

**PROPOSAL TO ENHANCE ADMINISTRATION  
OUTREACH TO THE AFRICAN AMERICAN  
COMMUNITY IN 1996**

**Preliminary Draft**

**Prepared by**

**African American Working Group  
January 24, 1996**

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## **Executive Summary**

### **Proposal to Enhance Administration Outreach to the African American Community in 1996**

This proposal provides a comprehensive blueprint for mobilizing the African American community in 1996 to assure the re-election of President Clinton. It's premised on the fact that African American voters are among the most consistent and loyal supporters of the Democratic party. In 1992, 82 percent of black voters cast their vote for Bill Clinton. Blacks supported the Democratic party in 1994 at about the same high levels achieved in 1990 and next year's election should be no different. As such, convincing black voters to support the President in 1996, pose a different challenge than other base groups potentially present; instead, turning the vote out will be the name of the game

African Americans have much riding on the President's reelection. The 1996 contest is shaping up as a referendum on many of the Clinton Administration's policies and programs that are strongly supported by African Americans. However, the President has a strong record of accomplishments in the black community, and that message needs to be delivered in a strong and forceful manner.

For many reasons, black registration and turnout among younger, black voters is significantly lower than among whites. To maximize African American voter turnout in '96, we must be more innovative than we have in the past. Blacks under age 45 -- which make up 64 percent of all blacks -- represent a particular challenge because their identification with the Democratic party has declined significantly in recent years. Further erosion of support among these voters can mean the difference between victory and defeat for Democrats at all levels in November 1996.

With this year's election, we want to begin turning things around by building a strong foundation for future national, state and local elections. In many ways, the opposition is giving us the issues upon which to build this foundation. However, to fully capitalize on this opportunity we need to move quickly, aggressively and boldly to: (1) educate the African American community about the President and how these issues affect them; (2) develop strategies to energize black voters and increase African American registration and turnout among disenfranchised and younger voters; and (3) identify a cadre of contributors in the black community that will work on and contribute to the President's reelection. We also need to develop a coordinating structure and campaign team dedicated to carrying out this proposal.

To achieve these objectives, the African American Working Group has adopted seven principles to guide its activities in 1996. They are: (1) ensure that African Americans are well represented in all aspects of the campaign -- senior management, field operations, convention, contractors, delegates, campaign committees, etc.; (2) conserve resources for tar-

getting voter registration activities in districts where black voter turnout can provide the margin of victory in key electoral states; (3) establish vote goals to target non-Presidential electoral states with significant black populations that can potentially influence local House and Senate races; (4) devise strategies to target black voters under age 45, particularly black women.; (5) mount partisan absentee voter and GOTV activities aimed at identifying prospective black voters that will support Clinton-Gore in '96; (6) develop a comprehensive media/communications and state-specific polling strategy to gauge African American sentiment and progress in reaching black voters; and (7) use both black and mainstream media and press to reach prospective African American voters.

The outline of this proposal is as follows:

- Tab A: African American Working Group;
- Tab B: Principles for African American Outreach;
- Tab C: National Calendar of Events for the President, Vice President, First Lady and Mrs. Gore;
- Tab D: Clinton-Gore '96 National Committee Recommendations;
- Tab E: African Americans for Clinton-Gore Steering Committee Recommendations;
- Tab F: Staffing Recommendations;
- Tab G: Target States and Cities;
- Tab H: State Plans and Tactics;
- Tab I: Fund Raising;
- Tab J: Surrogate Speakers Operation;
- Tab K: National Calendar of African American Events;
- Tab L: Communication/Media Plan;
- Tab M: Background on African American Voters;
- Tab N: Rollout Milestones. and
- Tab O: Budget.

## **African American Working Group**

**Chair:** Alexis Herman

**Members:** Ernie Green  
Minyon Moore  
Lottie Shackelford  
Rodney Slater  
Bob Nash  
Richard Mays  
Carol Willis  
Deputy Campaign Manager for Constituent Affairs (when hired)

**Staff:** Eric Eve  
Charles Duncan  
Ben Johnson  
Richard Hayes

This committee brings together the three key organizational units that must work closely together throughout the '96 campaign -- White House (Offices of Public Liaison and Political Affairs), the DNC, and the Re-elect. On-going coordination is maintained through bi-weekly meetings and conference calls.

Operationally, the White House team members will provide overall direction and policy guidance with respect to the master calendar of events; appearances and phone calls for White House principals and Administration surrogates; issues tracking; message development; and overall political strategy for 1996. The responsibility for the field activities during the campaign will be divided between the DNC and the Reelect. The DNC will oversee the Coordinated Campaign including preparation of the tactical plans for persuading voters to support the President in each targeted state; targeted voter registration; targeting "surge" precincts throughout the country for persuasion, GOTV, and absentee ballot activities; and recruiting Precinct Captains for "surge" precincts. The Re-elect will be responsible for developing state-specific strategies throughout the primaries and general election, and the Democratic convention including delegate selection.

## Proposal Objectives

1. Ensure that African Americans are well represented in all aspects of the campaign -- senior management, field operations, convention, contractors, delegates, campaign committees, etc.
2. Conserve resources for targeting voter registration activities in districts where black voter turnout can provide the margin of victory in key electoral states.
3. Establish vote goals to target non-Presidential electoral states with significant black populations that can potentially influence local House and Senate races.
4. Devise strategies to target black voters under age 45, particularly black women.
5. Mount partisan absentee voter and GOTV activities aimed at identifying prospective black voters that will support Clinton-Gore in '96.
6. Develop a comprehensive media/communications and state-specific polling strategy to gauge African American sentiment and progress in reaching black voters.
7. Use both black and mainstream media and press to reach prospective African American voters.

8. S deal

① 25 - C/G, Stab  
① 7 - others - Stab in South

## **National Calendar of Events for the President, Vice-President, First Lady, and Mrs. Gore**

The participation of the President, Vice President, First lady, and Mrs. Gore in major African Americans events is an essential component of our national strategy to energize black voters. Table 5 presents our recommendations for "must do" and "important" events and appearances by White House Principals in 1996. We selected these events based on: (1) the group's importance to the President's re-election; (2) the potential news value of the event; and (3) the importance of the event to the African American community. A preliminary list of key African Americans that the President, Vice President, First lady, and Mrs. Gore should meet with at the White House or call are presented in Table 6 (needs to be developed).

Once an event has been approved, we will work with the White House Specialty Media office to develop a comprehensive roll out and communication strategy. Our intention would be to publicize these events in the black media. Where appropriate, agency surrogates will be used to help amplify an event. For example, in addition to the POTUS, several Cabinet members travelled to separate cities to help highlight the Martin Luther King holiday.

## 1996 Presidential Calendar of African American Events

| Date    | Event                                                                                    | City         | State | Status                                          |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1/4     | United Negro College Fund Reception<br>Participants: 350                                 | Washington   | DC    | POTUS attending                                 |
| 1/15    | Martin Luther King Center Event<br>Participants:                                         | Atlanta      | GA    | POTUS Pending -#1                               |
| 1/15    | Martin Luther King Birthday Event<br>Participants:                                       | Philadelphia | PA    | FLOTUS Pending -#1<br>Denver, CO alternate site |
| 1/25    | White House Briefing for Black Mayors<br>Participants:                                   | Washington   | DC    | POTUS Recommended - #2                          |
| 1/25-27 | Joint Center Seventh National Policy<br>Institute<br>Participants:                       | Washington   | DC    | VPOTUS Pending                                  |
| 2/1     | Smithsonian Gala for Black History Month<br>Participants:                                | Washington,  | DC    | POTUS Recommended - #1                          |
| 2/22-24 | Black Engineer of the Year Awards<br>Participants:                                       | Baltimore    | MD    | VPOTUS Pending                                  |
| 2/29    | National Association of Black-Owned<br>Broadcasters<br>Participants:                     | Washington   | DC    | POTUS Recommended - #2                          |
| 3/19    | Joint Center for Political and Economic<br>Studies Annual Dinner<br>Participants:        | Washington   | DC    | POTUS Recommended                               |
| 3/28-31 | National Head Start Association<br>Participants:                                         | New Orleans  | LA    | FLOTUS Recommended                              |
| 3/96    | National Association of Black<br>Telecommunications Professionals<br>Participants: 3,000 | TBA          |       | VPOTUS Recommended                              |
| 4/9-11  | Church of God in Christ Call Meeting<br>Participants:                                    | Memphis      | TN    | POTUS Recommended - #2                          |
| 4/13-17 | National Forum for Black Public<br>Administrators<br>Participants:                       | Seattle      | WA    | FLOTUS Recommended                              |
| 4/17-21 | National Association for Equal<br>Opportunity in Higher Education<br>Participants: 2,000 | Washington   | DC    | POTUS Recommended - #1                          |

| Date     | Event                                                                                      | City        | State | Status                                                                                                   |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5/7-9    | Grand Masters Convention -<br>Prince Hall Masons<br>Participants:                          | St. Louis   | MO    | VPOTUS Recommended - #2                                                                                  |
| 5/24-27  | Coalition of Black Trade Unionists<br>Participants:                                        | Miami       | FL    | POTUS made a video tape.<br>POTUS Recommended - #1                                                       |
| 5/27-31  | Church of God in Christ International<br>Women's Convention<br>Participants:               | New Orleans | LA    | POTUS Recommended - #1                                                                                   |
| 5/96     | Leadership Conference on Civil Rights<br>Participants:                                     | Washington  | DC    | FLOTUS Recommended                                                                                       |
| 6/25-7/5 | Bicentennial Celebration of African<br>Methodist Episcopal Church<br>Participants:         | Louisville  | KY    | POTUS attended in 1992<br>POTUS Pending                                                                  |
| 7/6-11   | National Association for the Advancement<br>of Colored People<br>Participants: 10 - 15,000 | Charlotte   | NC    | POTUS attended in 1992<br>POTUS Recommended - #1                                                         |
| 7/13-19  | Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.<br>Participants:                                          | Baltimore   | MD    | POTUS Recommended                                                                                        |
| 7/17-20  | A. Philip Randolph Institute<br>Participants:                                              | Washington  | DC    | VPOTUS Recommended                                                                                       |
| 7/19-25  | Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.<br>Participants:                                          | Orlando     | FL    | FLOTUS Recommended - #1                                                                                  |
| 7/23-8/1 | African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church<br>Participants:                                   | Washington  | DC    | POTUS Pending - #2                                                                                       |
| 7/28-8/1 | Southern Christian Leadership Conference<br>Participants: 1,500-2,000                      | Detroit     | MI    | FLOTUS Recommended - #2                                                                                  |
| 8/5-10   | Progressive National Baptist Convention                                                    | Kansas City | MO    | POTUS Recommended - #2                                                                                   |
| 8/11-14  | National Urban League<br>Participants: 10,000                                              | New Orleans | LA    | VPOTUS Recommended                                                                                       |
| 8/21-25  | National Association of Black Journalists<br>Participants: 1,800                           | Nashville   | TN    | POTUS attended in 1992.<br>POTUS asked group to invite<br>him to next meeting. POTUS<br>Recommended - #1 |
| 8/25-30  | Blacks in Government<br>Participants: 4,000                                                | Atlanta     | GA    | FLOTUS Recommended                                                                                       |

| Date     | Event                                                                     | City        | State | Status                                                        |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9/2-6    | National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.<br>Participants: 3,000-6,000 | Little Rock | AK    | POTUS Recommended - #2                                        |
| 9/20-14  | Congressional Black Caucus Legislative<br>Participants: 8,000             | Washington  | DC    | POTUS attended in 1993, 1994 and 1995. POTUS Recommended - #1 |
| 9/13-15  | Black Family Reunion<br>Participants:                                     | Washington  | DC    | POTUS attended in 1992<br>POTUS/FLOTUS Recommended - #3       |
| 9/24-27  | Minority Enterprise Development Week<br>Participants:                     | Washington  | DC    | VPOTUS Recommended                                            |
| 10/8-11  | National Black Child Development Institute<br>Participants: 3,000         | New Orleans | LA    | FLOTUS Recommended                                            |
| 10/20-23 | National Minority Supplier Development Conference<br>Participants: 2,000  | Denver      | CO    | VPOTUS Recommended                                            |
| 10/96    | Africare Bishop John T. Walker Dinner<br>Participants:                    | Washington  | DC    | POTUS attended in 1995<br>POTUS Recommended - #1              |

## **Clinton-Gore '96 National Steering Committee Recommendations**

In addition to a separate African Americans for Clinton-Gore '96 steering committee, blacks should also be appointed as co-chairs for the overall campaign committee, although we would expect them to also play a significant role in their home state's steering committee. We recommend that the national steering committee be announced in February during Black History Month. The individual state steering committees would be unveiled on a rolling basis, approximately four weeks before each state's primary (see Table 4).

## **RECOMMENDED CLINTON-GORE '96 CO-CHAIRS**

**Partial list, December 18, 1995**

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Arizona     | Art Hamilton, House Majority Leader<br>Sandra Kennedy, State Senator                                                                                                                                              |
| Arkansas    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| California  | Willie Brown; Mayor, San Francisco<br>Maxine Waters; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Arlene Holt<br>Diane Watson, State Senator<br>Alice Bluffner<br>Elihue Harris; Mayor, Oakland                                         |
| Colorado    | Wellington Webb; Mayor, Denver                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Connecticut | George Springer, AFT<br>Carolyn Morris, Mayor, Hartford                                                                                                                                                           |
| Delaware    | Mayor James Sills, Wilmington                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Florida     | A.G. Butterworth<br>Carrie Meek; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Willie Gary; Gary, Williams, Parenti, Finey, Lewis & McNanus                                                                                              |
| Georgia     | Bill Campbell; Mayor, Atlanta<br>Raymond McClendon; Pryor, McClendon, Counts & Co., Inc.<br>John Lewis; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Andrew Young<br>Maynard Jackson<br>Carolyn Long Banks (???)<br>Calvin Snyder (???) |
| Illinois    | Emil Jones,<br>Carol Mosely-Braun; Senator, U.S. Senate (1)<br>Danny Davis<br>John Stroger (2)<br>Jams Lowry; James Lowry & Associates<br>Linda Johnson Rice<br>Bobby Rush                                        |
| Kentucky    | Gerald Neal                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

|               |                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Louisiana     | State Rep. Sherman Copelin, Speaker<br>Mayor Marc Morial, New Orleans<br>William Jefferson; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Cleo Fields; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Pinkie (???) C. Wilkerson |
| Maryland      | Kurt Schmoke; Mayor, Baltimore<br>Larry Gibson<br>Wayne Curry, County Executive, Prince Georges County<br>Weldon Lathan; Shaw, Pittman & Throwbridge<br>Vera Hall                |
| Massachusetts | Charles Stith, Religious Leader<br>Diane Wilkerson, State Senator<br>RAYmond Jordan, Jr., State Rep.                                                                             |
| Micchigan     | Dennis Archer; Mayor, Detroit<br>Ernest Lofton; International Vice President, UAW<br>Flo Walker<br>Joel Fergunson<br>Dan Barton<br>Jackie Currie<br>Woodrow Stanley              |
| Minnesota     | Sharon Sayles Belton; Mayor, Minneapolis                                                                                                                                         |
| Mississippi   | Alice Harden; Senator<br>Bennie Thompson; State Rep.<br>Ed Cole                                                                                                                  |
| Missouri      | Bill Clay; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Emmanual Cleaver; Mayor, Kansas City<br>Freeman Bosley, Jr.; Mayor, St. Louis<br>Wayman Smith; Vice President, Annheuser Busch                 |
| Nevada        | Joe Neal, State Senator                                                                                                                                                          |
| New Jersey    | Cardell Cooper; Mayor, East orange<br>Charles Payne; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Female needed                                                                                        |

|                |                                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| New York       | Charles Rangel; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Carl McCall, State Auditor<br>Stanley Hall<br>Hazel Dukes<br>Helen Marshall; Councilwoman                      |
| North Carolina | Eva Clayton; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Mel Watts; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Ralph Campbell<br>Dan Blue<br>Thomas Moore                                      |
| Ohio           | Mike White; Mayor, Cleveland<br>Louis Stokes; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Carol Hoover; President, Cleveland Growth Association<br>Rhine McLin; State Rep. |
| Pennsylvania   | State Sen. Chaka Fattah<br>Bishop Clark<br>Edwin Baker                                                                                                |
| Tennessee      | Lois DeBerry; State Rep.<br>Willie Herenton; Mayor, Memphis<br>Harold Ford; Rep, U.S. Congress<br>Someone from Nashville                              |
| Texas          | Eddie Bernice Johnson; Rep., U.S. Congress<br>Sheila Jackson Lee; State Rep.<br>Rodney Ellis; State Sen.                                              |
| Virginia       | Rep. Bobby Scott<br>Someone from Ernie's list of contributors                                                                                         |
| Washington     | Norman Rice; Mayor, Seattle<br>Fomer Mayor of Tacoma                                                                                                  |
| Wisconsin      | Martha Love                                                                                                                                           |

## **African Americans for Clinton-Gore Steering Committee Recommendations**

A national steering committee would be a tremendous asset to increasing the participation of African Americans in the reelection of the President. Such a group would also provide a vehicle for increasing the involvement of the local leadership and visibility of the campaign in black communities. Thusly, we are recommending formation of an "African Americans for Clinton-Gore" Steering Committee.

Table 3 presents our recommendations for the leadership of this committee. Ernie Green and State Representative Lois DeBerry are our recommendations to head it. Separate co-chairs would be appointed to represent education, labor, youth, business, and the federal and local government. Also, vice chairs would be appointed to represent the arts and entertainment, clergy, athletes, and civil rights. In addition, a state-specific Steering Committees, with its own leadership, would be established in each African American target state.

The individual state steering committees will provide the local leadership for organizing state-specific campaign organizations geared to the African American community. They will be asked to help develop strategies for energizing black voters; defend the Clinton Administration record in the black community; monitor local activities and issues that may impact the election; identify message opportunities for Administration surrogates; help register voters and setup GOTV operations; and establish strategic alliances with unions, Congressional and other state and local races. Thus, it's important that each state's steering committee be consulted early on to provide input for the tactical plans the DNC is preparing for each state. These plans, which will contain the vote goals for each target state, will "outline how the voters will be moved in terms of persuasion and base programs using generic media, vote by mail, early vote, absentee ballot, voter registration, phone, mail, canvas, and Precinct Captain programs."

Local leaders invited to join state steering committees will consist of old and new supporters who are loyal to the President and the Party; have clout in their home state; have extensive contacts; and are willing to invest their time in this effort. These individuals would be expected to be President Clinton's personal army of independent workers devoted to his reelection and recapturing the Congress. They would work to expand the network of black supporters in their home communities who also support this aim, particularly among young African Americans. To get things rolling, the leadership of each state's steering committee should be invited to Washington, D.C. in mid-February for a briefing and organizational meeting. It would be extremely helpful if the President and White House Principals could also participate in this event.

| Position   | Name of Person                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Arizona    | Hon. Art Hamilton, House Majority Leader<br>Hon. Sandra Kennedy, State Senator                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Arkansas   | Reverend Tyrone Broomfield<br>Hon. Irma Hunter Brown, State Representative<br>Evageline Brown<br>Hon. Jean Edwards, State Representative<br>Clara Ferron<br>Jerone Green<br>John Green<br>Rubye Johnson<br>Calvin King<br>Jerry Malone<br>Richard Mays, Managing Trustee, Mays & Crutcher Law Offices<br>Dr. Robert Miller<br>Dr. James Moore<br>Bishop L.T. Walker<br>Dr. Alonzo Williams, Center of Arkansas<br>Reverend William Robinson<br>Hon. Jimmie Wilson, State Representative                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| California | Sandra Andrews<br>John Banks<br>Bishop Charles E. Blake<br>Bishop H. Hartford Brookins<br>Reverend Amos Brown<br>Bishop E. Lynn Brown<br>Hon. Willie Brown, Mayor, City of San Francisco<br>Hon. Ronald V. Dellums, Representative, U. S. Congress<br>Hon. Julian C. Dixon, Representative, U. S. Congress<br>Reverend Joe Hardwicke<br>Hon. Elihue Harris, Mayor, City of Oakland<br>Arlene Holt<br>Marguerite Archie Hudson<br>Alice Huffman<br>Hon. Barbara Lee, Assemblywoman<br>Hon. Juanita McDonald, Assemblywoman<br>Gwen Moore<br>Reverend Cecil Murray<br>Percy Pinkey<br>Hon. Maxine Waters, Representative, U.S. Congress<br>Hon. Diane Watson, State Senator |
| Colorado   | Regis Goff<br>Hon. Gloria Travis Tanner, State Senator<br>Wilma Taylor<br>Sam Williams                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

# African Americans for Clinton-Gore '96

## Partial list, January 6, 1996

| Position | Name of Person |
|----------|----------------|
|----------|----------------|

|                 |                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| National Chairs | Ernest Green, Managing Partner, Lehman Brothers<br>Hon. Lois DeBerry, State Representative (TN) and President,<br>National Black Caucus of State Legislators |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

### National Co-Chairs:

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Education | Dr. Betty Shabbaz, Director of Institutional Advancement, Medgar Evers College                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Youth     | (Select female from Black Student Government Association)                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Labor     | William Lucy, Treasurer, AFSCME<br>(Select female)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Federal   | Hon. Cardiss Collins (Representative - Illinois)<br>Hon. Donald Payne (Representative - New Jersey)                                                                                                                                                        |
| Local     | Hon. Dennis Archer, Mayor, City of Detroit<br>Hon. Willie Brown, Mayor, City of San Francisco<br>Hon. Norman Rice, Mayor, City of Seattle<br>Hon. Kurt Schmoke, Mayor, City of Baltimore<br>Hon. Wellington Webb, Mayor, City of Denver<br>(Select female) |
| Business  | Weldon Lathan                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

### Vice Chairs:

|              |                                                                                                                          |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Entertainers | Quincy Jones<br>Whoopie Goldberg<br>Maya Angelou<br>Clarence Avant, Chairman, Motown Records                             |
| Clergy       | Self-selected (name of major groups)                                                                                     |
| Athletics    | Magic Johnson<br>Shaquille O'Neal<br>Debbie Thomas                                                                       |
| Civil Rights | Andrew Young, Former Mayor, City of Atlanta<br>Julian Bond<br>Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Woman |

### State Steering Committees

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Alabama | Hon. Richard Arrington, Mayor, City of Mobile<br>Hon. Johnnie Ford, Mayor, City of Tuskegee<br>Laura Hall<br>Art Hamilton<br>Hon. Earl F. Hilliard, Representative, U.S. Congress<br>Sandra Kennedy<br>Hon. Yvonne Kennedy, State Representative<br>Joe Reed, Alabama Education Association<br>Reverend Samuel Pettigrew, Jr.<br>Hon. John Rodgers, Jr., State Representative<br>Hank Sanders<br>Hon. Bishop Thomas, State Representative |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| Position | Name of Person |
|----------|----------------|
|----------|----------------|

Bishop Donald Ming  
Ralph Paige  
Herman Russell, Chairman and CEO, H.J. Russell & Company  
Hon. Calvin Smyre, State Representative  
William "Sonny" Walker

Illinois

Reverend Willie Barrow, Operation Push  
Danny Davis  
Joe Gardner  
Percy Giles  
**Hon. Jessie Jackson, Jr., Representative, U.S. Congress**  
**Hon. Emile Jones, Jr., State Representative**  
James Lowry, President, James Lowry & Associates  
Bishop J. Haskell Mayo  
**Hon. Carol Mosely-Braun, Senator, U.S. Congress**  
Linda Johnson Rice, President, Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.  
**Hon. Bobby Rush, Representative, U.S. Congress**  
Eugene Sawyer  
Ed Smith  
John Stroger  
Tim Wright

Kentucky

Hon. Leonard Gray, State Representative  
Hon. Porter Hatcher, State Representative  
Hon. Gerald Neal, State Senator

Louisiana

Hon. Diane Bajoie, State Senator  
Hon. Ken Carter  
Hon. Sherman Copelin, Jr., State Representative (pending)  
**Hon. Cleo Fields, Representative, U.S. Congress**  
Cedric Glover  
Clarence Hawkins  
**Hon. William Jefferson, Representative, U.S. Congress**  
Reverend T.J. Jemison  
Charles Jones  
Reverend E. Edward Jones  
Hon. Marc Morial, Mayor, City of New Orleans  
Hon. Pinkie C. Wilkerson, State Representative  
Bishop Roy Winbush

Maryland

Hon. Clarence Blount, State Senator  
Reverend Granger Browning  
Hon. Wayne Curry, County Executive, Prince Georges County  
Hon. Clarence Davis, State Representative  
Larry Gibson  
Vera Hall  
Hon. Gloria Lawlah, State Senator  
Reverend Frank Madison Reed, Bethal African Methodist Episcopal Church  
**Hon. Albert R. Wynn, Representative, U.S. Congress**

| Position         | Name of Person                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Connecticut      | Hon. Annette Carter, State Representative<br>Hon. Reginald Beamon, State Representative<br>Frank Bouges<br>Carolyn Morris, Mayor, City of Hartford<br>Hank Parker<br>Sandy Brewster Walker                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Delaware         | Hon. James Sills, Mayor, City of Wilmington                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Washington, D.C. | Hon. Linda Cropp, Councilwoman<br>Hon. Charlene Drew Jarvis, Councilwoman<br>Bishop Frederick James, African Methodist Episcopal Church<br>Ron Magnus<br>Hon. Harry Thomas, Sr., Councilmen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Florida          | <b>Hon. Corrine Brown, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>A.G. Butterworth<br>Bishop Frank C. Cummings<br>Joe Eggle<br>Willie Gary, Managing Partner, Gary, Williams, Parenti, Lewis & McNanus<br>Maxine Green<br><b>Hon. Alcee L. Hastings, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Hon. Anthony C "Tony" Hill, State Representative<br>Robert Ingram<br>Artheia Joiner<br>Hon. Daryl Jones, State Senator<br>Warren Jones<br>Reverend Henry J. Lyons, President, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.<br>Reggie McGill<br><b>Hon. Carrie P. Meek, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Daryl Reaves<br>Reverend H.T. Rhim                                                          |
| Georgia          | Hon. Floyd Adams, Jr., Mayor, City of Savannah<br>Frank Bates<br>Hon. Carolyn Long Banks, At-Large Member, City Council<br>Reverend Jerry Black, Beulah Baptist Church<br><b>Hon. Sanford D. Bishop, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Hon. Bill Campbell, Mayor, City of Atlanta<br>Greg Davis<br>Thomas Dortch<br>Jean Duffie<br>Jessie Hill, Jr., Chairman, Atlanta Life Insurance Company<br>Michael Hightower<br>Jean Jackson<br>Hon. Maynard Jackson, Former Mayor, City of Atlanta<br>Martin Luther King III<br>Reverend Joseph Lowery, President, SCLC<br><b>Hon. John Lewis, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Raymond McClendon, Pryor, McClendon, Counts & Co., Inc. |

| Position      | Name of Person                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Massachusetts | Rev. Charles Stith, Organization for New Equality<br>Hon. Diane Wilkerson, State Senator                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Michigan      | Rev. Wendell Anthony, President, Detroit NACCP Chapter<br>Don Barden, President, Barden Communications, Inc.<br>Hon. Floyd Clack, State Representative<br><b>Hon. John Conyers, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br><b>Hon. Barbara-Rose Collins, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Jackie Currie<br>George Cushenberry<br>Joel Ferguson, President, F&S Development Company<br>Freeman Hendrick<br>Teola Hunter<br>Reverend Odell Jones<br>Larry Simmons<br>Hon. Ricardo Soloman, County Commissioner, Wayne County<br>Hon. Woodrow Stanley, Mayor, City of Flint |
| Minnesota     | Hon. Sharon Sayles Belton, Mayor, City of Minneapolis<br>Hon. Richard Jefferson, State Representative                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Mississippi   | Joyce Arceneaux<br>Hon. Edward Blackmon, Jr., State Representative<br>Unita Blackwell, National Conference of Black Mayors<br>Alvin Chambliss<br>Hon. Alycee Clarke, State Representative<br>Hon. George Flaggs, Jr., State Representative<br>Eugene Fouche<br>Hillman Frazier<br>Oleta Garrett<br>Hon. Alice Harden, State Senator<br>Hon. Aaron Henry, State Representative<br><b>Hon. Bennie Thompson, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Johnnie E. Walls                                                                                                        |
| Missouri      | Hon. Mary Graves Bland, State Representative<br>Hon. Freeman Bosley, Jr., Mayor, City of St. Louis<br>Lacy Clay<br><b>Hon. William Clay, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Hon. Emmanuel Cleaver, Mayor, Kansas City<br>Hon. Philip Curls, State Representative<br>Reverend Wallace Harsfield<br>Jacqueline McGee<br>Reverend John Modest Miles<br>G.L. Shelton<br>Wayman Smith, Vice President, Annheuser Busch<br>Hon. Charles Quincy Troop, State Representative<br>Archie Welch                                                                                 |

| Position       | Name of Person                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nevada         | Hon. Morse Addiberry, Assemblyman<br>Frank Hawkins<br>Hon. Joe Neal, Jr., State Senator<br>Hon. Wendell Williams, Assemblyman                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| New Jersey     | Cecil Banks<br>Hon. Willie Brown, Assemblyman<br>Hon. Cardell Cooper, Mayor, City of East Orange<br>Hon. Mark Fury, Mayor, City of Plainfield<br>Melissa Holloway<br>Hon. Sharpe James, Mayor, City of Newark<br>Donald Tucker, Chairman, NJ Black Issues Convention                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| New York       | Shirley Chisholm<br>Una Clark<br>Hon. David Dinkins, Former Mayor, City of New York<br>Hazel Dukes<br>Hon. Arthur Eve, Assemblyman<br>Floyd Flakes<br>C. Virginia Fields<br>Earl Graves, President, Earl Graves Publishing<br>Stanley Hall, Vice President, AFSCME District Council 37<br>Hon. Bill Johnson, Mayor, City of Rochester<br>Bill Lynch<br>Hon. Helen Marshall, Member, City Council<br>Hon. Carl McCall, State Auditor<br>Velmonette Montgomery<br>Hon. Major R. Owens, Representative, U.S. Congress<br>Bishop Norman Quick<br>Hon. Charles Rangel, Representative, U.S. Congress<br>Reverend W. Franklyn Richardson<br>Ruth Scott<br>Hon. Larry Seabrook, Assemblyman<br>Percy Sutton, Chairman Emeritus, Inner City Broadcasting Company<br>Ed Towns<br>Hon. Albert Vann, Assemblyman |
| North Carolina | Hon. Dan Blue, Jr., State Representative<br>Hon. Eva Clayton, Representative, U.S. Congress<br>Ralph Campbell<br>Harvey Gant<br>Lloyd Hackley<br>Bill Martin<br>Thomasine Moore<br>Hon. Earlene Palmer, County Commissioner<br>Will Parker<br>James Richardson<br>Ben Ruffin<br>Ed Smith<br>Hon. Melvin Watts, Representative, U.S. Congress                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

| Position       | Name of Person                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ohio           | Henry Belin, Jr., African Methodist Church<br>Bill Bowen<br>Clay Dixon<br>Hon. Rhine McLin, State Senator<br>Ray Miller<br>Reverend Otis Moss, Olivet Baptist Church<br>Hon. C.J. Prentiss, State Representative<br><b>Hon. Louis Stokes, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Hon. Mike White, Mayor, City of Cleveland                                                                                                                                              |
| Oregon         | Michael Lewellen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Pennsylvania   | Edwina Baker<br>Ralph Banks<br>Mel Blount<br>Bishop Melvin Clark<br>Bishop Phillip Cousins, AME Church<br><b>Hon. Chaka Fattah, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Hon. Harold James, State Representative<br>Bishop O.R. Jones, Jr., State Representative<br>Randall McCaskill, Olivet Baptist Church<br>Hon. Joe Preston, Jr., State Representative<br>Alex Talmadge<br>Hon. W. Curtis Thomas, State Representative<br>Robert Vance                               |
| South Carolina | <b>Hon. James E. Clyburn, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>E.W. Cromartie<br>Herbert Fielding<br>Ray Gilbert<br>Paul Livingston<br>Hon. Kay Patterson, State Senator<br>McKinley Washington                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Tennessee      | Hon. Joseph E. Armstrong, State Representative<br>Minnie Bommer<br>Curtis Craft<br>Hon. Roscoe Dixon, State Representative<br><b>Hon. Harold Ford, Representative, U.S. Congress</b><br>Dr. Henry Foster<br>Bishop William Graves<br>Hon. Willie Herenton, Mayor, City of Memphis<br>Reverend Billy Kyles<br>Bishop Gilbert E. Patterson<br>Bishop J.L. Porter<br>Elder John Robinson, CME District Office<br>Julius Sloss<br>Donald Smart<br>Reverend Kenneth Whalum |

| Position | Name of Person |
|----------|----------------|
|----------|----------------|

Texas

Alice Bristow  
 Clarence Collins  
 Gene Collins  
 Deralyn Davis  
 Hon. Wilhelmina R. Delco, State Representative  
 Hon. Al Edwards, State Representative  
 Hon. Rodney Ellis, State Senator  
**Hon. Sheila Jackson Lee, Representative, U.S. Congress**  
 Cynthia Morton  
**Hon. Eddie Bernice Johnson, Representative, U.S. Congress**  
 Marilyn Jones  
 Jason Justice, Texas Coalition of Black Democrats  
 Hon. Ron Kirk, Mayor, City of Dallas  
 Hazel Obey  
  
 Carroll Robinson  
 Hon. Sylvester Turner, State Representative

Virginia

Hon. Jean W. Cunningham, State Delegate  
 Hon. Jerrauld C. Jones, State Delegate  
 Hon. William P. Robinson, Jr., State Delegate  
**Hon. Robert C. (Bobby) Scott, Representative, U.S. Congress**  
 Hon. Doug Wilder, Fomer Governor  
 Hon. Leonnias Young, Mayor, City of Richmond

Washington

Forrest Brown  
 Hon. Rosa Franklin, State Senator  
 Charles Rolland  
 Reverend Samuel Mckinley  
 Jolinda Stephenson  
 Harold Williams, Fomer Mayor, City of Tacoma  
 Jesse Wineberry

Wisconsin

Paul Dorsey  
 Martha Love, Vice Chair, DNC  
 Hon. Annette Polly Williams, State Representative

Notes:      **Bold -- Honorary Member**

## **Staffing Recommendations**

President Clinton has hired a record number of African Americans throughout the government at all levels of his Administration and this should also be true for the 1996 campaign. Presently, we are recommending that African Americans be considered for the following senior management positions with the campaign. (Specific names for these positions will be discussed in a separate personnel recommendations document.) Except for the GOTV job, these positions should be filled in February; the GOTV position should be filled in August:

1. Deputy Campaign Manager for Constituent Affairs:
2. Assistant Deputy Campaign Manager for Finance:
3. Assistant Deputy Campaign Manager for Communications:
4. Assistant Deputy Campaign manager for African Americans:
5. GOTV Director:

African Americans should also be well represented in senior field positions. Table 1 presents our recommendations for positions that African Americans should be given strong consideration for. We are not yet ready to recommend specific persons to fill these positions since local politics, the makeup of the state steering committees, and other such issues will affect who is eventually hired. However, identifying qualified African Americans should not be a problem. Several exceptional candidates attended the Campaign Training Academy conducted by the DNC last December and six more sessions will be held early this year.

## Recommended African American Hires for '96 Election Cycle

| State          | C/G State Director | C/G Press Secretary | CC State Director | CC Political Field Director | CC GOTV Director |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Alabama        |                    |                     |                   |                             |                  |
| Arkansas       |                    |                     | Black             |                             | Black            |
| California     |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Colorado       |                    |                     |                   |                             | Black            |
| Connecticut    |                    | Black               |                   |                             |                  |
| Delaware       |                    |                     |                   |                             |                  |
| DC             | Black              |                     | Black             | Black                       | Black            |
| Florida        |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Georgia        |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Illinois       |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Kentucky       |                    |                     |                   | Black                       |                  |
| Louisiana      |                    |                     | Black             |                             | Black            |
| Maryland       | Black              |                     |                   |                             | Black            |
| Massachusetts  |                    |                     |                   |                             |                  |
| Michigan       |                    | Black               |                   |                             | Black            |
| Minnesota      |                    |                     |                   | Black                       |                  |
| Mississippi    |                    |                     | Black             |                             | Black            |
| Missouri       |                    | Black               |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Nevada         |                    |                     |                   | Black                       |                  |
| New Jersey     |                    | Black               |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| New York       |                    |                     | Black             |                             | Black            |
| North Carolina |                    |                     | Black             |                             | Black            |
| Ohio           | Black              |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Oregon         |                    |                     |                   |                             |                  |
| Pennsylvania   |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| South Carolina | Black              |                     |                   |                             | Black            |
| Tennessee      |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Texas          |                    | Black               |                   |                             | Black            |
| Virginia       |                    | Black               |                   | Black                       | Black            |
| Washington     |                    |                     |                   | Black                       |                  |
| Wisconsin      |                    |                     |                   | Black                       | Black            |

## Target States and Cities

Minority voter turnout will affect the outcome of the 1996 general elections at all levels. In 1992, the blacks' share of the President's winning vote totaled at least 20 percent in 12 of 21 states. Notwithstanding, black voter registration and turnout is lower than whites, particularly among baby-boomers and younger voters. While black voter participation is a major problem, it's not a universal problem, or one that is ultimately insurmountable. For example, in the 20 electoral college states with significant black voter populations (see Tab M), voter turnout falls off significantly among those under age 45. Since voter turnout is usually much higher and more consistent among those over 45, a special effort must be made to reach younger voters. The wisdom of this recommendation was shown recently when Jesse Jackson, Jr. beat the powerful Cook County Democratic organization by 10,000 votes, by successfully getting young people to come out and vote.

During the 1996 general elections, we are recommending that African American voters be mobilized in 31 states and the District of Columbia. See Table 2 for a list of these states and key cities -- places with at least 10 percent black population. Priority states include the voter-rich, big six industrial states in the North East and North Central part of the United States, that are critical to winning the Presidency. These states are Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey and New York.

In addition, states such as California merit special attention, due to the large black voter population and high number of electoral votes. Over 1 million blacks live in Los Angeles County alone; Democrats only win statewide elections in California when they maximize black voter turnout. During the general election in 1992, black voter turnout shattered all previous elections. A spirited race for the Second District County Supervisor boosted African American voter turnout from 350,000 in 1988 to 448,000, an increase of almost 100,000 votes in that district alone. One reason for this success was the Clinton-Gore Coordinated Campaign, which invested over \$1 million in a massive effort that paid off on election day. Also, in '94, Senator Feinstein's successful campaign fielded an entire effort focused just on black voter turnout. These results demonstrate that black voters will turn out if they have a reason to do so and they should be included among our priority vote targets.

The south, where Bill Clinton won only four states in 1992, is less important in the calculus of Presidential politics because fewer electoral votes come from this region. Yet, the large number of black voters in the south potentially represent the margin of victory in some local races. As a result, it is likely that pressure will be placed on the Clinton-Gore '96 campaign to organize voters in these states. However, we are mindful that the electoral votes for most of these states, with the exception of Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee and Georgia, are probably not winnable.

## Target States and Cities for '96 African American Base Vote

| Region               | % Black Population | Electoral Votes |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <u>North East</u>    |                    |                 |
| Connecticut          |                    | 8               |
| Bridgeport           | 26.6               |                 |
| Hartford             | 38.9               |                 |
| New Haven            | 36.1               |                 |
| Stanford             | 17.8               |                 |
| Waterbury            | 13.0               |                 |
| Massachusetts        |                    | 12              |
| Boston               | 25.6               |                 |
| Springfield          | 19.2               |                 |
| New Jersey           |                    | 15              |
| Elizabeth            | 19.8               |                 |
| Jersey City          | 29.7               |                 |
| Newark               | 58.5               |                 |
| Patterson            | 36.0               |                 |
| New York             |                    | 33              |
| Buffalo              | 30.7               |                 |
| Bronx Borough        | 37.3               |                 |
| Brooklyn Borough     | 37.9               |                 |
| Manhattan Borough    | 22.0               |                 |
| Queens Borough       | 21.7               |                 |
| Rochester            | 31.5               |                 |
| Syracuse             | 20.3               |                 |
| Yonkers              | 14.1               |                 |
| <u>North Central</u> |                    |                 |
| Illinois             |                    | 22              |
| Aurora               | 11.9               |                 |
| Chicago              | 39.1               |                 |
| Peoria               | 20.9               |                 |
| Rockford             | 15.0               |                 |
| Springfield          | 13.0               |                 |
| Michigan             |                    | 18              |
| Ann Arbor            | 9.0                |                 |
| Detroit              | 75.7               |                 |
| Flint                | 47.9               |                 |
| Lansing              | 18.6               |                 |
| Minnesota            |                    | 10              |
| Minneapolis          | 13.0               |                 |

| Region               | % Black Population | Electoral Votes |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Missouri             |                    | 11              |
| Kansas City          | 29.6               |                 |
| St. Louis            | 47.5               |                 |
| Maryland             |                    | 10              |
| Baltimore            | 59.2               |                 |
| Ohio                 |                    | 21              |
| Akron                | 24.5               |                 |
| Dayton               | 40.4               |                 |
| Columbus             | 22.6               |                 |
| Cleveland            | 46.6               |                 |
| Dayton               | 40.4               |                 |
| Pennsylvania         |                    | 23              |
| Erie                 | 12.0               |                 |
| Philadelphia         | 39.3               |                 |
| Pittsburgh           | 25.8               |                 |
| Wisconsin            |                    | 11              |
| Milwaukee            | 30.5               |                 |
| <u>South</u>         |                    |                 |
| Alabama              |                    | 9               |
| Birmingham           | 63.3               |                 |
| Huntsville           | 24.4               |                 |
| Mobile               | 38.9               |                 |
| Montgomery           | 42.3               |                 |
| Arkansas             |                    | 6               |
| Little Rock          | 34.0               |                 |
| Delaware             |                    | 3               |
| Wilmington           | —                  |                 |
| District of Columbia | 65.8               | 3               |
| Florida              |                    | 25              |
| Fort Lauderdale      | 28.1               |                 |
| Jacksonville         | 25.2               |                 |
| Miami                | 27.4               |                 |
| Orlando              | 26.9               |                 |
| St. Petersburg       | 19.6               |                 |
| Tallahassee          | 29.1               |                 |
| Georgia              |                    | 13              |
| Atlanta              | 67.1               |                 |
| Columbus             | 38.1               |                 |
| Macon                | 52.2               |                 |
| Savannah             | 51.3               |                 |

| Region             | % Black Population | Electoral Votes |
|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Kentucky           |                    | 8               |
| Lexington-Fayette  | 13.4               |                 |
| Louisville         | 29.7               |                 |
| Louisiana          |                    | 9               |
| Baton Rouge        | 43.9               |                 |
| New Orleans        | 61.9               |                 |
| Shreveport         | 44.8               |                 |
| Mississippi        |                    | 7               |
| Jackson            | 55.7               |                 |
| North Carolina     |                    | 14              |
| Charlotte          | 31.8               |                 |
| Durham             | 45.7               |                 |
| Raleigh            | 27.6               |                 |
| South Carolina     |                    | 8               |
| Columbia           | —                  |                 |
| Tennessee          |                    |                 |
| Chattanooga        | 33.7               |                 |
| Knoxville          | 15.8               |                 |
| Memphis            | 54.8               |                 |
| Nashville-Davidson | 24.3               |                 |
| Texas              |                    | 32              |
| Austin             | 12.4               |                 |
| Beaumont           | 41.3               |                 |
| Dallas             | 29.5               |                 |
| Fort Worth         | 22.0               |                 |
| Grand Prairie      | 9.7                |                 |
| Houston            | 28.1               |                 |
| Waco               | 23.1               |                 |
| Virginia           |                    | 13              |
| Alexandria         | 21.9               |                 |
| Chesapeake         | 27.4               |                 |
| Hampton            | 38.9               |                 |
| New Port News      | 33.6               |                 |
| Norfolk            | 39.1               |                 |
| Portsmouth         | 47.3               |                 |
| Richmond           | 55.2               |                 |
| Virginia Beach     | 13.9               |                 |

| Region         | % Black Population | Electoral Votes |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <u>West</u>    |                    |                 |
| California     |                    | 54              |
| Bakersfield    | 9.4                |                 |
| Berkeley       | 18.8               |                 |
| Chula Vista    | 4.6                |                 |
| Hayward        | 9.8                |                 |
| Inglewood      | 51.9               |                 |
| Long Beach     | 13.7               |                 |
| Los Angeles    | 14.0               |                 |
| Moreno Valley  | 13.8               |                 |
| Oakland        | 43.9               |                 |
| Pasadena       | 19.0               |                 |
| Pomona         | 14.4               |                 |
| Scramento      | 15.3               |                 |
| San Bernardino | 16.0               |                 |
| San Diego      | 9.4                |                 |
| San Francisco  | 10.9               |                 |
| Stockton       | 9.6                |                 |
| Colorado       |                    | 8               |
| Aurora         | 11.4               |                 |
| Denver         | 12.8               |                 |
| Nevada         |                    | 4               |
| Las Vegas      | 11.4               |                 |
| Oregon         |                    | 7               |
| Portland       | 7.7                |                 |
| Washington     |                    | 11              |
| Seattle        | 10.1               |                 |
| Tacoma         | 11.4               |                 |

## 1996 Presidential Primary and Caucus Dates for African American Target States

| Date        | Primary or Caucus          | Activity Starts | Voter Registration Cutoff                                                                                                                |
|-------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| February 24 | Delaware Primary           | January 15      | 20 days before any general election                                                                                                      |
| March 5     | Maryland Primary           | January 23      | 9:00 p.m. on the fifth Monday before the election                                                                                        |
|             | Georgia Primary            | January 23      | Fourth Friday before any general primary, or general election                                                                            |
|             | Colorado Primary           | January 23      | 30 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Connecticut Primary        | January 23      | 14 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Washington Dem. Caucus     | January 23      | 30 days before the election; 15 days if delivered in-person                                                                              |
| March 7     | New York Primary           | January 25      | 25 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Missouri Dem. Caucus       | January 25      | 28 days before the election                                                                                                              |
| March 9     | South Carolina Dem. Caucus | January 27      | 30 days before the election                                                                                                              |
| March 10    | Nevada Dem. Caucus         | January 28      | 9:00 p.m. on the fifth Saturday before any primary or general election                                                                   |
| March 12    | Texas Primary              | January 30      | 30 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Mississippi Primary        | January 30      | 30 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Massachusetts Primary      | January 30      | 20 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Tennessee Primary          | January 30      | 30 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Louisiana Dem. Primary     | January 30      | 24 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Florida Primary            | January 30      | 29 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Oregon Primary             | January 30      | 21 days before the election                                                                                                              |
| March 19    | Illinois Primary           | February 6      | 29 days before the election                                                                                                              |
|             | Wisconsin Primary          | February 6      | 13 days before the election; or completed in local voter registration office 1 day before election; or the polling place on election day |

| Date     | Primary or Caucus            | Activity Starts | Voter Registration Cutoff                                                           |
|----------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| March 19 | Ohio Primary                 | February 6      | 30 days before the election                                                         |
|          | Michigan Primary             | February 6      | 30 days before the election                                                         |
| March 26 | California Primary           | February 13     | 29 days before the election                                                         |
| April 13 | Virginia Dem. Caucus         | March 2         | Delivered 29 days before the election                                               |
| April 23 | Pennsylvania Primary         | March 12        | 30 days before an election or primary                                               |
| May 7    | North Carolina Primary       | March 26        | 25 days before the election                                                         |
|          | District of Columbia Primary | March 26        | 30 days before the election                                                         |
| May 21   | Arkansas Primary             | April 9         | 21 days before the election                                                         |
| May 28   | Kentucky Primary             | April 16        | 25 days before the election                                                         |
| June 4   | New Jersey Primary           | April 30        | 29 days before the election                                                         |
|          | Alabama Primary              | April 30        | 10 days before the election                                                         |
| None     | Minnesota Primary            |                 | Delivered by 5:00 p.m. 21 days before the election; also, election day registration |

## State Plans and Tactics

Our success in reaching out to the African American community in '96 will be dependent upon the field operation we are able to mount in each target state. A comprehensive field operation is needed to reach African American voters, particularly new voters. Table 12 presents a preliminary list of tactics planned for accomplishing this job in each state. Over the next several months, the detailed plans for each state will be prepared by the DNC in concert with the Working Group. We propose to organize a grass roots program in each target base community. This effort will be aimed at persuading prospective African American voters to actively support the President. Also, through this effort we would hope to begin identifying local "foot soldiers" and organizations that can help deliver the message to African American communities around the country. Key targets of this effort will be campus organizations on historically black universities (HBCUs) and non HBCUs, religious leaders, civil rights leaders, community activists, and youth groups. Working with our state specific steering committees, we should be able to quickly identify the "players" and the "non-players" that can aide us.

Voter Registration. The National Voter Registration Act (Motor-Voter) was signed into law by President Clinton, May 20, 1993. It expands voting rights for all, including the poor and the young, by creating new more accessible voter registration locations. To date, more than 6 million new potential voters have been signed up and 20 million are projected by the time of the election. Also, comparisons between the estimated black voting age population with current turnout rates, indicate that there is considerable room for growth in some states in terms of prospective new voters.

The addition of so many new potential voters could benefit the Party, but that will not happen without the benefit of a comprehensive and deliberate strategy. Preliminary estimates suggest that many of those who have signed up are not readily committed to the Democratic Party. Also, registration alone does not automatically translate into more people actually voting. The current turnout rate for African American voters is about 60 (check ?) percent, thus indicating that much remains to be done with those currently registered, without going after new registrants. Also, some politicians may actually be adverse to large numbers of potential new voters whom they do not control. As such, voter registration in and of itself is not a panacea.

Mindful of these points, we propose to develop a targeted voter registration campaign focused on those districts where such increases represent the margin of victory for presidential electors and key local races. Tab 13 presents a preliminary look at the large number of districts held by both Republicans and Democrats, where the incumbent holds a slim majority. In many of these districts, a massive outpouring of African American voters can represent the difference between victory and defeat for Democrats in November. Upon registering these prospective new voters, we need to: (1) supply them with a steady stream of information throughout the campaign and (2) put in place the necessary apparatus to make sure

that they actually come and vote on election day.

Now is the time for us to begin getting a handle on voter registration activities so that we track where the new Democratic growth is. Currently, the DNC is planning to run much of its voter registration activities through "Project Vote." We previously recommended that a national GOTV director be hired in August, and that state GOTV directors be hired for a number of key states. A number of other non-partisan and several allied organizations have also announced plans to register African American voters.

To begin with, we propose to convene a meeting of these groups in early January to lay out an overall strategic plan. To the extent that is legally permissible, its purpose would be to reach agreement on vote targets for African American voters that need to be added in each state to win and to construct a plan to do so. This meeting would also serve as the basis for addressing issues such as the recruitment of black movie stars, musicians, prominent leaders, and athletes to do public service announcements; the designing of a comprehensive media campaign covering print ad, radio and TV spots; developing plans for running spots in the black media; fund raising; involving black churches, businesses, and schools in registering black voters; and the recruitment of college students to work on voter registration campaigns this summer. Moreover, we would also begin laying out strategies for targeting "surge" precincts throughout the country for persuasion. We also need to develop plans to recruit Precinct Captains for "surge" precincts before Labor Day.

## Game Plan for African Americans

[illegible]

# AFRICAN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP FORUM

Partial list, December 28, 1995

| State            | Name of Person and Affiliation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Alabama          | Mrs. Margaret Nixon, Chief Financial Officer, United Services<br>Mr. Chris Womack, Vice President, Alabama Power Company                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Arkansas         | Dr. Alonzo Williams, Gastroenterology, Center of Arkansas                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| California       | Mr. Richard "Dick" Griffey, President, Solar Records<br>Ms. Cynthia McClain-Hill, President, Los Angeles Corps<br>Ms. Mary Ann Mitchell, President & CEO, CC-OPS, Inc.<br>Mr. Webster Guillory, Orange County Assessor<br>Mr. Eugene Hale, President, G&C Equipment Corporation<br>Mr. Clarence Avant, Chairman, Motown Records<br>Mr. Elvin W. Moon, President, E.W. Moon, Inc.<br>Mrs. Eileen Norton., Norton Family Offices                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Connecticut      | Mr. Duane E. Hill, Principal, TSG Capital Group, Inc.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Washington, D.C. | Mr. Mel Blackwell, Vice President, AT&T<br>Mr. Margo Briggs, President, Executive Security & Engineering Technologies<br>Hon. Cardiss Collins, House of Representatives<br>A.J. Cooper, Esq., Ginsburg, Feldman & Bress<br>Mr. Ernest Green, Managing Director, Lehman Brothers<br>Mr. Randall Echols, President, Echols & Company<br>Mr. Anthony L. Jones, President, Tonya, Inc.<br>Ms. Yolanda Caraway, President, Caraway & Associates<br>William A. Kirk, Jr., Esq., Reid & Priest, LLP<br>Ms. Janice Griffin, Vice President, Prudential Insurance Company of America<br>Dr. Maria Hankerson<br>Mr. Joe Johnson, President, Healthcare Associates, Inc.<br>Ms. Iralene G. Barnes, Vice President, Potomac Electric Power Company<br>Mr. Robert L. Johnson, President, Black Entertainment Television<br>Mr. William Lucy, Treasurer, AFSCME<br>Mr. Weldon H. Latham, Esq., Partner, Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge<br>Ms. Beverly Perry, Manager, Potomac Electric Power Company<br>Mr. Willie L. Baker, Treasurer, United Food & Commercial Workers International<br>Mr. Charles Scott, President & CEO, CSO-North America<br>Mr. Melvin E. Clark, Jr., Esq., President, Metroplex Corporation<br>Ms. Carolyn Boyd, Vice President, AT&T<br>Richard L. Mays, Esq., Senior Vice President, Cassidy & Associates<br>Ms. Sandra Taylor, Vice President, ICI Americas, Inc.<br>Mr. Jeff Thompson, Partner, Thompson, Curtis, Brazilio & Associates<br>Mr. Michael O'Bannon, President, EOP Group, Inc.<br>Mr. Marvin Martin, Deputy Director, Management Information Services |

| State         | Name of Person and Affiliation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Florida       | <p>Ms. Gayle Andrews, President, Andrews Plus Consulting.</p> <p>Mr. Jacque Thermilus, President, Urban Constructors, Inc.</p> <p>Mr. Arthur Collins, President, Public Private Partnership, Inc.</p> <p>Willie Gary, Esq., Partner, Gary, Williams, Parenti, Finney, Lewis &amp; McManus</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Georgia       | <p>Hon. Andrew Young, Vice President, LAW Companies Group, Inc.</p> <p>Mr. Eugene D. Jackson, Chairman &amp; CEO, World African Network</p> <p>Mr. Raymond McClendon, Partner, Pryor, McClendon, Counts &amp; Company</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Illinois      | <p>Mr. Robin Brooks, President, The Spruce Corporation</p> <p>Mr. Paul King, President, UBM, Inc.</p> <p>Dr. Leon D. Finney, Jr., Lincoln South Central Real Estate Corporation</p> <p>Mr. John H. Johnson, Publisher, Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.</p> <p>Mrs. Linda Johnson Rice, President, Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.</p> <p>Mr. James H. Lowry, President, James H. Lowry &amp; Associates</p> <p>Demetrius Carney, Esq., Partner, Carney &amp; Brothers</p> <p>Mr. Ralph Moore, President, RGMA Consultants, Inc.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Louisiana     | <p>Mr. Keith Butler, Vice President, Alex Brown &amp; Sons</p> <p>Hon. Sherman Copelin, Speaker Pro Tem, Louisiana House</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Massachusetts | <p>Mr. Tom Farrington, President, Farrington &amp; Associates</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Maryland      | <p>Hon. Kurt Schmoke, Mayor, City of Baltimore</p> <p>Mr. Otis Warren, President, Otis Warren of Maryland, Inc.</p> <p>Ms. Beverly Parker, Washington Cable Supply, Inc.</p> <p>Mr. Rollie Kimbrough, President &amp; CEO, MCSI Technologies</p> <p>Mr. Leah West, West Co.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Michigan      | <p>Dr. Julius Combs, Chairman, United healthcare Corporation</p> <p>Ms. Aretha Franklin, President, Springtime</p> <p>Mr. Ronald Dobbins, President, United American Health Care Corporation</p> <p>Mr. Don H. Barden, President, The Barden Group</p> <p>Ms. Theresa Jones, President, Chrysler Minority Auto Dealers Association</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Missouri      | <p>Mr. Wayman Smith, Vice President, Anheuser Busch</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| New Jersey    | <p>Mr. Theodore V. Wells, Jr., Esq., Lowenstein, Sander, Kohl, Fisher &amp; Boylin</p> <p>Mr. Cecil Banks, Esq., Partner, Sill Cummis</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| New York      | <p>Mr. Percy Sutton, Chairman, Inner City Broadcasting</p> <p>Mr. LeBaron Taylor, Vice President, Sony, Inc.</p> <p>Mr. Bill Lynch, Vice President, McAndrews &amp; Forbes Holdings, Inc.</p> <p>Ms. Suzanne DuBose, Executive Director, NYMEX</p> <p>Dr. Betty Shabbaz, Director of Institutional Advancement, Medgar Evers College</p> <p>Mr. Bert Mitchell, CEO, Mitchell &amp; Titus &amp; Company</p> <p>Ms. Toni Fay, Vice President, Time Warner, Inc.</p> <p>Ms. Hartina Flouroy, Director of Corporate Affairs, Philip Morris Companies, Inc.</p> <p>Ms. Jewell Jackson McCabe, President, McCabe &amp; Associates</p> <p>Mr. Kenneth I. Chenault, President, Travel Related Services, American Express</p> |

| State | Name of Person and Affiliation |
|-------|--------------------------------|
|-------|--------------------------------|

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| North Carolina | Mr. Kenneth Glover, Vice Chairman, Pacific Matrix Securities, Inc.<br>Mr. Bryon Lewis, CEO, UniWorld Group, Inc.<br>Mr. Larry Shaw, President, Shaw Food Services                                                                                         |
| Ohio           | Ms. Carol Hoover, President, Greater Cleveland Growth Association                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Pennsylvania   | Ms. Andre Duggin, AV Consultants<br>Dr. Frank Montique<br>Mr. Malcolm D. Pryor, Chairman, Pryor, McClendon, Counts & Co., inc.<br>Dr. Gene R. Newton, President, Burden-Newton Medical Association<br>Mr. C. Shelby Durham, President, Rehab Option, Inc. |
| Texas          | Mr. Mark T. McDonald, Esq., Partner, McDonald & Associates<br>Mr. Rufus Cormier, Esq., Partner, Baker & Botts<br>Mr. Alison Briscoe, Vice President, Lehman Brothers<br>Hon. Rodney Ellis, State Senator                                                  |
| Virginia       | Mr. Russell Wright, President, Dimension International<br>Mr. Edgar G. Rios<br>Mrs. Beatrice Welters<br>Mr. Theodore A. Adams, President, Pryocap International Corporation<br>Mr. Frank Brooks, President, Brooks Sausage Company, Inc.                  |

## Surrogate Speakers Operation

Both the Office of Public Liaison and the DNC are setting up surrogate speakers programs that will work in tandem with one another. A core group of senior African American appointees has been recruited to represent the Administration at various meetings and events sponsored by black religious, fraternal, student, and professional organizations (see attached Table). We also propose to work with the Congressional Black Caucus and other elected officials to identify suitable opportunities for surrogates to meet with local constituents and supporters to discuss the Administration's accomplishments in a "non-campaign" environment. Table 7 presents a partial list of the appointees that we expect to call upon for this effort (needs to be developed). In the past, these individuals have been particularly effective in delivering the Administration's message to black constituents. In the coming months we will expand this list. Surrogates will be supplied with a coordinated set of messages and talking points about Clinton Administration accomplishments in the black community that can be used in speaking engagements.

To help coordinate the surrogate operation, we have organized a team of agency liaisons. They will help maintain the national calendar of African American events, meetings, conferences and speaking engagements; coordinate surrogate travel schedules; keep the White House informed of agency travel plans; and provide follow up for surrogate events. We have also asked this group to work with their Agencies' Public Affairs Directors to help document their agency's accomplishments with respect to the African American community.

Agency surrogates will carry out these activities as part of their normal job duties in 1996. That is, they will be helping to educate the African American public and key interest groups about Clinton Administration accomplishments -- not campaigning. However, we will aim to escalate the level of surrogate activity in the six weeks preceding each primary. This should not present a problem so long as surrogates limit their remarks to discussing Administration accomplishments, contrasting the Administration's budget with the Republican budget cuts, etc., and do not encourage people to vote one way or the other. In addition, the Hatch Act permits political appointees to legally engage in campaign, voter registration, and GOTV activities on their own time so long as they don't do so under the imprimatur of their official positions. Needless to say, it is inevitable that someone will still be singled out for criticism by the press. We should strive to minimize any negative publicity and ensure that all surrogates are clear about Hatch Act restrictions.

The DNC has begun recruiting African American leaders to be part of a "Quick Response Team" (see Table 8) to help spread the word to black communities about the Administration's accomplishments and to defend the Democratic Party. To help arm them for this task, surrogates receive the DNC Briefing via facsimile which contains the daily talking points and the African American Action Alert, the monthly newsletter of the Office of African American Outreach. The DNC Speakers Bureau also provides them with practical tips on conducting radio interviews, as well as points on how to handle "hostile" hosts or callers on talk radio. Coordination between the

White House and the DNC surrogate operations, especially with regard to the messages being conveyed, will be assured through regular meetings of the responsible staff of both organizations. We will also provide the DNC with Administration materials and analyses that can be rewritten to be more piercing than what White House or Administration surrogates would be permitted to issue. Not being bound by the Hatch Act, DNC surrogates can be more partisan in their defense of the Clinton Administration's record.

## **Fund Raising**

To accomplish the tasks outlined in this proposal aimed at the African American community, the DNC and the Re-elect will need to earmark sufficient resources to do so. The overall budget needs to be large enough to cover expenses associated with voter registration, GOTV, polling, focus groups, etc. A portion of the overall campaign media budget also needs to be dedicated to purchasing ads in the black press and media.

In addition to funds provided by the DNC and the Re-elect, we will encourage each states' steering committee to help raise money to support home state activities, independent of or in co-operation with the Party. For a lot of reasons, the black community has never given to its financial potential. With this proposal, however, we want to begin building a new partnership within our community and to recruit local African Americans capable and willing to contribute to these activities.

As an enticement to contribute, new donors would be invited to become members of the African American Leadership Forum (see Table 11), recently established at the DNC. Its purpose is to provide African Americans with the opportunity to play a stronger role in the Democratic party, while helping to create a national network to address issues of concern to black Americans. Forum members would be afforded the opportunity to interact with senior Administration officials and the Democratic Party's political leadership through policy briefings, luncheons, and workgroups. They would also provide input into the Democratic Party's agenda and serve as liaisons to important constituents in the African American business, legal, entertainment, religious and professional community. However, forum membership needs to be extended to include the participation of a wide cross-section of the African American community, not just those with significant financial means. The names of individuals joining these efforts would be shared with the White House and invited to briefings. In addition, the DNC will need to ensure that those who contribute receive personal attention beyond personal invitations to White House affairs.

**DNC Rapid Response Team**  
(Partial List)

| Name                  | Affiliation                          | Address                                       | Telephone                                      | Means of Communication<br>Most Often Used          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Arthur E. Thomas      | Retired                              | 3587 Far Hills Ave<br>Kettering, Ohio         | 513-643-0958 (Phone)<br>513-643-1958 (Fax)     |                                                    |
| Warren K. Galloway    | Operation Push                       | 111 W. Humboldt Pky.<br>Buffalo, NY           | 716-851-2768 (Phone)<br>716-881-3797 (Fax)     | Talk Radio, Press Conference,<br>Interview, Speech |
| Jack Evans            | DC City Council                      | 1350 Pennsylvania Ave.<br>Room 101, Wash., DC | (202) 724-8023 (Phone)<br>(202) 724-8058 (Fax) |                                                    |
| Rep. Cynthia Chestnut | Florida House of Rep.<br>District 23 | 101 S.E. 2nd Place, #108<br>Gainesville, FL.  | (904) 955-3030 (Phone)<br>(904) 955-3029 (Fax) | Interview, Speech                                  |
| Gloria Scott          | Bennett College                      | 900 E. Washington St.<br>Greensboro, NC.      | (910) 370-8607 (Phone)                         | Interview, Op-Ed, Speech                           |
| Julian Bond           | America's Black Forum                | 5435 41st Place, NW<br>Washington, DC         | (202) 244-1213 (Phone)<br>(202) 466-7000 (Fax) | Op-Ed, Speech                                      |
| Johnny Hollway        | Operation Push                       | P.O. Box 622<br>Chattanooga, TN               | (615) 751-8272 (Phone)<br>(615) 493-5129 (Fax) | Talk Radio, Interview                              |

**Target Congressional Districts in Key African American States**  
(Preliminary List)

| District           | Black VAP % | 1994 Primary                | Winner % | 1992 Primary                | Winner % |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|
| <b>Alabama</b>     |             |                             |          |                             |          |
| 1                  | 26%         | H.L. (Sonny) Callahan (R)   | 67%      | H. L. (Sonny) Callahan (R)  | 60%      |
| 2                  | 21%         | Terry Everett (R)           | 74%      | Terry Everett (R)           | 49%      |
| 3                  | 24%         | Glen Browder (D)            | 64%      | Glen Browder (D)            | 60%      |
| 5                  | 14%         | Robert E. (Bud) Cramer (D)  | 50%      | Robert E. (Bud) Cramer (D)  | 66%      |
| 7                  | 64%         | Earl F. Hilliard (D)*       | 77%      | Earl F. Hilliard (D)*       | 70%      |
| <b>Arkansas</b>    |             |                             |          |                             |          |
| 1                  | 15%         | Blanche Lambert Lincoln (D) | 53%      | Blanche Lambert Lincoln (D) | 70%      |
| 2                  | 15%         | Ray Thornton (D)            | 57%      | Ray Thornton (D)            | 74%      |
| <b>California</b>  |             |                             |          |                             |          |
| 5                  | 11%         | Robert T. Matsui (D)        | 68%      | Robert T. Matsui (D)        | 69%      |
| 7                  | 15%         | George Miller (D)           | 70%      | George Miller (D)           | 70%      |
| 8                  | 11%         | Nancy Pelosi (D)            | 82%      | Nancy Peolsi (D)            | 82%      |
| 9                  | 29%         | Ronald V. Dellums (D)*      | 72%      | Ronald V. Dellums (D)*      | 72%      |
| 11                 | 11%         | Richard W. Pombo (R)        | 62%      | Richard W. Pombo (R)        | 48%      |
| 27                 | 8%          | Carlos J. Moorhead (R)      | 54%      | Carlos J. Moorhead (R)      | 50%      |
| 32                 | 40%         | Julian C. Dixon (D)*        | 78%      | Julian C. Dixon (D)*        | 87%      |
| 35                 | 44%         | Maxine Waters (D)*          | 78%      | Maxine Waters (D)*          | 83%      |
| 37                 | 34%         | Walter R. Tucker (D)*       | 77%      | Walter R. Tucker (D) *      | 86%      |
| 42                 | 10%         | George E. Brown, Jr. (D)    | 51%      | George E. Brown, Jr. (D)    | 51%      |
| 43                 | 6%          | Ken Calvert (R)             | 55%      | Ken Calvert (R)             | 47%      |
| 49                 | 5%          | Brian P. Billbray (R)       | 49%      | Lynn Schenk (D)             | 51%      |
| 51                 | 14%         | Bob Filner (D)              | 57%      | Bob Filner (D)              | 57%      |
| <b>Colorado</b>    |             |                             |          |                             |          |
| 1                  | 15%         | Patricia Schroeder (D)      | 60%      | Patricia Schroeder (D)      | 69%      |
| <b>Connecticut</b> |             |                             |          |                             |          |
| 1                  | 13%         | Barbara B. Kennelly (D)     | 73%      | Barbara B. Kennelly (D)     | 67%      |
| 3                  | 10%         | Rosa L. DeLauro (D)         | 63%      | Rosa L. DeLauro (D)         | 66%      |
| 4                  | 12%         | Christopher Shays (R)       | 74%      | Christopher Shays (R)       | 67%      |
| 5                  | 4%          | Gary A. Franks (R)          | 52%      | Gary A. Franks (R)          | 44%      |

|                                |     |                             |           |                             |           |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Delaware</b>                |     |                             |           |                             |           |
| 1                              | 17% | Michael N. Castle (R)       | 71%       | Michael N. Castle (R)       | 55%       |
| <b>Distict of<br/>Columbia</b> |     |                             |           |                             |           |
| 1                              | 62% | Eleanor Holmes Norton (D)   | 89%       | Eleanor Holmes Norton (D)   | 85%       |
| <b>Florida</b>                 |     |                             |           |                             |           |
|                                | 11% | Joe Scarborough (R)         | 62%       | Earl Hutto (D)              | 52%       |
| 2                              | 23% | Douglas (Pete) Peterson (D) | 61%       | Douglas (Pete) Peterson (D) | 73%       |
| 3                              | 50% | Corrine Brown (D)*          | 58%       | Corrine Brown (D)*          | 59%       |
| 5                              | 5%  | Karen L. Thurman (D)        | 57%       | Karen L. Thurman (D)        | 49%       |
| 11                             | 14% | Sam M Gibbons (D)           | 52%       | Sam M. Gibbons (D)          | 53%       |
| 12                             | 11% | Charles T. Canady (R)       | 65%       | Charels T. Canady (R)       | 52%       |
| 15                             | 6%  | David J. Weldon (R)         | 54%       | James L. Bacchus (D)        | 51%       |
| 17                             | 54% | Carrie P. Meek (D)*         | Unopposed | Carrie P. Meek (D) *        | Unopposed |
| 23                             | 46% | Alcee L. Hastings (D)*      | Unopposed | Alcee L. Hastings (D)*      | 59%       |
| <b>Georgia</b>                 |     |                             |           |                             |           |
| 1                              | 20% | Jack Kingston (R)           | 77%       | Jack Kingston (R)           | 53%       |
| 2                              | 52% | Sanford D. Bishop (D)       | 66%       | Sanford D. Bishop (D)*      | 33%       |
| 3                              | 16% | Mac Collins (R)             | 66%       | Mac Collins (R)             | 55%       |
| 4                              | 11% | John Linder (R)             | 58%       | Kohn Linder (R)             | 51%       |
| 5                              | 69% | John Lewis (D)              | 69%       | John Lewis (D)              | 72%       |
| 7                              | 12% | Bob Barr (R)                | 52%       | George (Buddy) Barden (D)   | 57%       |
| 10                             | 16% | Charlie Norwood (R)         | 65%       | Don Johnson (R)             | 54%       |
| 11                             | 69% | Cynthia A. McKinney (D)     | 66%       | Cynthia A. Mckinney (D)*    | 73%       |
| <b>Illinois</b>                |     |                             |           |                             |           |
| 1                              | 68% | Bobby Rush (D)              | 76%       | Bobby Rush (D)*             | 83%       |
| 2                              | 66% | Mel Reynolds (D)            | Unopposed | Mel Reynolds (D)*           | 78%       |
| 4                              | 6%  | Luis V. Gutierrez (D)       | 75%       | Luis V. Gutierrez (D)       | 78%       |
| 7                              | 60% | Cardiss Collins (D)         | 80%       | Cardiss Collins (D)*        | 81%       |
| 9                              | 11% | Sidney R. Yates (D)         | 66%       | Sidney R. Yates (D)         | 68%       |
| 10                             | 6%  | John E. Porter (R)          | 75%       | John E. Porter (R)          | 65%       |
| 12                             | 15% | Jerry E. Costello (D)       | 66%       | Jerry F. Costello (D)       | 71%       |
| <b>Kentucky</b>                |     |                             |           |                             |           |

|                      |     |                                |           |                                |     |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-----|
| 1                    | 7%  | Edwin Whitfield (R)            | 51%       | Tom Barlow (D)                 | 61% |
| 3                    | 16% | Mike Ward (D)                  | 44%       | Romano L. Mazzoli (D)          | 53% |
| 6                    | 8%  | Scotty Baesler (D)             | 59%       | Scotty Baesler (D)             | 61% |
| <b>Louisiana</b>     |     |                                |           |                                |     |
| 1                    | 9%  | Robert L. (Bob) Livingston (R) | 81        | Robert L. (Bob) Livingston (R) | 73% |
| 2                    | 56% | William J. Jefferson (D)       | 75%       | William J. Jefferson (D)       | 73% |
| 3                    | 19% | W.J. (Billy) Tauzin (D)        | 76%       | W.J. (Billy) Tauzin (D)**      | 82% |
| 4                    | 63% | Cleo Fields (D)                | 70%       | Cleo Fields (D)                | 74% |
| 5                    | 19% | Jim McCrey (R)                 | 80%       | Jim McCrey (R)                 | 63% |
| 6                    | 13% | Richard H. Baker (R)           | 81%       | Richard H. Baker (R)           | 51% |
| 7                    | 18% | James A. (Jimmie) Hayes (D)**  | 53%       | James A. (Jimmy) Hayes (D)**   | 73* |
| <b>Maryland</b>      |     |                                |           |                                |     |
| 1                    | 14% | Wayne T. Gilchrest (R)         | 68%       | Wayne T. Gilchrest (R)         | 52% |
| 3                    | 16% | Benjamin L. Cardin (D)         | 71%       | Benjamin L. Cardin (D)         | 74% |
| 4                    | 56% | Albert R. Wynn (D)             | 75%       | Albert R. Wynn (D)*            | 74% |
| 5                    | 18% | Steny H. Hoyer (D)             | 59%       | Steny H. Hoyer (D)             | 53% |
| 7                    | 68% | Kweisi Mfume (D)               | 82%       | Kweisi Mfume (D)*              | 85% |
| 8                    | 8%  | Constance A. Morella (R)       | 70%       | Constance A. Morella (R)       | 73* |
| <b>Massachusetts</b> |     |                                |           |                                |     |
| 2                    | 5%  | Richard E. Neal (D)            | 59%       | Richard E. Neal (D)            | 53% |
| 8                    | 20% | Joseph P. Kennedy, II (D)      | Unopposed | Joseph P. Kennedy, II (D)      | 83% |
| 9                    | 6%  | John Joseph (Joe) Moakley (D)  | 70%       | John Joseph (Joe) Moakley (D)  | 69% |
| <b>Michigan</b>      |     |                                |           |                                |     |
| 5                    | 7%  | James A. Barcia (D)            | 65%       | James A. Barcia (D)            | 60% |
| 7                    | 7%  | Nick Smith (R)                 | 65%       | Nick Smith (R)                 | 88% |
| 8                    | 5%  | Dick Chrysler (R)              | 52%       | Dick Carr (D)                  | 48% |
| 9                    | 16% | Dale E. Kildee (D)             | 51%       | Dale E. Kildee (D)             | 54% |
| 13                   | 10% | Lynn N. Rivers (D)             | 52%       | William D. Ford (D)            | 52% |
| 14                   | 65% | John Conyers, Jr. (D)          | 82%       | John Conyers, Jr. (D)*         | 82% |
| 15                   | 68% | Barbara-Rose Collins (D)       | 84%       | Barabara-Rose Collins (D)*     | 81% |
| <b>Minnesota</b>     |     |                                |           |                                |     |
| 5                    | 7%  | Martin Olav Sabo (DFL)         | 62%       | Martin Olav Sabo (DFL)         | 63% |
| <b>Mississippi</b>   |     |                                |           |                                |     |

|                   |     |                             |     |                             |     |
|-------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| 1                 | 20% | Roger F. Wicker (R)         | 63% | Jamie L. Whitten (D)        | 59% |
| 2                 | 58% | Bennie G. Thompson (D)      | 54% | Mike Epséy (D)*             | 76% |
| 3                 | 28% | G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D) | 68% | G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D) | 81% |
| 4                 | 36% | Mike Parker (D)             | 68% | Mike Parker (D)**           | 67% |
| 5                 | 18% | Gene Taylor (D)             | 60% | Gene Taylor (D)             | 63% |
| <b>Missouri</b>   |     |                             |     |                             |     |
| 1                 | 48% | William (Bill) Clay (D)     | 63% | William (Billy) Clay (D)*   | 68% |
| 5                 | 21% | Karen McCarthy (D)          | 57% | Alan Wheat (D)              | 59% |
| <b>Nevada</b>     |     |                             |     |                             |     |
| 1                 | 9%  | John Ensign (R)             | 48% | James H. Bilbray (D)        | 58% |
| <b>New Jersey</b> |     |                             |     |                             |     |
| 1                 | 14% | Robert E. Andrews (D)       | 72% | Robert E. Andrews (D)       | 67% |
| 2                 | 13% | Frank A. LoBiondo (R)       | 65% | William J. Hughes (D)       | 56% |
| 3                 | 7%  | H. James Saxton (R)         | 66% | H. James Saxton (R)         | 59% |
| 4                 | 11% | Christopher H. Smith (R)    | 68% | Christopher H. Smith (R)    | 62% |
| 6                 | 10% | Frank Pallone, Jr. (D)      | 60% | Frank Pallone, Jr. (D)      | 52% |
| 7                 | 9%  | Bob Franks (R)              | 60% | Bob Franks (R)              | 53% |
| 8                 | 12% | Bill Martin (R)             | 50% | Herb Klein (D)              | 47% |
| 9                 | 6%  | Robert G. Torricelli (D)    | 63% | Robert G. Torricelli (D)    | 58% |
| 10                | 57% | Donald M. Payne (D)*        | 76% | Donald M. Payne (D)*        | 78% |
| 13                | 12% | Robert Menendez (D)         | 71% | Robert Menendez (D)         | 64% |
| <b>New York</b>   |     |                             |     |                             |     |
| 2                 | 9%  | Rick A. Lazio (R)           | 68% | Rick A. Lazio (R)           | 53% |
| 4                 | 15% | Dan Frisa (R)               | 50% | David A. Levy (R)           | 50% |
| 6                 | 54% | Floyd H. Flake (D)          | 80% | Floyd H. Flake (D)*         | 81% |
| 7                 | 9%  | Thomas J. Manton (D)        | 87% | Thomas J. Manton (D)        | 57% |
| 8                 | 8%  | Jerrold Nadler (D-L)        | 82% | Jerrold Nadler (D-L)        | 81% |
| 10                | 60% | Edolphus Towns (D)          | 89% | Edolphus Towns (D)*         | 96% |
| 11                | 72% | Major R. Owens (D)          | 89% | Major R. Owens (D)          | 94% |
| 12                | 13% | Nydia M. Velazquez (D)      | 92% | Nydia M. Velazquez (D)      | 77% |
| 15                | 47% | Charles B. Rangel (D-L)     | 97% | Charles B. Rangel (D-L)     | 95% |
| 16                | 43% | Jose E. Serrano (D)         | 96% | Joseph E. Serrano           | 91% |
| 17                | 40% | Eliot L. Engel (D-L)        | 78% | Eliot L. Engel (D-L)        | 57% |
| 18                | 7%  | Nita M. Lowey (D)           | 57% | Nita M. Lowey (D)           | 56% |
| 19                | 7%  | Sue Kelley (R)              | 52% | Hamilton Fish, Jr. (R-C)    | 60% |

|                       |     |                             |           |                             |     |
|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----|
| 21                    | 5%  | Michael R. McNulty (D-C)    | 67%       | Michael R. McNulty (D-C)    | 63% |
| 25                    | 5%  | James T. Walsh (R)          | 58%       | James T. Walsh (R)          | 56% |
| 26                    | 5%  | Maurice D. Hinchey (D-L)    | 49%       | Maurice D. Hinchey (D-L)    | 50% |
| 28                    | 12% | Louise M. Slaughter (D)     | 57%       | Louise M. Slaughter (D)     | 55% |
| 30                    | 15% | Jack Quinn (R-C)            | 67%       | Jack Quinn (R-CCP)          | 52% |
| <b>North Carolina</b> |     |                             |           |                             |     |
| 1                     | 53% | Eva M. Clayton (D)*         | 61%       | Eva M. Clayton (D)*         | 67% |
| 2                     | 20% | David Funderburk (R)        | 56%       | Tim Valentine (D)           | 54% |
| 3                     | 20% | Walter B. Jones, Jr. (R)    | 53%       | H. Martin Lancaster (D)     | 54% |
| 4                     | 19% | Fred Heineman (R)           | 50%       | David E. Price (D)          | 65% |
| 5                     | 15% | Richard M. Burr (R)         | 57%       | Stephen M. Burr (R)         | 53% |
| 6                     | 7%  | Howard Coble (R)            | Unopposed | Howard Cobble (R)           | 71% |
| 7                     | 17% | Charlie Rose (D)            | 52%       | Charlie Rose (D)            | 57% |
| 8                     | 21% | W.G. (Bill) Hefner (D)      | 52%       | W.G. (Bill) Hefner (D)      | 58% |
| 9                     | 8%  | Sue Myrick (R)              | 65%       | Alex McMillan (R)           | 67% |
| 11                    | 6%  | Charles H. Taylor (R)       | 60%       | Charles H. Taylor (R)       | 55% |
| 12                    | 53% | Melvin Watt (D)*            | 66%       | Melvin L. Watt (D)*         | 70% |
| <b>Ohio</b>           |     |                             |           |                             |     |
| 1                     | 27% | Steve Chabot (R)            | 56%       | David Mann (D)              | 51% |
| 3                     | 16% | Tony P. Hall (D)            | 59%       | Tony P. Hall (D)            | 60% |
| 9                     | 11% | Marcy Kaptur (D)            | 75%       | Marcy Kaptur (D)            | 74% |
| 11                    | 55% | Louis Stokes (D)*           | 77%       | Louis Stokes (D)*           | 69% |
| 12                    | 21% | John R. Kasich (R)          | 67%       | John R. Kasich (R)          | 71% |
| 14                    | 10% | Tom Sawyer (D)              | 52%       | Tom Sawyer (D)              | 68% |
| 17                    | 8%  | James A. Traficant, Jr. (D) | 77%       | James A. Traficant, Jr. (D) | 84% |
| <b>Oregon</b>         |     |                             |           |                             |     |
| 3                     | 5%  | Ron Wyden (D)               | 73%       | Ron Wyden (D)               | 77% |
| <b>Pennsylvania</b>   |     |                             |           |                             |     |
| 1                     | 50% | Thomas M. Foglietta (D)     | 82%       | Thomas M. Foglietta (D)     | 81% |
| 2                     | 58% | Chaka Fattah (D)            | 86%       | Lucient E. Blackwell (D)    | 77% |
| 13                    | 6%  | Jon D. Cox (R)              | 49%       | Marjorie Margolies (D)      | 50% |
| 14                    | 16% | William J. Coyne (D)        | 64%       | William J. Coyne (D)        | 72% |
| 16                    | 5%  | Robert S. Walker (R)        | 70%       | Robert S. Walker (R)        | 65% |
| 18                    | 7%  | Mike Doyle (D)              | 55%       | Rick Santorum (R)           | 61% |
| 17                    | 8%  | James A. Traficant, Jr. (D) | 77%       | James A. Traficant, Jr. (D) | 84% |

# South Carolina

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1 | 18% |
| 2 | 23% |
| 3 | 19% |
| 4 | 18% |
| 5 | 28% |
| 6 | 58% |

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Marshall Sanford, Jr. (R) | 66%       |
| Floyd D. Spencer (R)      | Unopposed |
| Lindsey Graham (R)        | 60%       |
| Bob Inglis (R)            | 73%       |
| John M. Spratt, Jr. (D)   | 52%       |
| James E. Clyburn (D)*     | 64%       |

|                         |     |
|-------------------------|-----|
| Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R) | 66% |
| Floyd D. Spencer (R)    | 88% |
| Butler C. Derrick (D)   | 61% |
| Bob Inglis (R)          | 50% |
| John M. Spratt, Jr. (D) | 61% |
| James E. Clyburn (D)*   | 65% |

# Tennessee

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 3 | 11% |
| 5 | 21% |
| 6 | 5%  |
| 7 | 12% |
| 8 | 17% |
| 9 | 54% |

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| Zack Wamp (R)       | 52% |
| Bob Clement (D)     | 60% |
| Bart Gordon (D)     | 51% |
| Ed Bryant (R)       | 60% |
| John Tanner (D)     | 64% |
| Harold E. Ford (D)* | 58% |

|                        |     |
|------------------------|-----|
| Marilyn Lloyd (D)      | 49% |
| Bob Clemente (D)       | 67% |
| Bart Gordon (D)        | 57% |
| Don Sundquist (R)      | 62% |
| Lawrence J. Barnes (I) | 84% |
| Harold E. Ford (D)*    | 58% |

# Texas

|    |     |
|----|-----|
| 1  | 16% |
| 2  | 15% |
| 4  | 8%  |
| 5  | 15% |
| 7  | 5%  |
| 8  | 5%  |
| 9  | 20% |
| 10 | 10% |
| 11 | 15% |
| 12 | 7%  |
| 13 | 7%  |
| 14 | 10% |
| 18 | 49% |
| 20 | 6%  |
| 24 | 18% |
| 25 | 25% |
| 28 | 9%  |
| 29 | 10% |
| 30 | 47% |

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Jim Chapman, Jr. (D)      | 55%       |
| Charlesm Wilson (D)       | 57%       |
| Ralph M. Hall (D)         | 59%       |
| John Bryant (D)           | 50%       |
| Bill Archer (R)           | Unopposed |
| Jack M Fields, Jr. (R)    | 92%       |
| Steve Stockman (R)        | 52%       |
| Llody Doggett (D)         | 56%       |
| Chet Edwards (D)          | 59%       |
| Pete Green (D)            | 69%       |
| Mac Thornberry (R)        | 55%       |
| Greg Laughlin (D)**       | 56%       |
| Sheila Jackson Lee (D)    | 73%       |
| Henry B. Gonzalez (D)     | 63%       |
| Martin Frost (D)          | 53%       |
| Ken Bentsen (D)           | 52%       |
| Frank M. Tejeda (D)       | 71%       |
| Gene Green (D)            | 73%       |
| Eddie Bernice Johnson (D) | 73%       |

|                            |           |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Jim Chapman, Jr. (D)       | Unopposed |
| Charles Wilson (D)         | 56%       |
| Ralph M. Hall (D)          | 58%       |
| John Bryant (D)            | 59%       |
| Bill Archer (R)            | Unopposed |
| Jack M. Fields, Jr. (R)    | 77%       |
| Jack Brooks (D)            | 54%       |
| J.J. Pickle (D)            | 68%       |
| Chet Edwards (D)           | 67%       |
| Pete Green (D)             | 63%       |
| Bill Sarparlius (D)        | 60%       |
| Greg Laughlin (D)**        | 68%       |
| Craig Washington (D)       | 65%       |
| Henry B. Gonzalez          | Unopposed |
| Martin Frost (D)           | 60%       |
| Michael A. Andrews (D)     | 56%       |
| Frank M. Tejeda (D)        | 87%       |
| Gene Green (D)             | 65%       |
| Eddie Bernice Johnson (D)* | 72%       |

# Virginia

|                   |     |                             |           |                              |     |
|-------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----|
| 1                 | 17% | Herbert H. Bateman (R)      | 74%       | Herbert H. Bateman (R)       | 58% |
| 2                 | 15% | Owen Pickett (D)            | 59%       | Owen Pickett (D)             | 56% |
| 3                 | 61% | Robert C. (Bobby) Scott (D) | 79%       | Robert C. (Bobby) Scott (D)* | 79% |
| 4                 | 31% | Noran Sisisky (D)           | 62%       | Norman Sisisky (D)           | 68% |
| 5                 | 23% | L. F. Payne (D)             | 53%       | L. F. Payne (D)              | 69% |
| 6                 | 11% | Bob Goodlatte (R)           | Unopposed | Bob Goodlatte (R)            | 60% |
| 8                 | 13% | James P. Moran, Jr. (D)     | 59%       | James P. Moran, Jr. (D)      | 56% |
| 11                | 7%  | Tom Davis (R)               | 53%       | Leslie L. Bryne (D)          | 50% |
| <b>Washington</b> |     |                             |           |                              |     |
| 7                 | 8%  | Jim McDermott (D)           | 75%       | Jim McDermott (D)            | 78% |
| 9                 | 5%  | Randy Tate (R)              | 52%       | Mike Kreidler (D)            | 52% |
| <b>Wisconsin</b>  |     |                             |           |                              |     |
| 5                 | 29% | Thomas m. Barrett (D)       | 62%       | Thomas M. Barrett (D)        | 69% |
| 9                 | 5%  | Randy Tate (R)              | 52%       | Mike Kreidler (D)            | 52% |

Notes: Districts with greater than 5% black VAP and where the incumbants margin of victory is less than the percentage of black VAP.

\* Black Congressperson

\*\* Switched from Democratic to Republican Party

## **1996 Calendar of African American Events**

### **January**

**United Negro College Fund White House Reception**

**January 4**

**Washington, DC**

**Black Flight Attendants of America**

**January 13-15**

**Atlanta, GA**

**Martin Luther King Center Birthday Celebration**

**January 15**

**Atlanta, GA**

**Kick-Off of Martin Luther King Birthday Celebration\***

**January 15**

**Philadelphia, PA**

**The Whitney M. Young Jr. Memorial Conference**

**January 19-21**

**Philadelphia, PA**

**U.S. Conference of Mayors Winter Meeting**

**January 24-26**

**Washington, DC**

**National Newspapers Publishers Association**

**January 24-28**

**Nassau, Bahamas**

**Joint Center Seventh National Policy Institute\***

**January 25-27**

**Washington, DC**

**Black Women in Publishing Annual Networking Conference**

**January 31**

**Washington, DC**

**Smithsonian Gala for Black History Month**

**January 31**

**Washington, DC**

**Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense & Education Fund Summit**

**January, 1996**

**TBA**

### **February**

**Associated Black Charities Black History Makers Awards Dinner**

**February 7**

**New York, NY**

**Rainbow Coalition Annual Meeting\***

Chicago, IL

February 29 - March 2

POTUS attended in 1992

**Research Association of Minority Professors**

February 1-3

New Orleans, LA

**African American Student Union of the Harvard Business School**

February 1-4

Cambridge, MA

**MOBE/Sports Business/MOBE Apparel**

February 2-3

Atlanta, GA

**National Association of African American Studies**

February 13-17

Houston, TX

**Conference of Minority Public Administrators (COMPA)**

February 13-18

Houston, TX

**American Association of Blacks in Energy**

February 21-24

Detroit, MI

**The Black Engineer of the Year Awards Conference\***

February 22-24

Baltimore, MD

VPOTUS Pending

**Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame, Inc.**

February 23-25

Oakland, CA

**National Association of Black-Owned Broadcasters**

February 29

Washington, DC

**Black Women's Network, Inc.**

February, 1996

Milwaukee, WI

**United Negro College Fund's National Alumni Council Annual Convention**

February, 1996

TBA

**Indiana Black Legislative Caucus Annual Reception**

February, 1996

TBA

Mississippi Legislative Black Caucus Annual Legislative Conference  
February, 1996  
TBA

**March**

National League of Cities Congressional City Conference  
March 9-12  
Phoenix, AZ

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Annual Dinner  
March 19  
Washington, DC

National Society of Black Engineers  
March 27-31  
Nashville, TN

African American Women on Tour  
March 28-30  
Oakland, CA

National Head Start Association  
March 28-31  
New Orleans, LA

Black Business Students' Association  
March 29-31  
Ypsilanti, MI

Alliance of Black Entertainment Technicians  
March, 1996  
Los Angeles, CA

Low Income Housing Coalition Annual Conference  
March, 1996  
Washington, DC

National Association of Black Telecommunications Professionals Annual Convention  
March, 1996  
TBA

National Association of Black Women Attorneys Annual Convention  
March, 1996  
TBA

National Conference of Black Political Scientists Annual Meeting  
March, 1996  
TBA

Arkansas Black Legislative Caucus Legislative Meeting  
March, 1996  
TBA

Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus (N.Y) Legislative Meeting  
March, 1996  
TBA

Florida Conference of Black State Legislators Annual Gala Celebration  
March, 1996  
TBA

#### **April**

Student National Medical Association, Inc.  
April 4-7  
Nashville, TN

Harvard Black Law Students Association  
April 11-13  
Cambridge, MA

National Forum for Black Public Administrators  
April 13-17  
Seattle, Washington

National Association of Black Social Workers  
April 17-20  
Houston, Texas

National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education  
Washington, DC  
April 17-21

National Black Association for Speech, Language and Hearing  
April 18-21  
Milwaukee, WI

National Coalition of Black Meeting Planners  
April 18-21  
Nassau, BAHAMAS

American Health and Beauty Aids Institute (AHBAI)  
April 20-22  
Chicago, IL

International Business Development Consortium  
April 24-26  
Nassau, BAHAMAS

National Conference of Black Mayors\*  
April 24-28  
Atlanta, GA

National Association of Health Services Executives Annual (NAHSE)  
April 29-May 1  
Las Vegas, NV

Afro-American Historical & Genealogical Society  
April, 1996  
Washington, D.C.

American Association for Affirmative Action  
April, 1996  
Philadelphia, PA

National Funeral Directors and Morticians Association  
April, 19996  
TBA

National Urban Affairs Council Annual Conference  
April, 1996  
TBA

Illinois Legislative Black Caucus Statewide Conference  
April, 1996  
TBA

Kansas Black Legislative Caucus Annual African American Caucus  
April, 1996  
TBA

Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus Annual Awards Dinner  
April, 1996  
TBA

Northwest Black Public Elected and Appointed Officials Spring Workshops  
April, 1996  
TBA

#### **May**

Black Enterprise/Nations Bank 1996 Entrepreneurial Conference  
May 1-5  
Orlando, FL

Public Service Recognition Week, sponsored by the Public Employees Roundtable and the President's Council on Management Improvement  
May 6-12  
Washington, D.C.

Grand Masters Convention - Prince Hall Masons\*  
May 7-9  
St. Louis, Missouri

Professional Women in Business Networking Systems  
May 17-18  
St. Louis, MO

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists\*  
Miami, Florida  
May 24-27  
POTUS made a video tape for this group

National Organization of Black County Officials

May, 1996

Winston-Salem, North Carolina

National Black Women's Consciousness-Raising Association Annual Convention

May, 1996

TBA

Association of Minority Enterprises of N.Y. Minority Business Downstate Seminar

May, 1996

TBA

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Annual Meeting\*

May, 1996

Washington, D.C.

National Association of Black Reading and Language Educators Annual Meeting

May, 1996

TBA

National Association of Market Developers Annual Conference

May, 1996

TBA

Alabama Legislative Black Caucus

Montgomery, AL

May, 1996

## **June**

National Association of Urban Bankers

June 2-9

Houston, TX

National Association of Minority Contractors\*

June 5-8

Portland, OR

100 Black Men of America, Inc.

June 5-9

Miami, FL

Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc.

June 9-12

Phoenix, AZ

BCW - Execircle International Professional Development Conference

June 15-22

Nassau, BAHAMAS

U.S. Conference of Mayors Annual Meeting

June 21-25

Cleveland, Ohio

National Newspapers Publishers Association  
June 20-25  
Houston, TX

Black Caucus of the American Library Association Annual Conference  
June 20-27, 1996  
Orlando, FL

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives  
June 22-27  
Detroit, MI

Bicentennial Celebration of African Methodist Episcopal Church  
June 25-July 5  
Louisville, Kentucky  
POTUS Pending  
POTUS attended, 1992

Black Agency Executives Annual Meeting  
June, 1996  
New York, NY

International Black Writers  
June, 1996  
TBA

Greater Fairbanks Black Caucus (Alaska) Solidarity Program  
June, 1996  
TBA

North Carolina Legislative Black Caucus Annual Caucus Weekend  
June, 1996  
TBA

#### **July**

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
July 6-11  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
POTUS attended in 1992

Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.  
July 6-11  
Dallas, TX

National Association of Black Accountants, Inc.  
July 9-14  
Baltimore, MD

Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.  
July 12-14  
New Orleans, LA

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.  
July 13-19

Baltimore, Maryland

International Society on Hypertension in Blacks  
July 14-18  
St. Louis, MO.

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
July 17-20  
Washington, D.C.

Frontiers International Inc.  
July 17-20  
Chicago, IL

Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority, Inc.  
July 17-21  
Rockville, MD

National Insurance Association  
July 18-21  
San Francisco, CA

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.  
July 19-25  
Orlando, Florida

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church  
July 23-August 1  
Washington, DC  
POTUS Pending

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc.  
July 25-August 2  
Los Angeles, CA

National Beauty Culturists' League, Inc.  
July 27-August 3  
Philadelphia, PA

National Medical Association, Inc.  
July 27-August 3  
Chicago, IL

The Association of Negro Business & Professional Women's Clubs  
July 27-August 4  
Washington, DC

Operation PUSH, Inc.  
July 28-31  
TBA

Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
July 28-August 1  
Detroit, MI

Chi Delta Mu Fraternity, Inc.  
July 29-August 4  
Chicago, IL

National Optometric Association  
July 30-August 3  
Chicago, IL

The Association of Black Psychologists  
July 30-August 4  
Chicago, IL

National Black Nurses Association  
July 31-August 4  
Chicago, Illinois  
POTUS attended in 1992

Grove Phi Groove Social Fellowship, Inc.  
July, 1996  
Norfolk, VA

Black United Front  
July, 1996  
TBA

Black Women in Church and Society  
July, 1996  
Atlanta, GA

Jack and Jill of America  
July, 1996

TBA

National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice  
July, 1996  
TBA

National Association of Colored Women's Clubs  
July, 1996  
Washington, DC

National Technical Association, Inc.  
July, 1996  
TBA

**August**

National Dental Association  
August 1-7  
Chicago, IL

Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World  
August 2-9  
Chicago, IL

National Bar Association  
Chicago, Illinois  
August 2-10  
POTUS attended 1992

Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.  
August 4-10  
Kansas City, MO

National Urban League, Inc.  
August 11-14  
New Orleans, LA

National Black Data Processing Associates  
August 13-18  
Atlanta, GA

National Black Police Association  
August 18-25  
Detroit, MI

Federation of Southern Cooperatives  
August 19  
Eples, Alabama

National Association of Black Journalists  
Nashville, Tennessee  
August 21-25  
POTUS attended in 1992. POTUS asked group to invite him to next meeting

Blacks in Government  
August 25-30  
Atlanta, GA

Black Enterprise/Pepsi Golf & Tennis Challenge  
August 28-September 2  
Miami, FL

The Alliance of Black Telecommunication Employees  
August, 1996  
TBA

Black Human Resources Network  
August, 1996  
Washington, DC

Association of Black Sociologists  
August, 1996  
New York, NY

National Black Public Relations Society of America Professional Development Seminar  
August, 1996  
Los Angeles, CA

International Association of Black Professional Fire Fighters  
August, 1996  
TBA

International Benevolent Society Convention  
August, 1996  
TBA

National Association of Minority Media Executives  
August, 1996  
Philadelphia, PA

National Association of University Women Biennial Convention  
August, 1996  
Richmond, VA

Tuskegee Airman Annual Convention  
August, 1996  
Atlanta, GA

U.S. African American Chamber of Commerce Annual Conference  
August, 1996  
TBA

## **September**

National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.  
September 2-6  
Little Rock, Arkansas

National Black Child Development Institute  
October 8-11  
New Orleans, LA

National Conference of Black Lawyers  
October 10-14  
Dallas, TX

National Association of Investment Companies  
October 13-17  
Rancho Mirage, CA

National Association of Black Women Entrepreneurs, Inc  
October 18-20  
Detroit, MI

National Minority Supplier Development Conference  
October 20-23  
Denver, Colorado

National Technical Association  
October 23-26  
Cleveland, Ohio

American League of Financial Institutions  
October, 1996  
Atlanta, GA

National Business League 98th Annual National Conference  
October, 1996  
TBA

Arkansas Land and Farm Development Corporation National Meeting\*  
October, 1996  
TBA

National Black MBA Association  
October, 1996  
TBA

Africare Bishop John T. Walker Dinner\*  
October, 1996  
Washington, D.C.  
POTUS attended in 1995

American League of Financial Institutions  
October, 1996  
TBA

Executive Leadership Council Annual Dinner  
October, 1996  
Washington, D.C.

National Baptist Convention USA  
September 2-6,  
Orlando, Florida  
POTUS attended, 1992

Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Weekend  
September 11-14  
Washington, D.C.  
POTUS attended, 1994 and 1995

Black Family Reunion\*  
September 13-15  
Washington, DC  
POTUS attended in 1992

National Sales Network  
September 20-22  
Somerset, NJ

Minority Enterprise Development (MED) Week  
September 24-27  
Washington, D.C.

National Black MBA Association  
September 25-29  
New Orleans, LA

International Black Women's Congress  
September 27-29  
Philadelphia, PA

National Association of Minority Political Women, USA  
September, 1996  
TBA

National Association of Black-Owned Broadcasters  
September, 1996  
TBA

National Baptist Convention of America  
September, 1996  
TBA

National Association of Minority Automobile Dealers  
September, 1996  
Washington, DC

#### **October**

Sickle Cell Disease Association of America, Inc.  
October 2-5  
Little Rock, AK

National Association of Investment Companies  
October, 1996  
TBA

National Bankers Association  
October, 1996  
San Juan, PR

National Business League  
October, 1996  
National Convention

National Coalition of 100 Black Women  
October, 1996  
New York, NY

National Student Business League  
October, 1996  
TBA

National Urban Coalition Convocation  
October, 1996  
TBA

California Legislative Black Caucus Annual Hearing on Black Family  
October, 1996  
Sacramento, CA

#### **November**

Afrikan Center of Well Being, Inc.  
November 7-10  
Houston, TX

Church of God in Christ\*  
November 7-13  
Memphis, TN  
POTUS attended in 1992

National Association of state Universities & Land-Grant Colleges  
November 18-20  
San Diego, CA

National Alliance of Black School Educators\*  
November, 1996  
Detroit, MI

National Black Programming Consortium, Inc  
November, 1996  
Columbus, OH

National Association of Black Scuba Divers  
November, 1996  
TBA

#### **December**

National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials\*San Antonio, TX  
December 7-10

## Communication/Media Plan

This election, more so than other recent campaigns, will be issue driven. Notwithstanding the almost certain personal attacks on Bill and Hillary Clinton, the election will be decided based on the electorates assessment of the President's performance on issues of importance to them.

There is a general paradox in the fact that President Clinton has achieved many significant accomplishments on behalf of African Americans -- yet that message is not reaching a large percentage of the population. As a result, a large segment of the black community remains uninformed about President Clinton's many initiatives. This uninformed state can lead to voter apathy and indifference. Also, with no serious challenger to the President in the primaries, many black voters may be less inclined to vote. Such an outcome would mean trouble for Democratic candidates needing a large black turnout to win.

Several factors account for this state of affairs. One reason is that information is not fed back to the black community or black media on a systematic basis. Too often, the priority is to simply communicate with mainstream media outlets such as the Washington Post, New York Times, and Los Angeles Times, to the detriment of the black media. Another factor is that much of the information disseminated is general in nature and not presented from a "black" perspective. As such, the Administration's current appeal to the middle class (e.g., Middle-Class Bill of Rights) is a potential turnoff to low-income and disadvantaged voters in the black community. A third and more deeply seeded problem is some segments of the populace harbor some level of distrust for both political parties. This is reflected in public's current appetite for a third party and the popularity of non-politicians like Colin Powell. It's also revealed in recent data that show party affiliation among blacks, the poor, and the young is becoming less important. More than a third of the estimated 11 million people newly registered under Motor-Voter, registered as independents.

To address these issues, we propose to develop a comprehensive communication/media plan and implement it on a systematic basis. Its purpose would be to inform African Americans about Clinton Administration accomplishments for them by providing a steady stream of information to key stakeholders and the black media in target states. Our plan has three components: media outreach, message development and communication plan.

Media Outreach. An extensive black media network exists throughout the United States, many of whose outlets are in our target states for 1996. Among the outlets available to us, both electronic and print, are: (1) more than 300 black newspapers, 210 of which are associated with the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA); (2) NNPA news service, based in Washington, D.C.; (3) more than 300 black-oriented radio stations; (4) American Urban Radio Network, a national black radio news service with a network of more than 150 radio stations, and two Washington correspondents -- Bob Ellison (White House) and George Wilson (Capitol Hill); (5) Black Entertainment Television and other national and local commercial and cable-TV programs geared toward African American viewers (BET also has a radio news service); (6) News

magazines like Jet and Ebony Magazines (with a Washington Bureau); Black Business Enterprise; Emerge Magazine; Essence Magazine; (7) African American columnists and journalists for main street publications; (8) black radio talk show hosts; (9) special broadcast programs like Americans' Black Forum, hosted by Julian Bond; and "Both Sides with Jesse Jackson; and (10) trade publications, newsletters of African American organizations.

Working with the White House Specialty Media office, we have compiled a list of recommended black newspapers and radio and TV shows for the target states. Examples of these lists are presented in Tabs 9. This information has been distributed to the Public Affairs Directors to use in promoting "free" coverage of events attended by African American surrogates as well as activities of interest to black communities. Prior to the Government shutdown, we began working through Cabinet Affairs to have each Public Affairs Agency develop African American outreach plans to provide advance advisories of events in the site-city's news media; to work with their regional offices to generate local press coverage; to include a schedule listing of key, newsworthy local participants as hometown angles on national issues that have a high priority with local editors; and to provide background information to local reporters and still photographers, followed up by personal invitations to conduct interviews and arrange for news coverage of the actual meeting or event. We also recommend that before leaving town, they also try to schedule editorial board sessions to help stress our message.

Other activities that we will pursue in cooperation with the Office of Specialty Media and the Office of Political Affairs are: (1) holding periodic meetings and briefings with black media representatives and black communications' professionals; (2) meeting with the Presidents of key media groups, e.g., National Newspaper Publishers Association, National Association of Black-Owned Broadcasters, American Urban Radio Networks, National Association of Black Journalists, National Black Public Relations Society, etc.; (3) when the President and other Clinton Administration officials travel, brief locally arranged meetings of black publishers or place courtesy calls to individual editors and publishers; (4) when the President and other Clinton Administration officials travel, be available for local radio interviews, by telephone or in person; (5) ensuring that the Re-elect's campaign advertising budget includes black newspapers and broadcast media; and (6) ensuring that the state tactical plans include black newspapers and radio/TV stations in their advertising budgets.

In addition to our plans for generating "free" media coverage in the black media, we recommend that we also purchase voter registration and general election spots in the target communities. These spots would be intended to help persuade African Americans of the importance of supporting the President in the fall. Our specific recommendations and plans for purchasing these spots will be developed by as part of the state plans, which are scheduled to be completed in March.

Message Development. In persuading these voters to support the President in 1996, we have to craft the "right message." For example, Ron Lester's pre-election focus sessions of black voters in Virginia, pointed out that the main anger of blacks was directed at their number one enemy -- Governor George Allen. Based on this, they crafted specific campaign literature that

would highlight this fact. Thus, in the 1996 Presidential election, we might find that some black voters may well be more inspired to go to the polls in greater numbers to vote against the "enemies of civil rights" than for the Democratic candidate. Moreover, the demographics and psychographic of the black community clearly suggest that different messages need to be tailored for different groups. College-educated black professionals have a different perspective than black "blue collar" workers. Blacks in rural areas think differently than blacks in urban areas. Even though the campaign is developing an overall set of themes, we need to develop a well thought out "black" perspective on key issues affecting black communities, which takes into consideration membership in major stakeholder subgroups as well, e.g., seniors, labor, student, professional, etc.

To energize the young and other disenfranchised voters to come out and support the President in 1996, we need to project a new image to African Americans in the party. Civil Rights leaders, historically black institutions, churches and others should be able to retain their places of esteem within the party, but room must be made for new leadership. Youth and young adults have to feel comfortable and welcome within the operations of the campaign, whether from the inner city or Bedford Stuyvesant or the dormitories of Harvard University. While focus group interviews and polling data should be collected to help craft the precise message we want to convey, our communication strategy for 1996 needs to in part, focus on this segment of the African American community.

The new message we could offer might be based on a "new partnership," based on mutual respect, pragmatic thinking and a will to make our country a better place in which to live. Some of the themes raised during the Million Man March might be a good place to start. However, to further refine the message, we recommend that black experts in public relations, marketing, and advertisements be hired to help with message development and the formulation of communications strategies to reach all segments of the African American voting populace. In addition to using formal research methods such as polling, public opinion surveys and focus groups, we also recommend establishing an ad hoc group of black researchers and opinion leaders for their help on minority message research and gaging black public sentiment on issues of importance to the black community. This group would also be quite useful in developing recommendations for critical issues still outstanding in the Administration from a black perspective. The possibility of organizing a volunteer network of black media/public relations professionals covering key cities throughout the country should also be examined. This team could help in developing communications strategies for maximizing coverage in local minority and mainstream media.

Part of core message should address the major accomplishments of the Clinton Administration with respect to the African American community. Table 10 presents a preliminary list of accomplishments that can serve as a good first step for crafting a generic set of issues and themes that will resonate in our community. These messages should be tested and updated periodically using focus groups of African Americans as well as polls of the black community. Ron Lester's work for the DNC, which includes focus groups conducted in Los Angeles and Detroit, as well as the polling he did in the black community in Virginia in 1994 and for the recent Jessie Jackson, Jr. campaign, also provides a good base for us to build upon. This information should be supple-

mented with additional information collected from scholars, professionals and community leaders, polling data and focus groups in order to provide the African American electorate with greater clarity on how they will be effected by the outcome of this election. We should be in a position to clearly outline all the good things the Administration has done in these areas and explain how the Contract with America will hurt African Americans at all levels of our society. Once completed, this information can be used in a variety of ways, such as the basis for prepared speeches, preparing campaign fact sheets and brochures, developing responses to negative and misinformation published in the print media, and developing briefing materials and other campaign literature.

Communication Plans. We will use a series of techniques to narrowcast our message, including broadcast faxes to particular stakeholders. An electronic fax network has been established at the White House to distribute daily talking points, calendars of upcoming events, stump speeches, descriptions of major legislative victories, agency accomplishments and other materials of potential interest to recipients. Over 1,000 key African Americans are currently included on this network, and others will be added in the coming months. These materials are also being supplied to the DNC to include in their monthly newsletter and to supply to members of the "Quick Response Teams" they are setting up.

We have also established a communication working group, which will work with the White House Specialty Media office, to help highlight two to three major events each month from now until the election. Periodic meetings will be held with the press secretaries of African American cabinet and sub-cabinet members to share travel schedules and develop plans to maximize black media coverage of Clinton Administration officials. The selection of which events to highlight will be made based on their potential news value and importance to the African American community.

Our communication plans also consists of other more direct outreach activities. Regular meetings and briefings will be scheduled with the major black organizations and members of the Congressional Black Caucus. We recently began conducting monthly briefings for the key African American organizations representing business, education, labor, professional associations, religious groups, service organizations, state and local government officials, veterans' organizations, and women's groups. At a recent briefing attended by more than 40 national African American organizations, a number of those present indicated their willingness to help us reach out to the African American community and to participate in voter registration and GOTV activities (See Tab C).

A large number of black organizations will be holding annual conventions and conferences this year. We plan to send messages from the White House to each of these conventions, arrange for Senior African American appointees to participate, and develop a public relations/media strategy around Administration participation. To help generate coverage of surrogate events in the black media and other major news outlets, we will turn to the individual Public Affairs Directors and the White House Office of Specialty Media for assistance.

Each agency is also being asked to work with their surrogates to develop their own Afri-

can American outreach plan, to include: (1) the distribution of background information, talking points, and other information to key stakeholder and major media outlets; (3) briefings and attendance at "greet and meet" sessions; (4) preparation of Op-Ed pieces and letters to the editors in response to negative or distorted articles and stories; (5) monitoring of press coverage of Administrative initiatives by African American and main-stream media outlets; (6) preparation of materials that illustrate how African Americans benefit from specific Clinton Administration initiatives; (8) documenting agency accomplishments, grant announcements and other information of interest to African American communities; (9) producing third-party horror stories on what will happen if the President's proposals are not carried out; (10) identifying occasions for African American Appointees to appear with key supporters to highlight Administration initiatives affecting black communities; and (11) conduct issue briefings with local black leaders during travels to various cities as a means of getting the President's message to the people.

Other outreach activities will include White House briefings for the political appointees of this Administration. Over 750 African Americans have been appointed to political positions in the Clinton Administration. As a potentially fertile source of talent that can be tapped to reach out to the African American community, we are planning to brief them early this year and to try to identify additional surrogates and potential state workers. We threw a Christmas party for the African American appointees in December and plan to schedule other social events in the coming months as a way to energize and engage this group. The President's attendance at such an event would go a long way toward helping us achieve this objective.

Working with the DNC, we will also identify prominent African American Democrats that can act as local spokesperson (elected officials, etc.) for local media responses to national and local issues in support of the Democratic Party and Clinton administration. In each target city, we need to track our progress at getting out the message via collecting clips, polling, focus groups, etc. We should also provide materials for local coordinators to use/distribute, e.g., accomplishments. In addition, we need to develop a quick response capacity to write Op-Ed pieces, appear at public functions, give speeches, debate opponents, etc., in the target states.

Finally, we should also make sure that black issues and concerns are addressed as part of the communication strategy for the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

**African American Radio Stations**  
(Partial List)

| State      | City        | Station                 | Show                    | Host                                    | Time                   | Days         | Notes                                                                                                        |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Alabama    | Birmingham  | WATV (AM)               | Open Mike               | Dr. Shelley Stuart                      | 6:30-8:30 am           | Mon.-Fri.    | Informational talk show featuring mortgage bankers and local lawyers with time for phone in how-to questions |
|            | Huntsville  | Broadcast One WEUP (AM) | Community Focus         | Ben Casey                               | 5-5:30 pm              | Sun.         | Community issue oriented; local guests                                                                       |
|            | Montgomery  | WXVI (AM)               | Our Voices              | Tracey Larkin                           | 8-10 am                | Mon.-Fri.    | News oriented, major news items, political issues; guests are usually local personalities                    |
|            |             |                         | John Bradford Show      | John Bradford                           | 7-9 pm                 | Mon.-Fri.    | Same as above; more guest appearances, local personalities                                                   |
|            |             |                         | Night talk, syndicated  | John Bradford                           | 9 pm - 1 am            |              |                                                                                                              |
|            | Tuskegee    | WBIL                    |                         | Omar Neal                               | 9-10 am<br>10-10:30 am | Wed.<br>Sun. | Issue oriented combination of in-studio guests and call in.                                                  |
| Arkansas   | Little Rock | KMZK (FM)<br>KCLT (FM)  |                         |                                         |                        |              | No locally produced talk shows<br>No locally produced talk shows                                             |
| California | Los Angeles | KKBT (FM)               | Street Science          | Dominique DiPrima                       | 9-11 am                | Sun.         | Community Affairs, live show takes callers                                                                   |
|            |             |                         | The Morning Drive       | John London, Dennis Cruz, Shirely Clark | 5:30-10 am             | Mon.-Fri.    | Mostly music, occasional guest interviews; music the rest of the day                                         |
|            | Los Angeles | KPFK                    | Common Folk             | Tyrone Floyd                            | 6-9:00 am              | Mon.-Fri.    |                                                                                                              |
|            |             | KACE (FM)               | Tom Joyner              | Tom Joyner                              | 5-10:00 am             | Mon.-Fri.    | Nationally syndicated                                                                                        |
|            |             | KACE (FM)               | Antoinette Russell      | Antoinette Russell                      | 10:00 am-2:00 pm       | Mon.-Fri.    |                                                                                                              |
|            |             | KACE (FM)               | Rico Reed               | Rico Reed                               | 2-6:00 pm              | Mon.-Fri.    |                                                                                                              |
|            |             | KACE (FM)               | The People's Connection | Isidra Person-Lynn                      | 8-10 am                | Sun.         | Live. News magazine style -- health, current events, political issues, etc.                                  |

|            |                     |           |                           |                                    |              |            |                                                                                                              |
|------------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| California | Los Angeles         | KJLH (FM) | Front Page                | Carl Nelson                        | 5-6:00 am    | Sun.       | Public affairs objective show. Host asks some questions, but guest mostly responds to listeners' questions   |
|            |                     | KJLH (FM) | LA Speaks Out             | Jackie Stevens                     | 9-10:00 am   | Sat.       | Same as above, mostly call-ins.                                                                              |
|            |                     | KGFJ      | Perspectives              | Varies weekly                      |              |            | Subject matter is community based. Each show's guest responds to call-in questions; hosts depends on topics. |
|            | Oakland<br>Pasadena | KDIA      | Overview with Jeff Farmer | Jeff Farmer                        | Mornings     | Sat.       | Taped. Community events and overviews, book reviews, and debate political propositions.                      |
|            |                     | KMAX      |                           |                                    | Evenings     | Sun.       |                                                                                                              |
|            | San Francisco       | KEST (AM) | Seeing Beyond             | Bonnie Colleen and Jared Wilkinson | 7:15-9:00 am | Mon.-Fri.  | Characterized as a school without walls, "new-age", interview talk show                                      |
|            |                     | KEST (AM) | Superior Alternatives     | Eve Crane                          | 10-11:00 am  | Tue.; Fri. | Similar to "Seeing Beyond," but less political. Offers health related guests.                                |
|            |                     | KPOO      | State of the Art          | Leyerzove                          | 12:00 Noon   | Thur.      |                                                                                                              |
|            |                     | KPOO      | On the Spot               | Harrison Chastang                  | 6:00 pm      | Tue.       | News Items                                                                                                   |
|            |                     | KMEL      | Just Like a Woman         | Denise Maunder                     | 6:00 pm      | Wed.       | Discusses women's issues                                                                                     |
|            |                     | KMEL      | The Morning Zoo           | Bill Lee and Rena                  | 6-10:00 am   | Mon.-Fri.  |                                                                                                              |
|            |                     | KMEL      | Community Access          | Marco Gutierrez/<br>Dave Cook      | 8-10:00 am   | Mon.-Fri.  |                                                                                                              |

## **RADIO SUGGESTIONS**

Updated 9-7-95 9:00 AM

### **Syndicated**

Tom Joyner

Nationally syndicated

214-991-9200

Bob Ellison (White House Correspondant) Jack Bryant (VP)

White House Correspondent

American Urban Radio Network

202-347-7930

Bob Law

Nationally syndicated on the American Urban Radio Network

718-335-1600

Tavis Smiley, "The Smiley Report"

Nationally syndicated, ABC Radio Network

213-295-3543

### **Top Markets**

Mark Riley, Imhotep Gary Byrd, Dr. Betty Shabazz, Earl Caldwell

WLIB, New York

212-447-1000

Donna Wilson

WWRL, New York

718-335-1600

Bob Slade or Ann Tripp

WRKS-FM, New York

212-642-4300

Dr. Dre and Ed Love

WBLS-FM, New York

212-447-1000

Rico Reed

KACE-FM, Los Angeles

213-427-1039

Carl Nelson (News Director) & Cliff Winston - Morning Show Host  
KJLH-FM, Los Angeles  
310-330-5550

John London, Dennis Cruz, Shirley Clark & Dominique DiPrima  
KKBT, Los Angeles  
213-466-9566

Frank Stoltze  
KPFK-FM, Los Angeles  
818-985-5906

Shirley Jackson  
KGFJ, Los Angeles  
213-930-9090

Doug Banks (DJ), Cliff Kelley  
WGCI/WVON, Chicago  
312-247-6200

Harrison Chestang  
KPOO, San Francisco  
415-346-5373

Bob Jones- Morning Show Host  
KDIA, Oakland, CA  
510-251-1400

Mary Mason, W. Cody Anderson (Owner)  
WHAT, Philadelphia  
215-581-5161

Lorraine Ballard Morrell (News Director)  
WUSL-FM, Philadelphia, PA  
215-483-8900

E. Steven Collins & Tamlin Henry  
WDAS-FM, Philadelphia  
215-878-2000

John Arnold & Joann Watson  
WCHB, Detroit  
313-278-1440

Mike Roberts and Carol Blackman - Morning Show Host  
WVEE-FM, Atlanta  
404-898-8900

Tony Jakson - Moring Show Host  
WALR-FM, Atlanta  
404-688-0068

Lisa Vee - Program Director/Mark in the Morning -Morning Host  
XHTZ-FM, San Diego  
619-585-9090

Lynn Tolliver, Kim Sellers, Ralph Poole  
WZAK-FM, Cleveland, OH  
216-621-9300

Lynn Talliver-Program Director  
WJMO-AM, Cleveland, OH  
216-621-9300

Stan Verette, Cheryl Wilkinson, Herman Hurston  
WOWI, Norfolk, VA  
804-466-0009

Skip Porter - Morning Show Host  
WIZF-FM, Cincinnati, OH  
513-351-5900

James Evans and K.C. Jones - Morning Show Hosts  
WVKO-FM, Columbus, OH  
614-451-2191

Kieth Richards, B.J. Murphy (Breakfast Brothers) - Morning Show Hosts  
WPEG-FM, Charlotte, NC  
704-333-0131

C.J. Morgan, Monica Pierre - Morning Show Host  
WQUE-FM, New Orleans  
504-827-6000

Walter Ross  
WYLD-FM, New Orleans  
504-827-6000

Welch, Woody, and Monica May - Morning Show Hosts  
WJHM-FM, Orlando (Lake Mary)  
407-333-0072

Mario DeVoe - Morning Show Host  
WJMH-FM, Greensboro, NC  
910-373-1021

Eric Hollywood Davis - Morning Show Host  
WQMG-FM, Greensboro, NC  
910-272-5121

Bev Johnson (News Director), Bobby OJ (Morning Show Host)  
WDIA, Memphis (oldest African-American station in nation)  
901-529-4300

Tony Wright - Morning Show Host  
WQQK-FM, Nashville, TN  
615-227-1470

Bob Summers - Morning Show Host  
WROU-FM, Dayton, OH  
513-222-9768

Shauna Sanford, Chris Clay - Morning Show Host  
KQXL-FM, Baton Rouge  
504-926-1106

Afrika Perry and Rohman Johnson - Morning Show Hosts  
WHJX-FM, Jacksonville, FL  
904-696-1015

Brandy Shannon - Morning Show Host  
WJBT-FM, Jacksonville, FL  
904-292-0811

Mark Beasley and Tim Jherard  
WGZB-FM, Louisville, KY  
502-581-9798

Paul Strong  
WLSY-FM, Louisville, KY  
502-581-9798

Gerald Harrison

WLOU-FM, Louisville, KY  
502-636-3535

Juan Conde and Kathie Prendergast  
WCDX, Richmond, VA  
804-672-9300

Phil Daniels and Mikki Spencer  
WPLZ, Richmond, VA  
804-672-9300

Joe Booker (Broadway Joe) -Morning Show Host  
KIPR-FM, Little Rock, AR  
501-663-0092

TBD  
WJMI, Jackson, MS  
601-995-0997

Jerold Jackson and R.H. Brown  
WACR, Jackson, MS  
601-328-1050

AFRICAN AMERICAN COLUMNISTS  
AND EDITORIAL WRITERS

Mark August  
The Tampa Tribune

Lisa Baird  
The New York Post

Betty Baye  
Louisville Courier Journal

Allegra Bennett  
The Washington Times

Donna Britt  
The Washington Post

Kevin Blackistone  
The Dallas Morning News

Betty De Ramus  
The Detroit News

Gregory Freeman  
St. Louis Post Dispatch

Wiley A. Hall 3rd  
The Baltimore Sun

Derrick Jackson  
The Boston Globe

Norman Lockman  
The Wilmington News Journal

Sheryl McCarthy  
New York Newsday

Sherman Miller  
Freelance Columnist

Courtland Milloy  
The Washington Post

Barbara Reynolds  
USA Today

Dorothy Gillium  
The Washington Post

AFRICAN AMERICAN COLUMNISTS (continued)

Lorraine Kee  
The St. Louis Post Dispatch

Loretta Green  
San Jose Mercury News

Les Payne  
Newsday

Kim Crockett  
Phoenix Gazette

Brenda Payton  
Oakland Tribune

Peggy Peterman  
St. Petersburg Times

Elaine Ray  
The Boston Globe

Bill Rhoden  
The New York Times

Greg Standford  
The Milwaukee Journal

Marc A. Tibbs  
The Virginia Pilot

Dewayne Wickham  
USA Today

Larry Whiteside  
The Boston Globe

Michael Paul Williams  
Richmond Times-Dispatch

Don Williamson  
Pacific Rim News Service

Elijah Gosier  
St. Petersburg Times

Nichelle Hoskins  
Fort Worth Star-Telegram

Adrienne T. Washington  
The Washington Times

Lewis Diuguid  
The Kansas City Star

Eugene Kane  
The Milwaukee Journal

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN LIST**

Bakersfield New Observer  
1219 20th St.  
Bakersfield, CA 93385  
Published: Wednesday  
Circulation: 49,047 paid  
Publisher: Joseph Coley  
Editor: Ellen Coley  
Telephone: (805) 324-9466  
Fax: (805) 324-9472

California Voice  
2956 Sacramento St.  
Berkeley CA 94703  
Published: Friday  
Circulation: 37,330 paid  
Publisher: Dr. Ruth Love  
Editor: Gary Raynaldo  
Telephone: (510) 644-2446  
Fax: (415) 931-0214

Central-News Wave Group  
2621 W. 54th St.  
Los Angeles, CA 90043  
Published: Wednesday  
Circulation: 280,000 paid  
Publisher: C.Z. Wilson  
Editor: Alice Marshall  
Telephone: (213) 290-3000  
Fax: (213) 291-0219

Compton Bulletin  
349 W. Compton Blvd.  
Compton, CA 90220  
Published: Wednesday  
Circulation: 32,516 paid  
42,484 free  
Publisher: O. Ray Watkins  
Editor: Betty Wilson  
Telephone: (213) 774-0018  
Fax: (310) 635-4045

Observer Group  
3540 4th Ave.  
Sacramento, CA 95801  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 49,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: William H. Lee  
Telephone: (916) 452-4781  
Fax: (916) 452-7744

Pasadena Journal-News  
1541 N. Lake Ave., Suite A  
Pasadena, CA 91104  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 8,000 paid  
Publisher: Joe C. Hopkins  
Editor: Frederick Hubbard  
Telephone: (818) 798-3972  
Fax: (818) 798-3282

Black Voice News  
 3583 Main St.  
 Riverside, CA 92502  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 8000 paid  
 Publishers: Cheryl Brown & Hardy  
 Brown  
 Editor: Paulette Brown  
 Telephone: (909) 682-6070  
 Fax: (909) 276-0877

The American News  
 1583 W. Baseline St.  
 San Bernadino, CA 92411  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 10,000 paid  
 Publisher and Editor: Samuel Martin,  
 Sr.  
 Telephone: (909) 889-7677  
 Fax: ??????????????????????

San Diego Monitor  
 4183 Market St.  
 San Diego, CA 92102  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 2,000 paid  
 5,000 free  
 Publisher and Editor: Willie Morrow  
 Telephone: (619) 263-1603  
 Fax: ??????????????????????

The Sun Reporter  
 1366 Turk St.  
 San Francisco, CA 94115  
 Published: Wednesday  
 Circulation: 12,000 paid  
 Publisher: Dr. Carlton Goodlett  
 Editor: Amelia Ashley-Ward  
 Telephone: (415) 931-5778  
 Fax: (415) 931-0214

News Dimensions  
 1221 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite  
 522  
 Washington, DC 20005  
 Published: Friday  
 Circulation: 400 paid  
 24,600 free  
 Publisher and Editor: Barry Murry  
 Telephone: (202) 628-2300  
 Fax: (202) 628-0550

Washington Sun  
 830 Kennedy St. NW  
 Washington, DC 20011  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 45,000 paid  
 Publisher: J.C. Cooke  
 Editor: (202) 822-1021  
 Fax: ??????????????????????

The Florida Star  
 5196-C Norwood Ave., Suite C  
 Gateway Mall  
 Jacksonville, FL 33203  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 9,622 paid  
 Publisher: Mary Simpson  
 Editor: P. Erica Simpson  
 Telephone: (904) 766-8834  
 Fax: (904) 765-1673

Chronicle  
 1037 N. Edgewood Ave., Suite 4  
 Jacksonville, FL 33205  
 Published : Wednesday  
 Circulation: 5,000 paid  
 Publisher: Paula D. Wright  
 Editor: Phyllis Bell-Davis  
 Telephone: ???????????????????  
 Fax: ?????????????????????

Atlanta Daily Worl  
 145 Auburn Ave., NE  
 Atlanta, GA 30335-1201  
 Published: Sunday/Tuesday/Thursday  
 Circulation: 18,000 paid  
 Publisher and Editor: C.A. Scott  
 Telephone: (404) 659-1110  
 Fax: (404) 659-4988

Atlanta News-Weekly  
 4006 Riverdale Ct.  
 College Park, GA 30337  
 Published: Wednesday  
 Circulation: 5,000 paid  
                   5,000 free  
 Publisher: Creed W. Pannell, Jr.  
 Editor: Shawn Evans  
 Telephone: (404) 724-6556  
 Fax: (404) 907-1267

The Champion  
 P.O. Box 361500  
 Decatur, GA 30036-15000  
 Published: Wednesday  
 Circulation: 8,258 paid  
                   1,742 free  
 Publisher: Carolyn Jernigan-Glenn  
 Editor: Teresa Racine  
 Telephone: (404) 284-4010  
 Fax: (404) 284-4167

Fort Valley Herald  
 315 N. Camellia Blvd.  
 Fort Valley, GA 31030  
 Published: Wednesday  
 Circulation: 5,000 paid  
 Publisher and Editor: Bobby Lee  
 Telephone: (800) 236-0060  
 Fax: ???????????????????

Metro-Times  
 1691 Forsyth St.  
 Macon, GA 31201  
 Published: Wednesday  
 Circulation: 7,968 paid  
                   16,902 free  
 Publisher: Charles E. Richardson  
 Editor: Eldredge McCready, Jr.  
 Telephone: ??????????????????  
 Fax: ???????????????????

Muslim Journal  
 910 W. Van Buren, Suite 100  
 Chicago, IL 60607  
 Published: Friday  
 Circulation: 20,000 paid  
 Publisher: Muslim Journal Enterprises,  
 Inc.  
 Editor: Ayesha K. Mustafa  
 Telephone: (312) 243-7600  
 Fax: (312) 243-9778

Bay State Banner  
 925 Washington St.  
 Dorchester, MD 02124  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 10,500 paid  
 Publisher and Editor: Melvin B. Miller  
 Telephone: (617) 288-4900  
 Fax: (617) 288-4900

The Bottom Line  
 111 Thompson St.  
 Springfield, MD 90282-01139  
 Published: Friday  
 Circulation: 25,000 free  
 Publisher & Editor: Samuel R. Bass  
 Telephone: (413) 782-6574  
 Fax: ???????????????????

Citizen  
175 W. Main St.  
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49002  
Published: Sunday  
Circulation: 42,000 paid  
Publisher: Charles Kelley  
Editor: Teresa Kelly  
Telephone: (616) 927-1527  
Fax: (616) 927-2023

Afro-American Gazette  
1014 Franklin St.  
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49516  
Published: Monday  
Circulation: 8,670 free  
Publisher: Patricia E. Grier  
Editor: Walter L. Madhouse, Sr.  
Telephone: (616) 243-0577  
Fax: (616) 243-6844

Ecorse Telegram  
4122 10th St.  
Ecorse, Michigan 48229  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 12,000 free  
Publisher and Editor: J.C. Wall  
Telephone: (313) 928-2955  
Fax: ???????????????????????????

Minneapolis Spokesman  
3744 4th Ave.  
Minneapolis, MN 55409  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 16,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: Launa Q. Newman  
Telephone: (612) 827-4021  
Fax: (612) 827-0577

St. Paul Recorder  
P.O. Box 40100  
Minneapolis, MN 55104-9838  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 10,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: Launa Q. Newman  
Telephone: (612) 224-4886  
Fax: ???????????????????????????

Jackson Advocate  
300 N. Farrish St.  
Jackson, Miss. 39202  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 13,000 free  
Publisher: Charles W. Tisdale  
Editor: Alice Thomas  
Telephone: (601) 948-4122  
Fax: (601) 948-4125

Mississippi Memo Digest  
2511 Fifth St.  
Meridian, Miss. 39301  
Published: Wednesday  
Circulation: 3,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: Robert E. Williams  
Telephone: (601) 693-2372  
Fax: NONE

People's Guide  
5927 Dr. Martin Luther King Dr.  
St. Louis, MO 63112  
Published: Wednesday  
Circulation: 3,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: J. Vaughn Chapman  
Telephone: (314) 385-4343  
Fax: (314) 534-6420

Evening Whirl  
1449 McLaran St.  
St. Louis, MO 63147  
Published: Tuesday  
Circulation: 9,450 paid  
Publisher and Editor: Benjamin Thomas  
Telephone: (314) 385-4343  
Fax: (314) 383-7335

Piedmont Sun  
1670 E. Broad St. #165  
Statesville, NC 28677  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 5,000 free  
Publisher and Editor: L. Melissa Smith  
Telephone: (704) 636-8932  
Fax: (704) 873-1054

The Challenger  
514 Princess St.  
Williamston, NC 28402  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 4,000 paid  
Publisher: Cathy Gear  
Editor: Shirley Blanks  
Telephone: ??????????  
Fax: ?????????????

Akron Reporter  
1046 S. Arlington  
Akron, OH 44306  
Published: Tuesday  
Circulation: 13,000 free  
Publisher: William R. Ellis, Jr.  
Editor: Carlton D. Ellis  
Telephone: (216) 773-4196  
Fax: (216) 773-4365

Columbus Call and Post  
109 Hamilton St.  
Columbus, OH 43203  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 15,000 paid  
Publisher: John Bustamante  
Editor: Amos H. Lynch  
Telephone: (614) 224-8123  
Fax: (614) 224-8517

Philadelphia Metro  
526 S. 16th St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19146  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 98,000 free  
Publisher: Philadelphia Tribune Co.  
Editor: Paul Bennett  
Telephone: (215) 893-4050  
Fax: (215) 735-3612

The Philadelphia Sunday Sun  
628 W. Rittenhouse  
Philadelphia, PA 19144  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 20,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: J. Wyatt  
Mondesire  
Managing Editor: Aaron Walker  
Telephone: (215) 848-7890  
Fax: ?????????????

The Providence American  
131 Washington St.  
Providence, RI 02903  
Published: Wednesday  
Circulation: 200 paid  
4,479 free  
Publisher and Editor: Frank Graham  
Telephone: (401) 351-8860  
Fax: (401) 351-8865

Coastal Times  
 701 E. Bay St., Suite 1-123  
 Charleston, SC 29403  
 Published: Wednesday  
 Circulation: 1,000 paid  
                   4,000 free  
 Publisher: James Clyburn  
 Editor: Mignon Clyburn  
 Telephone: (803) 723-5318  
 Fax: not available ????????????

Carolina Panorama  
 3124 Beltline Blvd.  
 Columbia, SC 29204  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 6,000 paid  
 Publisher: Nat Abraham, Jr.  
 Editor: Nat Abraham, Sr.  
 Telephone: (803) 256-4015  
 Fax: ??????????????????????

Austin Sun  
 6448 Highway 290 East  
 Suite G101  
 Austin, TX 78723  
 Published: Friday  
 Circulation: 20,000 free  
 Publisher: Doris Ellis  
 Editor: Shuronda Robinson  
 Telephone: (512) 467-2881  
 Fax: (512) 467-2890

Houston Metro  
 4411 Almeda Rd.  
 Houston, TX 77299-8346  
 Published: Wednesday/Friday  
 Circulation: 60,000 paid  
 Publisher: Lenora Carter  
 Editor: George Bud Johnson  
 Telephone: (713) 526-4727  
 Fax: (713) 526-3170

San Antonio Informer  
 600 N. Hackberry St.  
 San Antonio, TX 78202  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 4,000 paid  
 Publisher: Tommy Moore  
 Editor: V. Bibbs  
 Telephone: (210) 227-8300  
 Fax: (210) 223-4111

Snap East  
 1609 E. Houston St.  
 San Antonio, TX 78202  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 10,000 paid  
 Publisher: Eugene Coleman  
 Editor: Betty Page  
 Telephone: (210) 224-0706  
 Fax: ??????????????????????

Albermale Tribune  
 1055 Grady Ave.  
 Charlottesville, VA 22903  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 4,000 paid  
 Publisher and Editor: Agnes White  
 Telephone: (804) 979-0373  
 Fax: (804) 971-5821

Southside Virginia Star  
 618 E. Washington St.  
 Petersburg, VA 23803  
 Published: Thursday  
 Circulation: 1,600 paid  
 Publisher: Paul C. Bland  
 Editor: Kamala Haywood  
 Telephone: (804) 862-9611  
 Fax: (804) 861-6325

Tacoma True Citizen  
P.O. Box 22047  
Seattle, WA 98122  
Published: Thursday  
Circulation: 16,000 paid  
Publisher: Chris Bennett  
Editor: Connie Cameron  
Telephone: (206) 322-1103  
Fax: (206) 322-6518

The Northwest Dispatch  
110B S. 11th Street  
Tacoma, WA 98405  
Published: Monday/Wednesday  
Circulation: 15,000 paid  
Publisher and Editor: Virginia Taylor  
Telephone: (206) 754-5866  
Fax: (206) 272-4418

## AFRICAN-AMERICAN

The Eagle Eye  
PO Box 5975  
Huntsville, AL 35814  
Contact: Dr. John L. Cashin, Editor  
Phone: (205) 721-9875  
Fax: (205) 722-8588  
Political Reporter: Bill Edwards  
Publisher: Dr. John L. Cashin  
Circulation: 6,000  
Frequency: Bi-Weekly  
Area of Distribution: Every other  
Wednesday

Mobile Beacon and Alabama Citizen  
2311 Costarides St.  
Mobile, AL 36617  
Contact: Cleretta T. Blackman, Editor  
Phone: (205) 479-0629  
Fax: (205) 479-9015  
Political Reporter: Cleretta T. Blackman  
Publisher: Lencie Thomas  
Circulation: 7,000  
Area of Distribution: Mobile and  
adjoining counties  
Deadline: Mondays at noon

Tuskegee News  
PO Drawer 60  
Tuskegee, AL 36083  
Contact: Ms. Richarde Talbot, Editor  
Phone: (205) 727-3020  
Fax: (205) 727 3036  
Political Reporter: Ms. Richard Talbot  
Publisher: Paul Davis  
Circulation: 4,800  
Frequency: Weekly  
Area of Distribution: Macon County, AL  
(doesn't want to be on fax list)

The Monterrey County Sentinel  
PO Box 1309  
Seaside, CA 93955  
Contact: Mr. Norman Spaulding,  
Publisher  
Phone: (408) 899-2305  
Fax: (408) 394-8401  
Political Reporter: David Bennett  
Publisher: Norman Spaulding  
Circulation: 25,000  
Frequency: Weekly  
Area of Distribution: Monterrey County,  
CA  
Deadline: Friday by 5pm  
Comments: Please keep submissions  
to 300 words or less, call before faxing

New Bayview  
4401 Third St.  
San Francisco, CA 94124  
Contact: Mary Ratcliff, Publisher  
Phone: (415) 695-0713  
Fax: (415) 695-1845  
Political Reporter: Charlie Walker  
Publisher: Mary Ratcliff  
Circulation: 10,000  
Frequency: Bi-monthly  
Area of Distribution: San Francisco, CA  
Deadline: Three days prior to  
publication

Rapid Publishing, Inc.  
 PO Box 4248  
 Compton, CA 90224  
 Contact: Betty Wilson, Editor  
 Phone: (310) 635-6776  
 Fax: (310) 635-4045  
 Political Reporter: Betty Wilson  
 Publisher: Mr. O. Ray Watkins  
 Circulation: 75,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: South Bay Area  
 California  
 Deadline: Friday by 5pm

The Sacramento Observer  
 3540 4th Ave.  
 Sacramento, CA 95817-3199  
 Contact: Dr. William H. Lee, Editor  
 Phone: (916) 452-4781  
 Fax: (916) 452-7744  
 Political Reporter: Dr. William H. Lee  
 Publisher: Dr. William H. Lee  
 Circulation: 50,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Sacramento and  
 Northern Calif.  
 Deadline: Tuesdays by 5pm

The San Bernadino American  
 Newspaper  
 1583 West Baseline St.  
 San Bernadino, CA 92411  
 Contact: Sam Martin, Editor  
 Phone: (909) 889-7677  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Sam Martin  
 Publisher: Willie H. Martin  
 Circulation: 5,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: San Bernadino  
 County, CA  
 Deadline: Mondays at noon

The Southwest Wave  
 2126 West 54th Street  
 Los Angeles, CA 90043  
 Contact: Ms. Alice Marshall  
 Phone: (213) 290-3000  
 Fax: (213) 291-0219  
 Political Reporter: Ms. Alice Marshall  
 Publisher: Dr. C.Z. Wilson  
 Circulation: 300,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Distribution: Los Angeles and South LA  
 County  
 Deadline: Thursdays at noon

Tri County Bulletin  
 1677 West Baseline St.  
 San Bernadino, CA 92411  
 Contact: A. Brian Townsend, Editor  
 Phone: (909) 889-0597  
 Fax: (909) 889-1706  
 Political Reporter: A. Brian Townsend  
 Publisher: A. Brian Townsend  
 Circulation: 10,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Orange County,  
 CA  
 Comments: While Clinton was running  
 in '92, he placed ads in this paper

Westside Story Newspaper  
 498 West Court Street, Suite 210  
 San Bernadino, CA 92401  
 Contact: Ms. Che A. Brown  
 Phone: (909) 384-8131  
 Fax: (909) 384-8133  
 Political Reporter: Ms. Che A. Brown  
 Publisher: Mr. Wallace J. Allen  
 Circulation: 30,000  
 Frequency of Publication: Weekly  
 Distribution: Inland Empire  
 Deadline: Wednesday by 2:00pm

Urban Spectrum  
 PO Box 31001  
 Aurora, CO 80041  
 Phone: (303) 860-9148  
 Fax: (303) 860-9695  
 Political Reporter: Robert A. Stewart  
 Publisher: Rosaland J. Harris  
 Circulation: 15,000  
 Frequency: Monthly  
 Area of Distribution: Denver Metro Area  
 Deadline: The 20th of every month by 4pm

The Final Call  
 236 Massachusetts Ave., NE Suite 204  
 Washington, DC 20002  
 Contact: James Muhammad, Editor  
 Phone: (202) 543-7796  
 Fax: (202) 543-8074  
 Political Reporter: James Muhammad  
 Publisher: Hon. Louis Farrakhan  
 Circulation: 300,000  
 Frequency: Bi-Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Nationally  
 Comments: Main office address: 734  
 West 79th St. Chicago, IL 60620

Washington City Paper  
 2390 Champlain St. NW  
 Washington, DC 20009  
 Contact: (202) 332-2100  
 Fax: (202) 462-8323  
 Political Reporter: Jack Shafer  
 Publisher: Thomas Yoder  
 Circulation: 92,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Metropolitan  
 Washington  
 Deadline: Two weeks in advance

Delaware Defender  
 PO Box 828  
 Wilmington, DE 19899  
 Contact: Ms. A. G. Hibbert, Editor  
 Phone: (302) 656-3252  
 Fax: (215) 471-1130  
 Political Reporter: Ms. A.G. Hibbert  
 Publisher: none- published in house  
 Circulation: 15,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Delaware Valley,  
 South Jersey and Northern Maryland  
 and Southeastern Pennsylvania  
 Deadline: Friday by 5pm

The Bulletin  
 PO Box 2560  
 Sarasota, FL 34230  
 Contact: Ms. R.J. Bacon, Managing  
 Editor  
 Phone: (813) 953-9990  
 Fax: Unavailable  
 Political Reporter: Richard Wright  
 Publisher: Fred Bacon  
 Circulation: 18,525  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Sarasota,  
 Manatee, Desosa, Charlotte, Pinellas  
 Counties, FL  
 Deadline: Mondays at noon  
 Comments: Fred Bacon is the president  
 of the Florida Publishers

Dollar Stretcher  
 PO Box 80205  
 Tampa, FL 33674  
 Contact: Tonya Matos, Editor  
 Phone: (813) 930-9599  
 Fax: (813) 833-0711  
 Political Reporter: Yasmin R. Cooper  
 Publisher: Yasmin R. Cooper  
 Circulation: 2,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Palm Beach  
 County and a few other US cities  
 Deadline: Mondays by 5pm

Florida State News  
 PO Box 40629  
 Jacksonville, FL 32203  
 Contact: Erica P. Simpson, Managing  
 Editor  
 Phone: (904) 766-8834  
 Fax: (904) 766-1673  
 Political Reporter: Ron E. Williams  
 Publisher: Eric O. Simpson  
 Circulation: 24,322  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Florida  
 Deadline: Thursday by 4:30 pm

Palm Beach Gazette  
 201 E. 23rd St.  
 Riviera Beach, FL 33404  
 Contact: Gwendolyn C. Ivory, Publisher  
 Phone: (407) 844-5501  
 Fax: Unavailable  
 Political Reporter: Gwendolyn C. Ivory  
 Publisher: Gwendolyn C. Ivory  
 Circulation: 3,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Palm Beach  
 County, FL  
 Deadline: Varies  
 Comments: Prefers to have items  
 mailed

The Augusta Focus  
 PO Box 10112  
 Augusta, GA 30901  
 Contact: Frederick Benjamin, Editor-in-  
 Chief  
 Phone: (706) 722-7327  
 Fax: (706) 724-6969  
 Political Reporter: Frederick Benjamin  
 Publisher: Sen. Charles Walker, Sr.  
 Circulation: 18,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Augusta, GA  
 Deadline: Tuesday by 5pm

Georgia Sentinel Bulletin  
 75 Piedmont Ave., NE Suite 370  
 Atlanta, GA 30303  
 Contact: Andre White, Editor  
 Phone: (404) 577-4091  
 Fax: (404) 221-1534  
 Political Reporter: Andre White, Jr.  
 Publisher: Andre White, Jr.  
 Circulation: 24,000  
 Frequency of Distribution: Metropolitan  
 Atlanta  
 Deadline: Monday by 2pm

The People's Crusader  
 PO Box 50280  
 Atlanta, GA 30302  
 Contact: Martha Groomes, Editor  
 Phone: (404) 373-5751  
 Fax: (404) 681-1688  
 Political Reporter: Martha Groomes  
 Publisher: Martha Groomes  
 Circulation: 25,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Atlanta and Dekalb  
 Counties  
 Deadline: Tuesdays at noon  
 Comments: Alternate phone: (404) 691-  
 9201

Austin Weekly Voice  
 1753 N. New England Ave.  
 Chicago, IL 60635-4404  
 Phone: (312) 237-9351  
 Contact: Liliana Drechney, Editor  
 Fax: (312) 487-7931  
 Political Reporter: Billy Montgomery  
 Publisher: William Garth  
 Circulation: 112,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Cook County, IL  
 and other US cities  
 Deadline: Mondays at noon  
 Comments: Call before faxing

All Chicago Focus Newspaper  
 9300 S. Ashland Ave., Suite 6  
 Chicago, IL 60620  
 Contact: Dorthea Drew, Editor  
 Phone: (312) 881-4015  
 Fax: (312) 881-6827  
 Political Reporter: Dothea Drew  
 Publisher: Dorthea Drew  
 Circulation: 20,000  
 Frequency: weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Chicago, IL  
 Deadline: Week and a half in advance  
 Comments: Multi-cultural newspaper

The Austin Voice Newspaper  
 5309 West North Ave.  
 Chicago, IL 60639  
 Contact: Brad G. Cummings, Editor  
 Phone: (312) 921-5505  
 Fax: (312) 921-5508  
 Political Reporter: Isaac Jones  
 Publisher: Isaac Jones  
 Circulation: 30,000  
 Frequency: Bi-weekly  
 Area of distribution: Chicago Westside  
 Deadline: Week in Advance

Chicago Scene  
 7148 South Exchange  
 Chicago, IL 60649  
 Contact: Odu Oqueri, Publisher  
 Phone: (312) 731-5517  
 Fax: (312) 731-5697  
 Political Reporter: none  
 Publisher: Odu Oqueri  
 Circulation: 30,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Chicago and Gary,  
 IN  
 Deadline: Thursdays

Chicago Westside Journal  
 16618 S. Hermitage St.  
 Markham, IL 60426  
 Contact: Don McIlvaine, Editor  
 Phone: (708) 333-2210  
 Fax: (708) 339-8769  
 Political Reporter: Don McIlvaine  
 Publisher: Don McIlvaine  
 Circulation: 40,000  
 Frequency: weekly  
 Area of distribution: Westside of  
 Chicago  
 Deadline: Tuesday at 5pm

Chicago South Shore Scene  
 PO Box 49007  
 Chicago, IL 60649  
 Contact: Dr. Claudette McFarland,  
 Editor-Publisher  
 Phone: (312) 363-0441  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Dr. Claudette  
 McFarland  
 Publisher: Dr. Claudette McFarland  
 Circulation: 80,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Central Chicago  
 and SE Chicago  
 Deadline: Thursday by 5pm  
 Comments: Address packages to Dr.  
 Claudette McFarland - Editor/Publisher

Jet Magazine  
 820 S. Michigan Ave.  
 Chicago, IL 60605  
 Contact: Robert E. Johnson, Editor  
 Phone: (312) 322-9200  
 Fax: (312) 322-9375  
 Political Reporter: Robert E. Johnson  
 Publisher: Robert E. Johnson  
 Circulation: 900,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Monday/Thursday  
 at noon

The L & P Enterprises  
 615 South Halstead  
 Chicago Heights, IL 60411  
 Contact: Lorenzo Martin, Editor  
 Phone: (708) 755-5021  
 Fax: (708) 755-5020  
 Political Reporter: Ms. Pat Martin  
 Publisher: Lorenzo Martin  
 Circulation: 40,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Cook, Will  
 Counties, IL  
 Deadline: Friday by 5pm

Info Printing and Publishing  
 PO Box M 587  
 Gary, IN 46401  
 Contact: Imogene Harris, Editor  
 Phone: (219) 882-5591  
 Fax: (219) 886-1090  
 Political Reporter: Imogene Harris  
 Publisher: Imogene Harris  
 Circulation: 40,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Gary and  
 Northwest, IN  
 Deadline: Monday by 5pm

The Muncie Times  
 1304 North Broadway  
 Muncie, IN 47303  
 Contact: Dr. T.S. Kumbula, Editor  
 Phone: (317) 741-0037  
 Fax: (317) 741-0037  
 Political Reporter: Dr. T.S. Kumbula  
 Publisher: Beatrice Foster]  
 Circulation: 3,000  
 Frequency: Bi-monthly  
 Area of Distribution: Madison,  
 Richmond, New Castle, Delaware  
 counties  
 Deadline: Week in advance

Baton Rouge Post  
 326 South 11th St.  
 Baton Rouge, LA 70802  
 Contact: Willis V. Reed, Editor  
 Phone: (504) 344-0595  
 Fax: (504) 344-0595  
 Political Reporter: Willis V. Reed  
 Circulation: 5,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: East Baton Rouge,  
 Parrish, LA  
 Deadline: Mondays by 5pm

The Weekly Press  
 PO Box 74485  
 Baton Rouge, LA 70874  
 Contact: Cassie Payne, Editor  
 Phone: (504) 775-2002  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Cassie Payne  
 Publisher: Ivory Payne  
 Circulation: 19,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: West Baton  
 Rouge, Parrish, LA  
 Deadline: Tuesday by 5pm

The Missouri State Post  
 PO Box 414662  
 Kansas City, MO 64141  
 Contact: Samuel F. Jordan, Jr.,  
 Managing Editor  
 Phone: (816) 561-7500  
 Fax: (913) 287-4506  
 Political Reporter: Samuel Jordan, Jr.  
 Publisher: Minority Press Service  
 Circulation: 30,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Statewide  
 Deadline: Monday by 5pm (Tuesday by  
 5pm for faxes)  
 Comments: Editor in Chief of both the  
 Missouri State Post and the Kansas  
 State Globe is Mr. Samuel F. Jordan,  
 Sr.

St. Louis Crusader  
 4371 Finney Ave.  
 St. Louis, MO 63113  
 Contact: William P. Russell, Editor  
 Phone: (314) 531-5860  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Cleo Williams  
 Publisher: William P. Russell  
 Circulation: 15,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: St. Louis Metro  
 area  
 Deadline: Sat. at noon

Bay State Banner  
 925 Washington St. Suite 9  
 Dorchester, MA 02124  
 Contact: Mr. Robin Washington,  
 Managing Editor  
 Phone: (617) 357-4900  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Robin Washington  
 Publisher: Melvin Miller  
 Circulation: 10,500  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Suffolk County, MA  
 Deadline: Monday at noon

Las Vegas Sentinel Voice  
 1201 S. Eastern Ave.  
 Las Vegas, NV 89104  
 Contact: Mr. Lee Brown  
 Phone: (702) 383-4030  
 Fax: (702) 383-3114  
 Political Reporter: Lee Brown  
 Publisher: Lee Brown  
 Circulation: 7,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Clark County, NV  
 Deadline: Tuesdays at noon

The Omaha Star Newspaper  
 PO Box 11128  
 Omaha, NE 68111-0128  
 Contact: Marguerita G. Washington,  
 Editor  
 Phone: (402) 346-4041  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Ms. M.G.  
 Washington  
 Publisher: Ms. Marguerita Washington  
 Circulation: 30,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Statewide  
 Deadline: Tuesdays at noon

Black Enterprise  
 130 5th Ave.  
 New York, NY 10011  
 Contact: Alfred Edmond, Executive  
 Editor  
 Phone: (212) 242-8000  
 Fax: (212) 886-9610  
 Political Reporter: Alfred Edmond  
 Publisher: Earl G. Graves  
 Circulation: 288,000  
 Frequency: Monthly  
 Area of Distribution: Nationally  
 Deadline: 3 months in advance

Carib News  
 15 West 39th St. 13th Floor  
 New York, NY 10018  
 Contact: Michael Roberts, Chief Editor  
 Phone: (212) 944-1991  
 Fax: (212) 944-2089  
 Political Reporter: Karl B. Rodney  
 Publisher: Karl B. Rodney  
 Circulation: 67,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: NYC Metro Area  
 Deadline: Friday by 5:30

The Hudson Valley Black Press  
 PO Box 2160  
 Newburgh, NY 12250  
 Contact: Chuck A. Stewart, Editor  
 Phone: (914) 562-1313  
 Fax: (914) 562-1348  
 Political Reporter: Chuck A. Stewart  
 Publisher: Chuck Stewart  
 Circulation: 42,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Orange, Dutchess,  
 Westchester, Rockland, Ulster, Sullivan  
 Counties  
 Deadline: Friday by 5pm

The Militant  
 410 West St., Fifth Floor  
 New York, NY 10014  
 Contact: Mr. Argiris Malapanis, Editor  
 Phone: (212) 243-6392  
 Fax: (212) 924-6040  
 Political Reporter: Argitis Malapanis  
 Publisher: Davis Prince  
 Circulation: 20,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: East Coast and  
 West Coast of the US  
 Deadline: Tuesday at noon

New York Fine Print News  
 PO Box 57 Ellicott Station  
 Buffalo, NY 14205  
 Contact: Ron H. Fleming, Editor  
 Phone: (716) 855-3810  
 Fax: (716) 855-3810  
 Political Reporter: Ron H. Fleming  
 Publisher: Ron H. Fleming  
 Circulation: 10,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Western New York  
 Deadline: Wednesday at noon

The Westchester County Press  
 PO Box 1631  
 White Plains, NY 10602  
 Contact: Paul Redd, Editor  
 Phone: (914) 684-0006  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Paul Redd  
 Publisher: Paul Redd  
 Circulation: 12,500  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Westchester  
 County, The Bronx, and Manhattan, NY  
 Deadline: Friday preceding the  
 Thursday run date

The Public Post  
 PO Box 1093  
 Raeford, NC 28376  
 Contact: Roosevelt McPherson, Editor  
 Phone: (910) 875-9038  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Roosevelt McPherson  
 Publisher: Roosevelt McPherson  
 Circulation: 3,200  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Scotland, Hoke,  
 Cumberland Counties, NC  
 Deadline: Mondays at noon

The Star of Zion  
 PO Box 31005  
 Charlotte, NC 28231  
 Contact: Dr. Morgan W. Tann, Editor  
 Phone: (704) 377-4329  
 Fax: (704) 333-1769 (DON'T USE!)  
 Political Reporter: Dr. Morgan W. Tann  
 Publisher: AME Zion Publishing House  
 Circulation: 8,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: National  
 Deadline: Tuesdays at noon  
 Comments: Only wants faxes of 3 pgs.  
 or less. Call before faxing

The Informer  
 805 North Homewood Ave.  
 Pittsburgh, PA 15208  
 Contact: Ms. Danean Fagan, Editor  
 Phone: (412) 243-4114  
 Fax: (412) 243-8540  
 Political Reporter: Danean Fagan  
 Publisher: Danean Fagan  
 Circulation: 60,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Allegheny County,  
 PA  
 Deadline: Wednesday by 5pm

Minority Business Journal  
 PO Box 3543  
 Pittsburgh, PA 15230  
 Contact: James D. Lewis, Editor  
 Phone: (412) 682-4386  
 Fax: None  
 Political Reporter: Nicholas D. Hunter  
 Publisher: Bi-monthly  
 Area of Distribution: Nationally  
 Deadline: 15th of the month

Renaissance Publications  
 1516 Fifth Ave.  
 Pittsburgh, PA 15219  
 Contact: Connie Portis, Editor  
 Phone: (412) 391-8208  
 Fax: (412) 391-8006  
 Political Reporter: Ms. Connie Portis  
 Publisher: Connie Portis  
 Circulation: 30,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Pittsburgh, PA  
 Deadline: Mondays at noon

The Pee Dee Newspaper Group  
 PO Box 4198  
 Florence, SC 29502-4198  
 Contact: BoBBY Ross, Editor  
 Phone: (803) 667-1818  
 Fax: (803) 662-9880 - (DON'T USE!)  
 Political Reporter: BoBBY Ross  
 Publisher: Larry Smith  
 Circulation: 45,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: SC and NC  
 Deadline: Tuesday by 5pm  
 Comments: The Editor spells his name  
 B-o-B-B-y. This is not a joke. DO NOT  
 WANT FAXES!

The Metro Forum  
 PO Box 236  
 Jackson, TN 38302  
 Contact: Mr. Bobby Lee, Editor  
 Phone: (901) 427-3477  
 Fax: (901) 427-7989  
 Political Reporter: Bobby Lee  
 Publisher: Bobby Lee  
 Circulation: 10,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: West TN  
 Deadline: Mondays by 5pm

Silver Star News  
 3144 Park Ave. Suite A  
 Memphis, TN 38111  
 Contact: Jimmy Delnoah Williams,  
 Editor  
 Phone: (901) 324-3144  
 Fax: (901) 452-1656  
 Political Reporter: Jimmy D. Williams  
 Publisher: Jimmy D. Williams  
 Circulation: 16,500  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Shelby County, TN  
 Deadline: Mondays by noon  
 Comments: This paper is affiliated with  
 Southern Star Weekend Newspaper.

The Southern Star Weekend  
 Newspaper  
 3144 Park Ave., Suite C  
 Memphis, TN 38111  
 Contact: Ms. Demetrius Williams, Editor  
 Phone: (901) 452-8828  
 Fax: (901) 452-1656  
 Political Reporter: Jimmy D. Williams  
 Publisher: Jimmy D. Williams  
 Circulation: 13,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Shelby County, TN  
 Deadline: Mondays at noon  
 Comments: This paper is affiliated with  
 Silver Star News

Houston News Pages  
 PO Box 14035  
 Houston, TX 77021-2909  
 Contact: Diana Falls, Editor  
 Phone: (713) 645-6386  
 Fax: (713) 645-6388  
 Political Reporter: Deborah Scott  
 Publisher: Mr. Frances Page, Sr.  
 Circulation: 63,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Harris, Ft. Ben,  
 Galveston, Waller Counties  
 Deadline: Tuesdays by 5pm

Texas Times  
 PO Box 1228  
 Ft. Worth, TX 76101  
 Contact: Mary Webber, Editor  
 Phone: (817) 926-4666  
 Fax: (817) 923-9209  
 Political Reporter: Woodie Webber  
 Publisher: Woodie Webber  
 Circulation: 50,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Tarrant County, TX  
 Deadline: Mondays by 5pm

US Africa  
 8303 S.W. Freeway Suite 755  
 Houston, TX 77074  
 Contact: Chido Nwamgwu, Editor  
 Phone: (713) 270-5500  
 Fax: (713) 270-8131  
 Political Reporter: Chido Nwamgwu  
 Publisher: Chido Nwamgwu  
 Circulation: 25,000  
 Frequency: Monthly  
 Area of Distribution: National  
 Deadline: 15th of the month

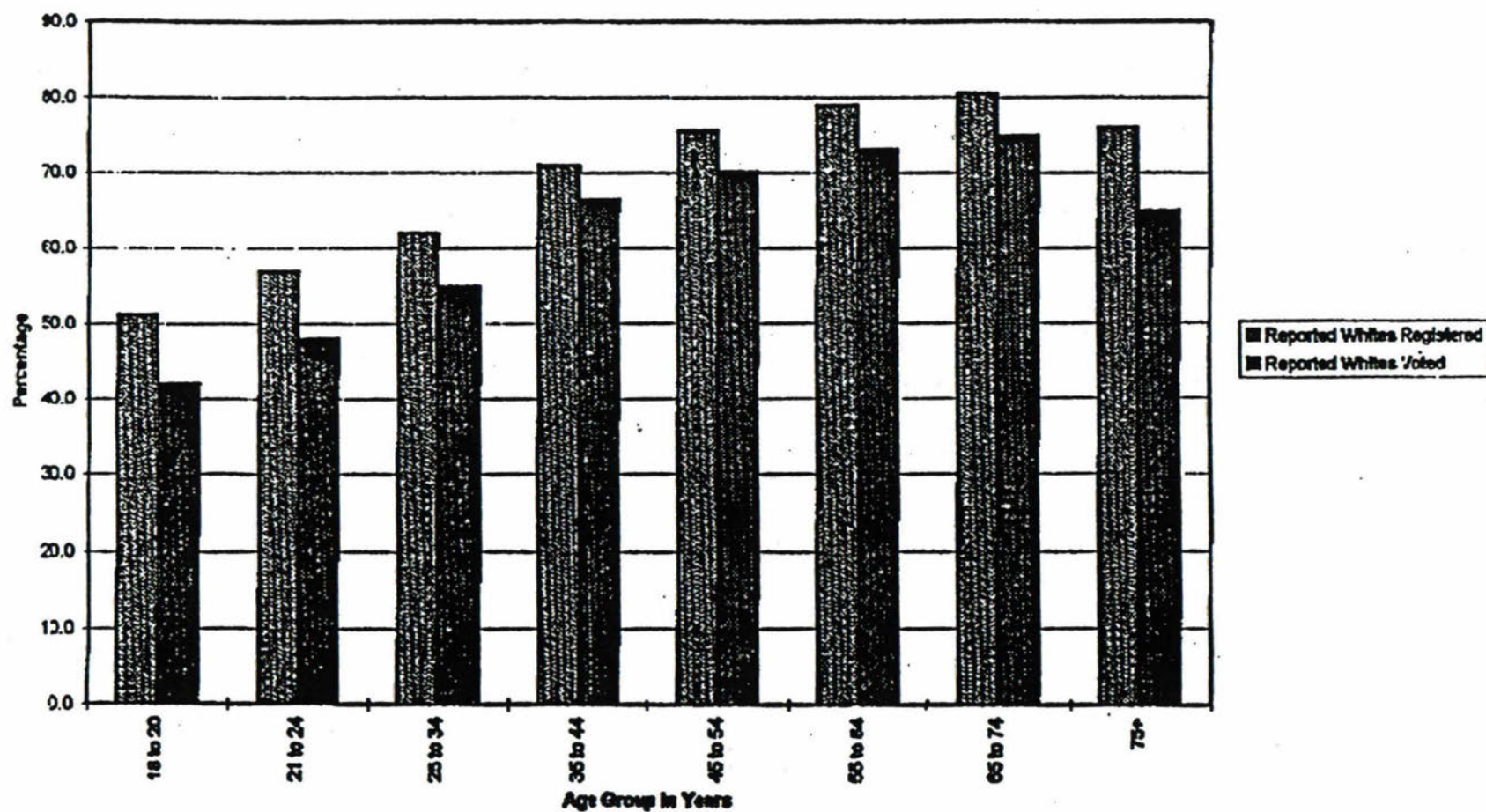
The Charlottesville Tribune  
 PO Box 3428  
 Charlottesville, VA 22903  
 Contact: Agnes White, Editor  
 Phone: (804) 979-0373  
 Fax: (804) 971-5821  
 Political Reporter: David White  
 Publisher: Agnes White  
 Circulation: 4,500  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Albemarle, Greene,  
 Louisa Counties, VA  
 Deadline: Tuesdays by 3pm

Richmond Free Press  
 PO Box 27709  
 Richmond, VA 23261  
 Phone: (804) 644-0496  
 Fax: (804) 643-7519  
 Political Reporter: Raymond H. Boone  
 Publisher: Raymond H. Boone  
 Circulation: 25,000  
 Frequency: Weekly  
 Area of Distribution: Henrico,  
 Chesterfield, Hanover Counties VA as  
 well as the city of Richmond  
 Deadline: Friday by 5pm

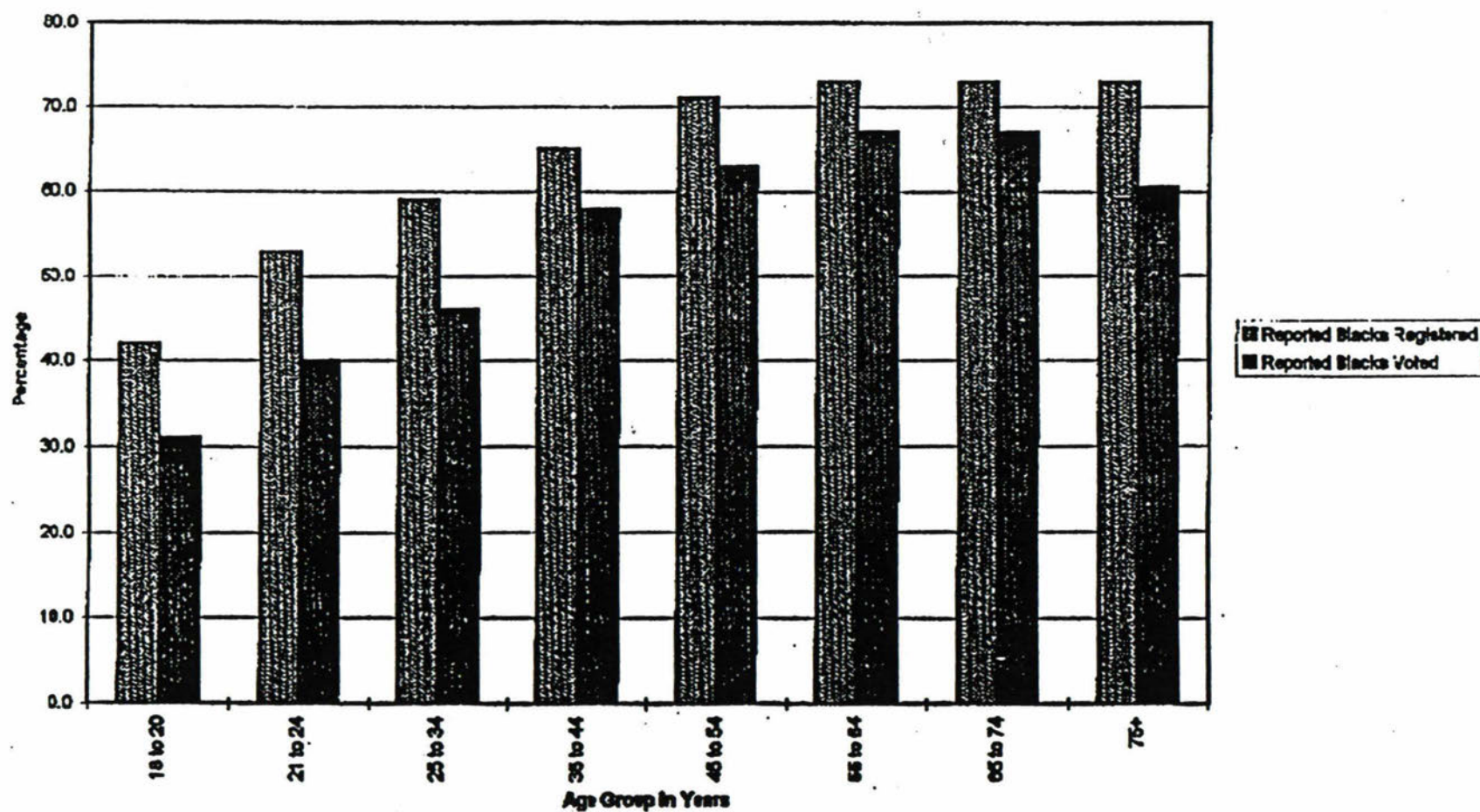
Valley Informer  
 PO Box 3585  
 Huntsville, AL 35810  
 Phone: (205) 859-9078  
 Fax: (205) 852-3791  
 Contact: Deborah Smith

TAB A

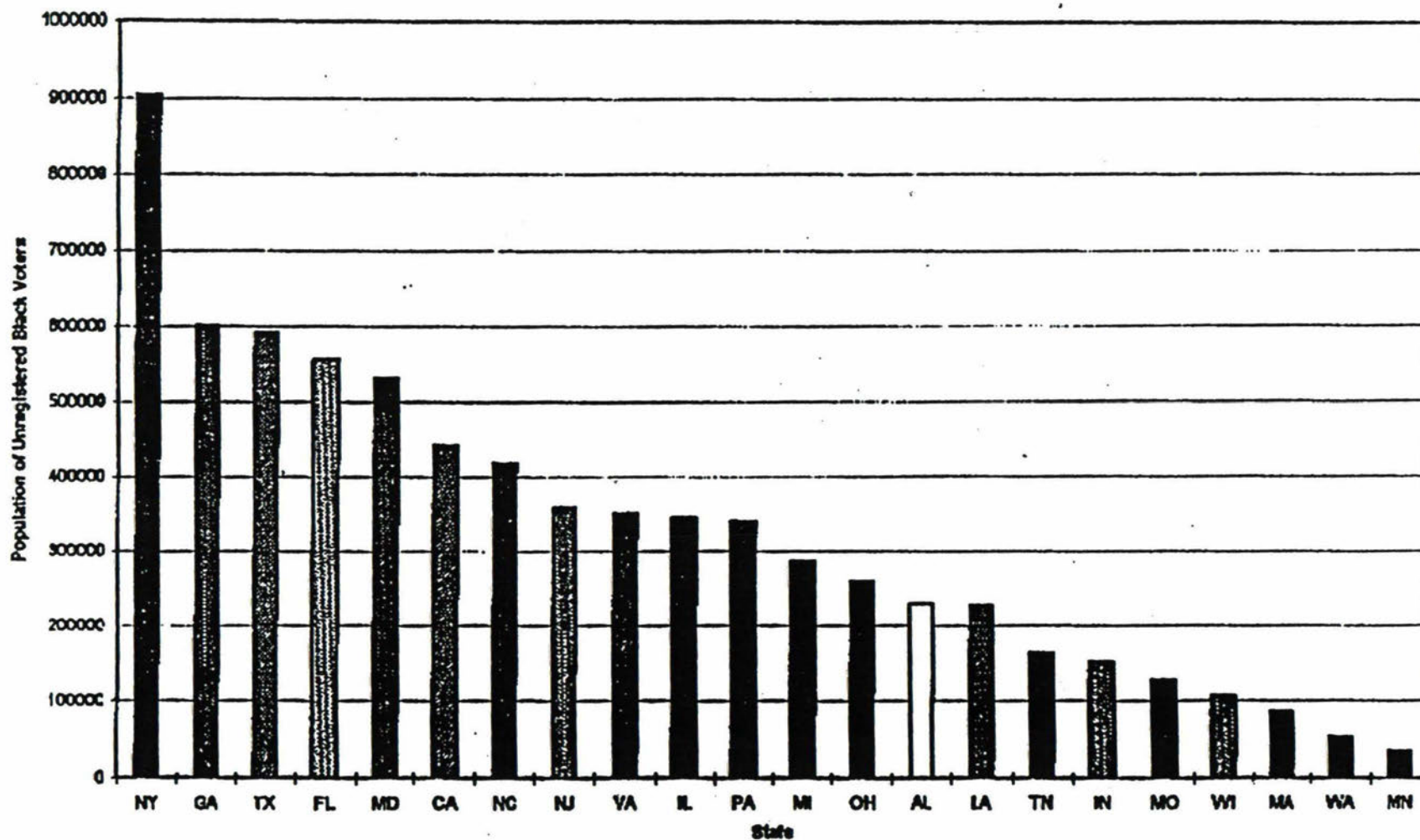
# White Voters: Percent Registered and Percent Voted



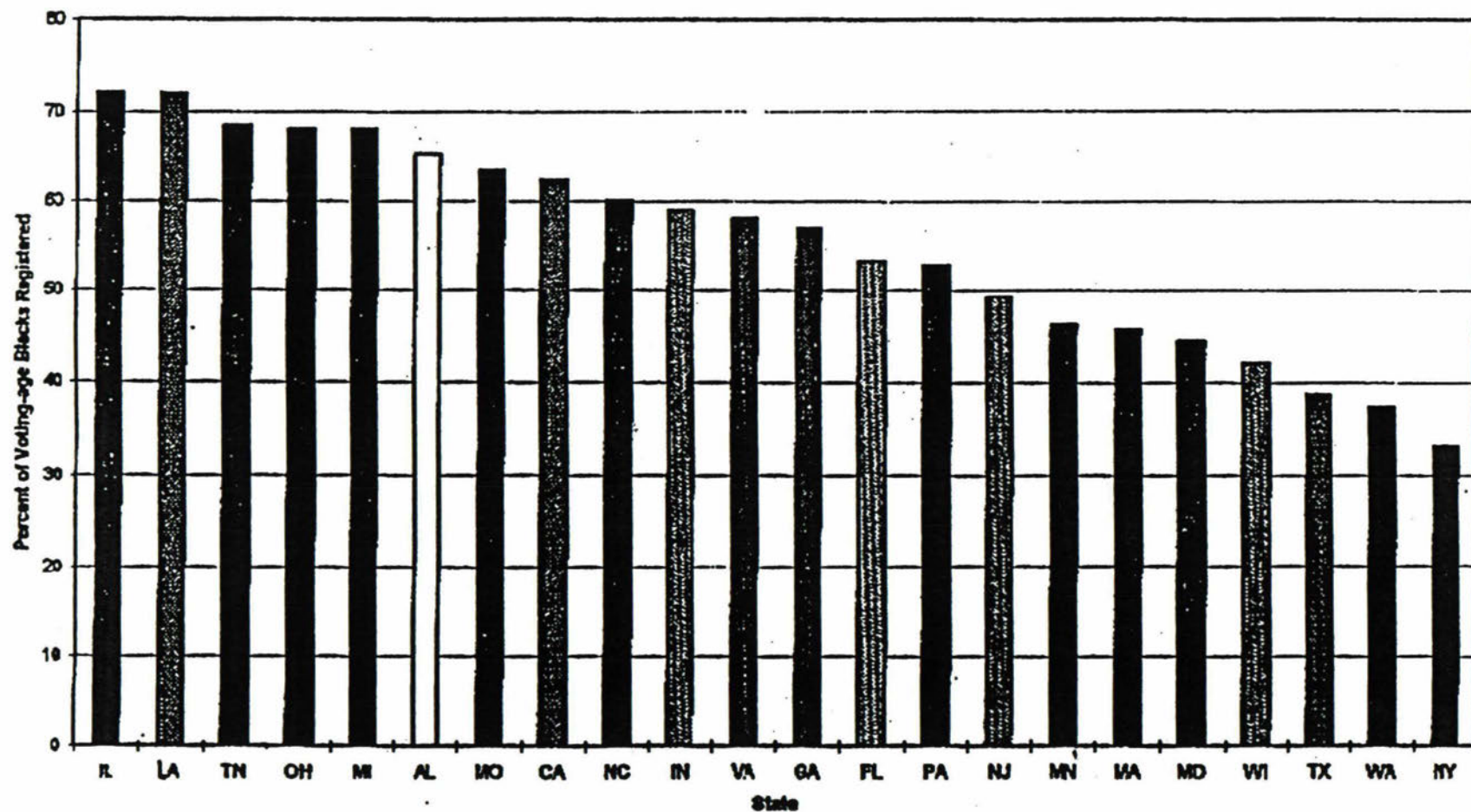
## Black Voters: Percent Registered and Percent Voted



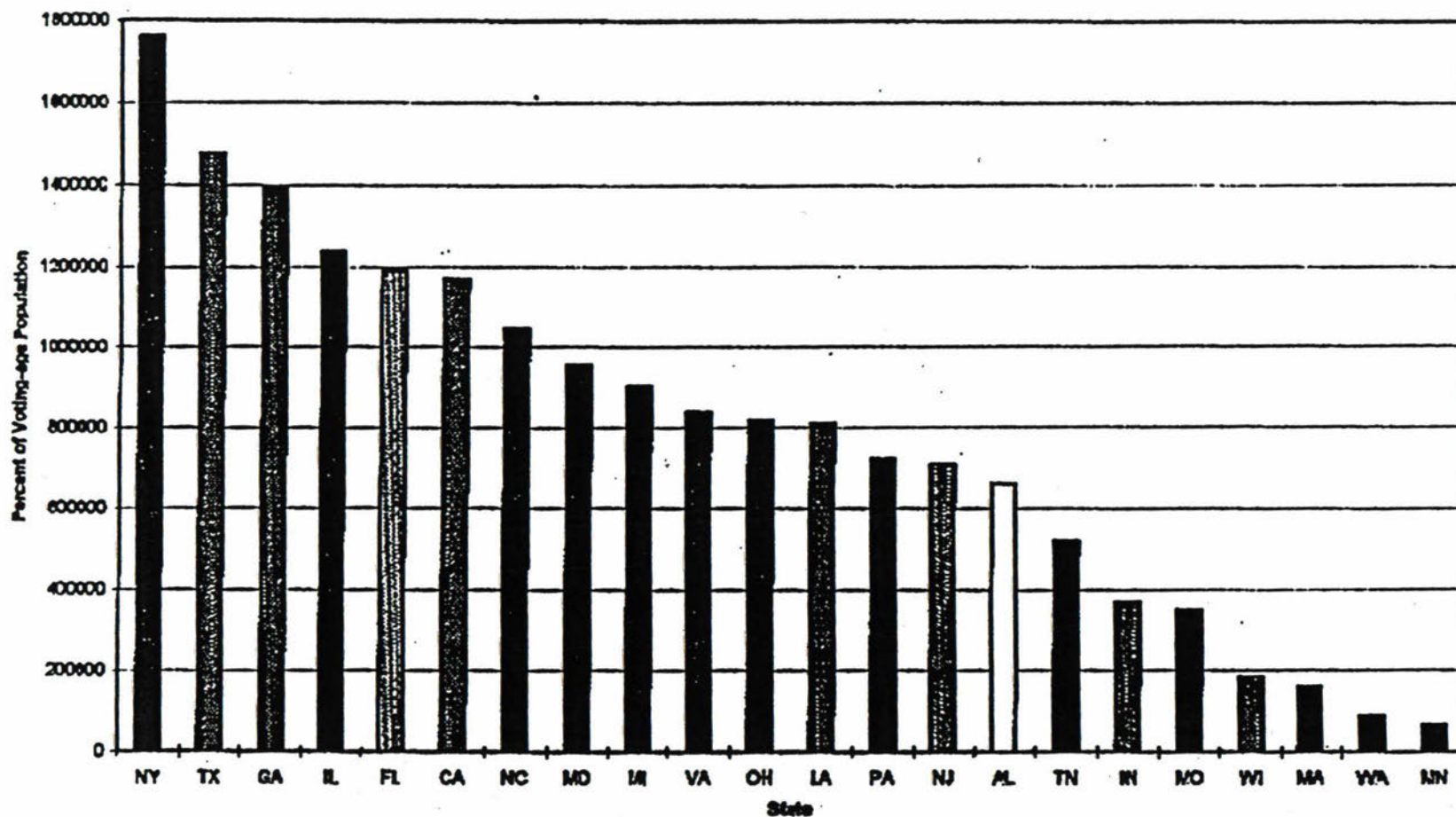
## Unregistered Black Voting-age Population



# Percent of Registered Black Voters by State in Rank Order



# Blacks as a Percentage of Overall Voting Age Population by State in Rank Order



Lester and Associates

# The Distribution of the African-American Vote, 1988-1992

| State          | Black Share of Total Vote       |                                 |                                   | Parity                   |                          | Black Democratic Vote    |                          | Total Black Vote            |                             |                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
|                | Actual 1988 <sup>1</sup><br>(%) | Actual 1992 <sup>2</sup><br>(%) | Eligible 1990 <sup>3</sup><br>(%) | 1988 <sup>4</sup><br>(%) | 1992 <sup>5</sup><br>(%) | 1988 <sup>1</sup><br>(%) | 1992 <sup>2</sup><br>(%) | 1988 <sup>6</sup><br>(000s) | 1992 <sup>7</sup><br>(000s) | Change 1988-92<br>(%) |
| Alabama        | 20                              | 16                              | 22.7                              | 88                       | 70                       | 90                       | 93                       | 276                         | 270                         | -2.0                  |
| Arkansas       | 13                              | 9                               | 13.7                              | 95                       | 66                       | 91                       | na                       | 108                         | 86                          | -20.5                 |
| California     | 6                               | 6                               | 7.0                               | 86                       | 86                       | 80                       | 83                       | 593                         | 668                         | 12.6                  |
| Florida        | 8                               | 9                               | 11.4                              | 70                       | 79                       | 77                       | 85                       | 344                         | 478                         | 38.9                  |
| Georgia        | 19                              | 20                              | 24.6                              | 77                       | 81                       | 91                       | 87                       | 344                         | 464                         | 35.0                  |
| Illinois       | 8                               | 14                              | 13.4                              | 60                       | 104                      | 92                       | 90                       | 365                         | 707                         | 93.9                  |
| Indiana        | 7                               | 6                               | 7.1                               | 99                       | 85                       | 81                       | na                       | 152                         | 138                         | -8.8                  |
| Louisiana      | 21                              | 27                              | 27.9                              | 75                       | 97                       | 96                       | 87                       | 342                         | 483                         | 41.4                  |
| Maryland       | 19                              | 17                              | 23.5                              | 81                       | 72                       | 88                       | 87                       | 326                         | 337                         | 3.5                   |
| Michigan       | 8                               | 9                               | 12.8                              | 63                       | 70                       | 92                       | 86                       | 293                         | 385                         | 31.5                  |
| Mississippi    | 25                              | 27                              | 31.6                              | 79                       | 85                       | 92                       | 90                       | 233                         | 265                         | 13.8                  |
| Missouri       | 8                               | 8                               | 9.7                               | 83                       | 83                       | 92                       | 89                       | 167                         | 191                         | 14.2                  |
| New Jersey     | 7                               | 10                              | 12.4                              | 57                       | 81                       | 79                       | 84                       | 217                         | 334                         | 54.1                  |
| New York       | 9                               | 10                              | 14.7                              | 61                       | 68                       | 89                       | 86                       | 584                         | 708                         | 21.3                  |
| North Carolina | 12                              | 15                              | 20.1                              | 60                       | 75                       | 87                       | 91                       | 256                         | 392                         | 53.0                  |
| Ohio           | 12                              | 10                              | 9.8                               | 122                      | 102                      | 92                       | 83                       | 527                         | 494                         | -6.3                  |
| Pennsylvania   | 9                               | 5                               | 8.5                               | 106                      | 59                       | 89                       | 84                       | 408                         | 248                         | -39.3                 |
| South Carolina | 20                              | 22                              | 26.9                              | 74                       | 82                       | 92                       | 91                       | 197                         | 250                         | 26.8                  |
| Tennessee      | 12                              | 10                              | 14.4                              | 83                       | 69                       | 91                       | 96                       | 196                         | 198                         | 1.0                   |
| Texas          | 8                               | 13                              | 11.2                              | 71                       | 116                      | 93                       | 84                       | 434                         | 800                         | 84.3                  |
| Virginia       | 15                              | 17                              | 17.6                              | 85                       | 96                       | 88                       | 85                       | 329                         | 435                         | 32.3                  |

SOURCES: 1. *The 88' Vote*, ABC/Capital Cities. 2. Voter Research and Surveys, 1992 Exit Polls. 3. 1990 U.S. Census. NOTES: 4. 1988 Black Share of Total + Black Share of Eligible Electorate. 5. 1992 Black Share of Total + Black Share of Eligible Electorate. 6. Estimate: Total Vote 1988 (*America Votes, 19*) \* Black Share of Total (*The 88' Vote*, ABC/Capital Cities). 7. Estimate: Total Vote 1992 (Official Results) \* Black Share of Total (Voter Research and Surveys, 1992 Exit Polls). na: not available. Entries for southern states are shaded.

### The African-American Vote, 1992 vs. 1988

| State        | Black Democratic Vote |             |                         | Clinton Margin of Victory (Loss) |           | Black Democratic Share of Total 1992 Vote (%) | Black Share of Democratic Total |          |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
|              | 1988 (000s)           | 1992 (000s) | Change 1988-1992 (000s) | Total (000s)                     | Total (%) |                                               | 1992 (%)                        | 1988 (%) |
| Alabama      | 248                   | 251         | 3                       | (114)                            | (6.7)     | 14.9                                          | 36.4                            | 45.5     |
| Arkansas     | 98                    | na          | na                      | 168                              | 17.7      | na                                            | na                              | 28.5     |
| California   | 475                   | 554         | 80                      | 1,491                            | 13.4      | 5.0                                           | 10.8                            | 11.5     |
| Florida      | 265                   | 406         | 141                     | (100)                            | (1.9)     | 7.7                                           | 19.6                            | 15.8     |
| Georgia      | 313                   | 404         | 91                      | 14                               | 0.6       | 17.4                                          | 40.0                            | 44.2     |
| Illinois     | 336                   | 636         | 301                     | 719                              | 14.3      | 12.6                                          | 25.9                            | 16.4     |
| Indiana      | 123                   | n/a         | n/a                     | (141)                            | (6.1)     | na                                            | na                              | 14.5     |
| Louisiana    | 328                   | 420         | 92                      | 83                               | 4.6       | 23.5                                          | 51.5                            | 45.9     |
| Maryland     | 287                   | 293         | 7                       | 281                              | 14.2      | 14.8                                          | 29.7                            | 34.6     |
| Michigan     | 269                   | 331         | 62                      | 316                              | 7.4       | 7.7                                           | 17.7                            | 16.4     |
| Mississippi  | 214                   | 239         | 24                      | (88)                             | (8.9)     | 24.3                                          | 59.6                            | 59.4     |
| Missouri     | 154                   | 170         | 16                      | 243                              | 10.2      | 7.1                                           | 16.2                            | 15.5     |
| New Jersey   | 171                   | 281         | 109                     | 79                               | 2.4       | 8.4                                           | 19.6                            | 13.2     |
| New York     | 520                   | 609         | 41                      | 1,098                            | 15.6      | 8.6                                           | 17.7                            | 16.3     |
| North        | 223                   | 357         | 129                     | (21)                             | (0.7)     | 13.7                                          | 32.0                            | 25.2     |
| Ohio         | 485                   | 410         | -75                     | 91                               | 1.9       | 8.3                                           | 20.7                            | 24.8     |
| Pennsylvania | 363                   | 208         | -155                    | 447                              | 9.0       | 4.2                                           | 9.3                             | 16.7     |
| South        | 181                   | 228         | 46                      | (98)                             | (8.6)     | 20.0                                          | 47.5                            | 48.9     |
| Tennessee    | 179                   | 190         | 12                      | 92                               | 4.7       | 9.6                                           | 20.4                            | 26.7     |
| Texas        | 404                   | 672         | 268                     | (214)                            | (3.5)     | 10.9                                          | 29.5                            | 19.1     |
| Virginia     | 289                   | 370         | 80                      | (112)                            | (4.4)     | 14.5                                          | 35.6                            | 34.1     |

SOURCES: *America Votes, 19, The 88th Vote*, ABC/Capital Cities, Official Returns, 1992, and Voter Research and Surveys, 1992 Exit Polls.  
na: not available Entries for southern states are shaded.

## **Rollout Milestones**

### **January**

- Plan presented, reviewed and key recommendations accepted
- Agreement on Clinton-Gore '96 Committee Co-Chairs
- Agreement on top two campaign staff positions
- Agreement on February scheduling

### **February**

- Agreement on state structures
- Rollout of state steering committees
- Political appointees briefed
- Agreement on March scheduling

### **March**

- Agreement on media plan
- Campaign budget approved
- Agreement on April scheduling