and the "abolition of discrimination now". Charismatic figures gained identification with the average Black, whose hopes for a voice in government through such figures greatly increased.

Yet, despite this increased awareness and attention, Black America found that as the decade of the sixties began to draw to a close, promises were still unfulfilled, the performance gap had widened, and the struggle for human dignity continued.



In 1968, then candidate Richard Nixon stated, "For too long, white America has sought to buy off the Negro--and to buy off its own sense of guilt..." No one was telling Richard Nixon anything new by pointing out that most Americans identify the Black voter with the Democrats.... so why waste time helping them and seeking out their support? Richard Nixon viewed it differently.... he was persistent and perseverant. He said, "At a time when so many things seem to be going against us in the relations between the races, let us remember the greatest thing going for us: the emerging pride of the Black American. That pride, that demand for dignity, is the driving force that we all can build upon. The black man's pride is the white man's hope--and we must all, black and white, respond to that pride and that hope."

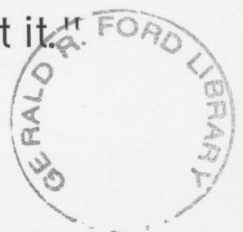
From the time Richard Nixon assumed the Presidency, he has not betrayed the words he so eloquently spoke during the 1968 campaign. President Nixon has responded not with inflamed rhetoric but with action. Not just with promise....but with performance.





Several weeks ago, Sargent Shriver, campaigning in Little Rock, Arkansas said that Mr. Nixon wants "...to keep the South preoccupied with the problems of race to the point that the South fails to note his failure to deliver in every other area." I am here to challenge not only Sargent Shriver and his statement, but his teammate McGovern, as well. Their combined statements over the last few weeks are nothing more than blatant examples of the rhetorical syndrome of the early sixties.

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. Now comes something very interesting. George McGovern stated in 1964 "The time has come to stand up and be counted on this issue (civil rights). Either you are for civil rights or you are against it."



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 provisions 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?

President Nixon has been working toward a goal of increasing nutrition programs, so that by fiscal year 1973 we will have witnessed an expanded food service program which will provide 8.4 million children with free or reduced-price school lunches. This will be a three-fold increase over the fiscal year 1969 level. Further, in 1970, President Nixon sent 7,000 nutrition aides into low income communities. During the Johnson years there were none.

There are many more programs which President Nixon has put forth to help alleviate the hunger of our children; the Food Stamp Program and the Food Distribution Program, just to mention a few. But let us turn to what George McGovern has done...or, rather, not done.

In 1971 Mr. McGovern stated, "We all have an obligation to live up to our promises to end hunger in America." Senator



McGovern's rhetorical promise sounds terrific... but, his performance is lousy.

While Senator McGovern points with pride to his work to combat hunger... I fully intend to point with disgust at his record. Seventy-three percent of the McGovern-sponsored hunger legislation has remained behind in the committees to which they were assigned. Nineteen percent dealt with the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs rather than substantive food programs. Mathematically speaking only 8% of McGovern-sponsored legislation ever reached the Senate floor, and then only as amendments to a bill that was later postponed indefinitely. Thus, no McGovern-sponsored hunger program legislation has become public law.

Senator McGovern has said that he has provided positive leadership in our nation's efforts to end hunger. If the aforementioned record is any indication of his ability or inclination in helping to push hunger legislation into law... then I say that with his kind of leadership, our poor and our hungry will have many more days of empty stomachs to look forward to.





Senator McGovern has said that, "Perhaps most disturbing to us is the fact that the housing crisis... is solvable. We can develop the solutions and the tools if only we have the will."

Toward the end of the Johnson years subsidized housing was at 150,000 starts for low and moderate income families. However, by the end of 1972 that figure will have risen to 650,000. During the previous administrations the Fair Housing Enforcement Budget stood at \$2 million dollars. Under the Nixon Administration the figure jumps to \$8.2 million. This is an increase of about 700%.

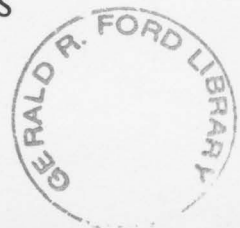
President Nixon has heeded the advice of Mr. McGovern. President Nixon has sought to find the solutions, tools and resources to aid in solving the housing crisis. On the other hand Senator McGovern is not very good at taking his own advice. During his 15 years in Congress, McGovern has signed his name to only one piece of housing legislation. Even more disturbing, is that he did not sponsor the legislation but acted as one of the co-sponsors. Further, he waited one and one-half months to



add his name to the document. To Mr. McGovern.... I ask, when are you going to find the "will" to help us with our housing needs?

During the first eight years of the decade of the sixties, the Democrats were in power, they controlled the White House and they controlled the Congress of the United States. When President Nixon came into office this is what he found: The Black students who were attending all-Black schools totalled 40%. That figure as of today, has dropped to 12%. In the South, alone, 68% of the Black students were in all-Black schools. During the 1970-71 school year that figure was reduced to 9%.

Over the last two years the President has proposed and, with the aid of Congress, \$150 million dollars has been made available to help local schools affected by court desegregation decisions. In addition, President Nixon has requested from the Congress an additional \$2 1/2 billion dollars per year for continued aid to these schools and to upgrade the quality of education in disadvantaged schools in all areas of the country. In 1973 more than \$200 million dollars will be spent to aid Black colleges.... this is



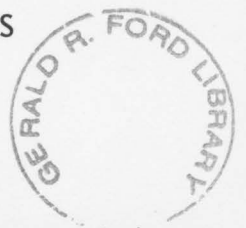
double the amount spent prior to Mr. Nixon assuming office.

Richard Nixon (even with a Democratic controlled Congress) has accomplished more in four short years to further the educational needs of our people than a combined eight years of Democratic Congresses and Presidents.

Senator McGovern says he "knows the value of education." In fact, his campaign literature tells us that, "His legislative record is unparalleled in its support of educational measures." My friends, the fact is that Mr. McGovern's entire 15 years in Congress show that he has sponsored 8 pieces of educational legislation. And again none of these has ever left committee.

You know and I know that one man alone cannot possibly cause every single piece of legislation to become enacted into law. But, to claim that he has been at the legislative forefront and the leader of every major concern to the Black people is nothing short of prevarication.

Mr. McGovern's record, in just a few of the areas I have mentioned, speaks for itself....and in essence, there really is no record to speak of.





Mr. McGovern has not been a supporter of the fight for Civil Rights.... if anything, he can only be called a detractor. While the Senator points with pride towards his work in the field of hunger.... he in fact is not even close to batting a 1000%. Mr. McGovern talks about having the "will" to solve our housing problems...when ultimately he will not even take his own advice. And finally he states his legislative record in the field of education is "unparalleled"..... I fail to find any parallel at all. Mr. McGovern your lack of credibility is showing!!!

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 Senator McGovern's running mate... he has been out traveling 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.

There is something very puzzling about this kind of campaign rhetoric. The more I listen, the more insulted I become. 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.

The Washington Post stated that life for the Shrivvers in the 18th Century slave state of Maryland "..... was a life of luxury...." If one reads further into the story, we are told that in the family home "..... the huge kitchen (has) a series of bells that were used to summon the slaves....". And we find hanging proudly on the walls "..... a handbill printed in 1809 by David Shriver, offering the handsome sum of \$30 for a runaway slave....".

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?

On March 16, 1964, President Johnson in declaring his War on Poverty stated, "I do not intend that the war against poverty become a series of uncoordinated and unrelated efforts--that it perish for lack of leadership and direction... I intend to appoint Sargent Shriver to this post."

Upon assuming his new duties as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Mr. Shriver said that "the United States could eliminate poverty in 10 years...." Mr. Shriver was certainly long on rhetoric and short in providing "leadership and direction" when he made that statement.



Mr. Shriver failed in his mission. We know that the money which should have benefited the poor was used to pay the salaries of the "War on Poverty Generals".

Sargent Shriver testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee in 1964 said that his War on Poverty was being planned in order "that every dollar allocated will be spent to help the poor." President Johnson's 1967 budget shows that nearly \$53.5 million of those dollars went to pay for the salaries of Mr. Shriver's bureaucracy alone.

Sargent Shriver's record in managing the Job Corps program reads very much the same way as his record at OEO. After three and one-half years, studies done on the efficiency of the Job Corps showed that 67% of all enrollees dropped out before six months. Further, Mr. Shriver estimated that the cost to train each corpsman would be somewhere between \$9,000 and \$12,000 dollars. In most cases the actual cost ran as high as \$39,000 dollars per person. The list of inequities goes on and on.





It must have been very disheartening to President Johnson to find that not only had his programs failed--but his hand-picked man who was to provide "leadership and direction" was only capable of wasting time, energy and money.

Now Mr. Shriver is traveling the country telling Blacks how much he cares about our problems....where was he and what was he doing about them when he had the opportunity and the position to solve them?

There is no doubt in my mind, that if Mr. Shriver tried to sail his yacht through the seas of the McGovern-Shriver record on Civil Rights, hunger, poverty, housing, OEO and Job Corps.... his yacht would sink. The boat would go down as a result of a gaping hole in the hull.....a hole caused by a lack of credibility.

A Gallup poll taken in September 1971, showed that Blacks consider themselves Democrats by a margin of 72 percent to 9 percent. When any 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.

Richard Nixon refuses to listen to that kind of advice. The man who built bridges to China and Russia--when they said it couldn't be done--is not only reaching out to you in 1972... but has been reaching out to you for nearly four years.

Richard Nixon's record is there for all who want to look at it. It is a record of accomplishment. It is a record of promise. It is a record of performance. President Nixon would be the first to admit that we have not accomplished everything that needs to be done--but then history shows us that we will never accomplish everything with a single vote or a stroke of the pen. History does teach us, however, that if we persevere we will make gains. And as we make gains we will find new challenges.

President Nixon stated it well, I thought: "Now I know all the words. I know all the gimmicks and the phrases that would win the applause of black audiences and civil rights leaders. I am





not going to use them. I am interested in deeds." In my opinion, his efforts have been successful.

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 President Johnson. 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.

Minority employment opportunity has increased substantially under this Administration. As of March, 1972, over 280,000 minority workers have been hired or upgraded. Within the public sector...there also has been expansion. With the Presidential signing of Executive Order 11478 in August of 1969, the head of each executive department and agency was asked to set up an affirmative program of equal employment opportunity. With the Civil Service Commission acting as watch-dog, implementation of regulations has made this program work.



Minority workers now make up 19.5% of the Federal workforce... a higher proportion than under any prior Administration. Supergrade appointments have jumped from sixty-three under previous administrations to 150 under the Nixon Administration. 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.

The tradition of one token Black appointee in the White House has been shattered by President Nixon. In addition to a Black Special Assistant to the President, there are now more than 30 Blacks in other leading positions. They are serving in such areas as Communications, the Office of Management and the Budget, the Domestic Council and the Special Drug Abuse Program.

In 1970, President Nixon initiated the Minority Bank Deposit Program. This program has provided \$245 million dollars for



minority banks. Further, the President created the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in 1969. This program is designed to coordinate Federal assistance programs for minority-group members seeking to establish or expand businesses. The scope of the program was broadened in October, 1971, to include grant and contract authority to business development organizations. Federal procurement from minority businesses is expected to be more than 27 times greater in fiscal year 1973 than it was in fiscal year 1969.

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.

This country was built on the two-party system. Yet, as I mentioned before the Gallup polls seem to indicate that for the Blacks we are participating in a one-party system.



When I look at the figures... I find myself thinking that Senator McGovern and Sargent Shriver can go on promising endless cure-alls for the illnesses of our people. What have they got to lose... they are going to get our vote anyway.

Black Americans must begin to realize that their vote must count. Our people must rise up and say to the Democrats... for too long you have had our vote. Far too often you have not kept your promises in return for that vote.

In other words, what I am talking about is what has been described by some as political sophistication with the vote as the chief instrument. For example, when hundreds of Black people assembled in Gary, Indiana, to map political strategy involving a united Black front... that strategy should have signaled leverage... a political sophistication that should, in my view, have included a posture of independence.

It would have been my hope that the delegates somewhere along the way would have avowed to a standard of 25 percent



Democrat, 25 percent Republican and 50 percent Independent... a flexibility that would provide real Black power at the voting booth.

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 hostage. 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. These Black Americans are now attempting to collect on a century of inaction and indifference. These Black Americans are no longer willing to be ignored or taken for granted.





They are truly looking to become a part of the mainstream of American politics. A mainstream that does not measure a man for his eloquence but for the list of his deeds.

Recently I read with interest a letter to the editor of the Washington Post which concerned Julian Bond. This gentleman wrote that "Mr. Bond has chosen the Democratic Party as his vehicle for effective participation to effect meaningful change. That is his prerogative as an American. Those Black Americans who have chosen to support Mr. Nixon have a right to exercise their prerogative without vilification... there is more than one political party in America."

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

To Mr. Bond I say that he has chosen to prostrate himself before George McGovern. He has chosen to stretch himself out



on the ground of partisan politics, with his face buried in adoration and submission to his only cause... and at the total expense of our own people.

Mr. Bond does nothing to help further the cause of a two-party system in America, by making wild accusations. 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.

Black author Lerone Bennett Jr. writing in his new book, said "The great masses of men... have always been anvils for the hammers of the few."

I for one am through being an anvil for the hammers of a few. It is my hope that when the Blacks of this Nation go to the polls November 7th, they will have seen fit to forge a new alliance of independence through their participation in the two-party system... thus no longer remaining the anvil for the hammers of anyone.





During the decade of the sixties we found Black Americans frozen in a perpetual state of political animation...on the one hand there was reason for great expectations and on the other... a sense of deep frustration.

✓  
KC  
9/26/72

It was during this decade that Americans seemed to become increasingly aware of and sensitized to the abhorrent plight of Black America. Politicians vocalized empathy for blacks and began a rhetorical syndrome of promising end-all solutions to problems compounded by a century of inaction and indifference.

Blacks were promised an "end to poverty in a decade" and the "abolition of discrimination now". Charismatic figures gained identification with the average Black, whose hopes for a voice in government through such figures greatly increased.

Yet, despite this increased awareness and attention, Black America found that as the decade of the sixties began to draw to a close, promises were still unfulfilled, the performance gap had widened, and the struggle for human dignity continued.

