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HOLD FOR RELEASE, SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1973, 10:00 A.M.

POLITICS OF POVERTY -- DESPAIR

OHIO REPUBLICAN COUNCIL SPRING CONFERENCE
COLUMBUS, OHIO.



BY:

STANLEY S. SCOTT
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

I AM PLEASED TO BE WITH YOU. AS YOU MAY KNOW
I GREW UP IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA AND OTHER PARTS
OF THE SOUTH. I KNEW WHAT IT WAS TO BE POOR AND TO
BE BLACK LONG BEFORE BLACK BECAME BEAUTIFUL. MY
YEARS GO BACK TO THE DAY WHEN BLACKS COULDN'T
ALWAYS EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS AS AMERICANS TO VOTE.
I WORKED FOR THE NAACP FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS TO HELP
SECURE THOSE RIGHTS. AND TODAY, ALTHOUGH SOME OF
OUR CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND I DIFFER -- POLITICALLY --
I KNOW THAT THEY AND I ARE WORKING FOR THE SAME THINGS,
AND THAT IS FOR A BETTER WAY OF LIFE FOR OUR PEOPLE.

GROWING UP IN GEORGIA I HAD A FRONT ROW SEAT WHICH
GAVE ME A GOOD VIEW AND A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF POVERTY
AND HOW IT AFFECTED BLACK PEOPLE.

WE ARE FORTUNATE IN THIS COUNTRY TO ENJOY FREEDOMS
WHICH HAVE MOTIVATED AND HAVE MADE ROOM AT THE TOP FOR
GREAT BLACK LEADERS SUCH AS THE LATE DR. MARTIN LUTHER
KING, THE LATE WHITNEY YOUNG, AND OUR DISTINGUISHED



NAACP EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ROY WILKINS,
VERNON JORDAN, AND OTHERS.

ALL OF THESE MEN HAD SEVERAL THINGS IN COMMON, AND
THAT WAS AND IS TO MAKE A BETTER WAY OF LIFE FOR BLACKS,
OTHER MINORITIES, AND POOR PEOPLE.

THEIR GOALS ARE THE SAME GOALS I HAVE WORKED FOR
DURING MY ADULT LIFE AND THEIR GOALS ARE ONES I STILL
HOLD DEAR IN MY DAILY FUNCTIONS AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

I KNOW THAT THE ADMINISTRATION I REPRESENT HAS
BEEN ACCUSED OF "HACKING AWAY AT SOCIAL SPENDING WITH
RUTHLESS INTENSITY" THAT IS PURPORTEDLY "DESIGNED TO
DESTROY THE SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE 1960s." NOW I MUST
TAKE ISSUE WITH THESE STATEMENTS WHICH ARE MADE WITHOUT
ANY REAL RESEARCH AND WITHOUT FOUNDATION. THE TRUTH IS THAT
SPENDING FOR SOCIAL ITEMS HAS INCREASED FROM 15 TO 30
BILLION SINCE THE PRESIDENT TOOK OFFICE.



SOCIAL SPENDING HAS BEEN INCREASED, NOT CUT. LISTEN TO THE FACTS, NOT THE RHETORIC. THE OVERALL CIVIL RIGHTS BUDGET WAS INCREASED FROM THE \$900 MILLION BEING SPENT WHEN THE PRESIDENT CAME INTO OFFICE TO \$3.2 BILLION FOR THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR. IN THE AREA OF ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS WE WILL BE SPENDING MORE THAN SEVEN TIMES WHAT THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION SPENT. WHILE THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED CUTS IN AREAS AFFECTED BY FEDERAL FUNDS, HE HAS AT THE SAME TIME ACTUALLY INCREASED THE FUNDING FOR MANY ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS.

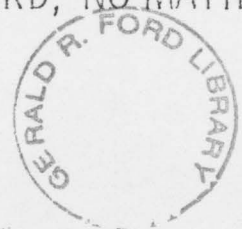
WHILE MANY OF OUR WOULD BE BLACK LEADERS ARE SAYING THAT THEY MOURN THE PASSING OF PROGRAMS THAT DELIVERED NOTHING BUT BROKEN PROMISES TO THE INNER-CITY, I CANNOT. INSTEAD, I MOURN THE PROMISES THAT WERE BROKEN. BUT THEY ARE DEAD AND GONE. NOW IT'S TIME TO SHUCK OUT SHROUDS AND GET ON WITH OUR PEOPLE'S BUSINESS-----MOVE ON WITH PROGRAMS THAT ARE VITALLY



ALIVE; PROGRAMS THAT WORK; PROGRAMS THAT WILL HELP POOR PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES.

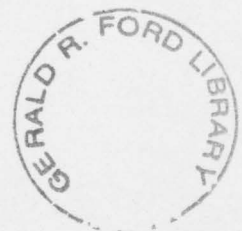
I KNOW THAT ALL BLACK LEADERS MUST BE FED UP WITH THE POVERTY "PROFESSIONALS" WHO HELP THEMSELVES TO THE ANTI-POVERTY PLATTER BEFORE IT IS PASSED ON TO THE PEOPLE FOR WHOM IT WAS INTENDED. OEO AND SOME OF THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN A CRUEL MOCKERY TO THE MILLIONS OF DESTITUTE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION.

LET ME ADDRESS ANOTHER VERY FALSE PREMISE THAT IS FLOATING AROUND WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, AND THAT IS THAT THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS BEEN LOST. THE TRUTH IS THAT MOST FEDERALLY FUNDED ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS HAVE ACTUALLY RECEIVED AN INCREASE IN FUNDING INSTEAD OF BEING CUT. VERY FEW HAVE BEEN RETAINED AT THEIR PRESENT LEVEL OF FUNDING. ONLY THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES ARE BEING CUT. NO MATTER WHAT YOU HAVE HEARD, NO MATTER



WHAT ANYONE HAS TRIED TO MISLEAD YOU INTO BELIEVING,
THE CAAs ARE THE ONLY PROGRAM THAT HAS BEEN CUT. WHY THE CAAs
WHEN ONLY 15-20% OF YOUR TOTAL FUNDS ARE REACHING THOSE
INTENDED TO BE HELPED THEN IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE, IT'S
TIME FOR SURGERY. WHEN YOUR TOP HEAVY OVERHEAD REACHES
THIS LEVEL OF WASTE, IT'S TIME THAT SOMETHING IS DONE.
THE PEOPLE BEING RIPPED OFF ARE THE POOR PEOPLE. NOW I
KNOW THAT THERE WERE SOME SUCCESS STORIES, AND THESE WILL
HAVE A CHANCE TO SURVIVE UNDER REVENUE SHARING OR PRIVATE
FUNDS.

THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES WERE A GRAND
EXPERIMENT, NOBLY BEGUN, BUT THEY BOMBED OUT. BY THE
TIME THE 80 PERCENT OF THE \$2 BILLION TAX DOLLARS SPENT
FOR CAPs WERE SIPHONED OFF, "OPPORTUNITY" DIDN'T HAVE
ENOUGH STRENGTH LEFT TO KNOCK ON THE DOOR.



THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF WHAT IS HAPPENING ON THE POVERTY WAR FRONT SEEMS TO BE FORGOTTEN OR BURIED IN THE RHETORIC. FOR EXAMPLE, YOU NEVER HEAR IT BEING SAID THAT EVEN WITH THE CUTTING OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET CALLS FOR INCREASED SPENDING OF \$50 MILLION DOLLARS IN OEO RELATED PROGRAMS.

IN REGARDS TO OEO, ALL PROGRAMS ARE BEING TRANSFERRED TO EXISTING FEDERAL AGENCIES. OEO HAD A TOTAL BUDGET OF \$750 MILLION. THE INCREASE IN SOCIAL SPENDING WAS \$30 BILLION.

IN ESSENCE WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT WE AS A PEOPLE NEED TO PUT MORE SUBSTANCE INTO THE WORD BLACK. UNLESS WE PUT SUBSTANCE INTO THE WORD BLACK, BLACK WILL ALWAYS BE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT WHICH IS NOT BEAUTIFUL, NO MATTER



HOW OFTEN WE SAY THINGS TO THE CONTRARY.

IT'S TIME WE SET O'UR SIGHTS ON SOMETHING THAT
HAS SUBSTANCE LIKE CAPITALISM. AND LET ME SAY HERE
THAT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS BLACK CAPITALISM.
CAPITALISM HAS NO COLOR. IT RESPECTS NO COLOR.
BLACKS WHO HAVE STARTED TO SUCCESSFULLY PARTICIPATE
IN OUR CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY ARE STILL BLACK, BUT THE
COLOR OF THEIR MONEY IS GREEN, AND GREEN DOLLARS
ARE UNDERSTOOD ALL OVER THE WORLD.

I'M REMINDED OF A BLACK AMERICAN THAT HAS BEEN
SUCCESSFUL IN AN AREA WHERE BLACKS HAD NOT HERETOFORE
DARED, AND THAT IS IN MAGAZINE PUBLISHING AND IN THE
NATIONWIDE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS. YOU PROBABLY
ALREADY KNOW THE DISTINGUISHED GENTLEMAN TO WHOM I
REFER: JOHN H. JOHNSON, PUBLISHER OF JET, EBONY AND
SEVERAL OTHER NATIONALLY DISTRIBUTED ITEMS.



MR. JOHNSON TOLD THE UNITED MORTGAGE BANKERS
IN AN ADDRESS IN NEW YORK CITY THAT "BLACKS MUST ABANDON
THE POLITICS OF POVERTY, AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR."

THE PUBLISHER WENT ON TO SAY, "OUR GREATEST FIGHT
TODAY IS FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMIC
ABUNDANCE OF THE WEALTHIEST NATION IN THE WORLD.....
THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THIS NATION IS NO LONGER A SPECTATOR
SPORT FOR BLACK AMERICANS."

MR. JOHNSON ALSO HAD A FEW CHALLENGING WORDS FOR
THOSE AFFECTED BY THE CHANGING PRIORITIES BROUGHT ON
BY THE PRESIDENT'S NEW BUDGET. HE SAID, "ALL OF YOU KNOW
THAT SUCCESS IS NOT GUARANTEED IN ANY BUSINESS. WHEN
YOU TAKE A RISK, YOU MAKE A RISK — EVEN UNDER
THE PROTECTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

YOU KNOW JUST HOW DIFFICULT IT IS FOR PEOPLE TO
ACCEPT CHANGE. WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, RUMORS,
MISINFORMATION, AND HALF-TRUTHS ALWAYS CREATE A BAD
CLIMATE FOR ANY CHANGE.



FOR EXAMPLE, A PROMINENT BLACK LEADER ASKED THIS QUESTION RECENTLY: "HOW DO WE EXPLAIN FEDERAL WITHDRAWAL TO POOR BLACK FAMILIES IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT?"

FOR ME IT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO THE SAME FAMILY WHY THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM HAS EVICTED ONE MILLION POOR FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES. IT'S EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO THAT SAME FAMILY WHY ONE-HALF OF THOSE ONE MILLION EVICTED WERE BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS. HOW DO I EXPLAIN TO POOR BLACKS THAT UNDER THE OLD FEDERAL PROGRAMS, FOR EVERY HOME BUILT, THREE WERE DESTROYED?

HOW DO I EXPLAIN THAT UNDER THE OLD FEDERAL PROGRAM THAT WEALTHY REAL ESTATE OWNERS AND LAND SPECULATORS RIPPED OFF MONEY WHICH WAS MEANT TO ASSIST THE POOR? HOW, INDEED, CAN WE EXPLAIN TO POOR BLACK FAMILIES THAT THE RAT INFESTED TRAPS THEY MOVED INTO UNDER CERTAIN FEDERAL SUBSIDIZED HOUSING PROGRAMS WERE SOLD TO THEM AT A PRICE FAR BEYOND THE SELLERS PURCHASE PRICE AND THEY



HAVE JUST BEEN RIPPED OFF AGAIN.

SO IT'S VERY EASY FOR ME TO EXPLAIN TO THAT POOR FAMILY IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT THAT THE ANSWER TO THEIR PLIGHT IS NOT IN RIP-OFF PROGRAMS THAT HAVE FAILED TO WORK. OBVIOUSLY WE NEED BETTER SOLUTIONS.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT WITHDRAWING FROM ITS OBLIGATION TO ASSIST THE POOR IN THE AREA OF HOUSING. THE PRESIDENT IS SPENDING A BILLION DOLLARS MORE THIS YEAR IN THE AREA OF HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THAN LAST. BUT THIS ISN'T THE WORD THAT BLACK SPOKESMEN ARE PUTTING OUT TO OUR PEOPLE.

AGAIN IN THE WORDS OF MR. JOHN H. JOHNSON, "BLACKS MUST ABANDON POLITICS OF POVERTY, AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR."

I THINK THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK AMERICANS TO REALIZE THAT IT IS NOT OUR DESTINY TO INHERIT THE WASTELANDS OF AMERICA OR TO RIDE FOREVER THE TAIL END OF PROGRESS



AND PROSPERITY. THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THIS NATION MUST NOT CONTINUE TO BE A SPECTATOR SPORT FOR BLACK AMERICANS.

IN 1968 MANY BLACK LEADERS THOUGHT IT LUDICROUS WHEN A CONTENDER FOR THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY PROMISED TO HELP PUT BLACK AMERICANS INTO THE ECONOMIC MAINSTREAM OF THIS NATION. THOSE SAME BLACK LEADERS HAVE FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPACT MADE BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT PROMISE. IN 1969 BLACK BUSINESSES WERE AIDED TO THE TUNE OF \$200 MILLION DOLLARS. IN THE COMING FISCAL YEAR THAT AID TO MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISES WILL JUMP TO 1.2 BILLION DOLLARS.

DOES THAT SOUND LIKE A WITHDRAWAL FROM A FEDERAL OBLIGATION TO AID THE POOR?

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO PUT DOWN THE OLD PROGRAMS BORN DURING THE 60s. BUT WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO LIVE IN THE 60s AND TURN OUR BACKS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE 70s. I DO NOT QUESTION THE GOOD INTENT OF THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS



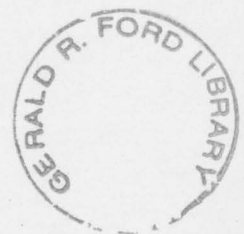
BORN UNDER FEAR AND HASTE. SURELY THEY WERE MISTAKES OF THE HEAD AND NOT THE HEART. BUT I THINK THAT MUCH OF THE RHETORIC WE HEAR TODAY ABOUT THE SHIFTS BEING MADE IN THE NEW BUDGET ARE MISTAKES OF THE HEAD AND NOT THE HEART. THE FACTS SIMPLY DO NOT SUPPORT THE ACCUSATIONS BEING MADE.

MANY OF THE BLACK SPOKESMEN GOING AROUND THE COUNTRY TODAY HAVE SIMPLY FORGOTTEN THAT THE POOR BLACK LIVING IN A HARLEM TENEMENT OR A RURAL SHACK IN GEORGIA HAS NOT BEEN ^{Legally} HELPED BY THE PROGRAMS OF THE 60s. MANY OF THE PROGRAMS FATTENED THE POVERTY PROGRAM STAFF MEMBERS AND KEPT LEAN AND POOR THE PEOPLE WHO STILL NEED OUR HELP. IT COMES AS LITTLE SURPRISE TO ME THAT THE PEOPLE MAKING THE MOST NOISE ABOUT THE CHANGES BEING MADE IN ADMINISTERING PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOR ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO WERE RAKING-OFF 80-85 PERCENT OF THE FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR PROGRAMS SUCH AS COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES



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IN THE GHETTOS AND IN THE BARRIOS THERE HAS BEEN A NOTABLE SILENCE. THE REASON BEHIND THIS, ACCORDING TO AN EDITORIAL APPEARING IN THE DENVER POST AND BASED UPON RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY A MAGAZINE: MANY OF THE POOR FEEL THAT THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS NEVER BENEFITED THEM. THE POOR WHO DID RECEIVE SERVICES ARE DISENCHANTED WITH THE QUALITY AND TYPE OF SERVICE. MANY OF THE POOR FEEL THAT THESE OLD FEDERAL PROGRAMS ARE JUST PACIFICATION PROGRAMS.



OEO WAS FOUNDED ALMOST 10 YEARS AGO WITH A PROMISE TO ERADICATE POVERTY IN AMERICA BY 1974. ONE HAS TO ONLY LOOK AROUND TO SEE THAT THE DEADLINE COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE MET BY 1974.

THE POVERTY PROGRAM IS NOT BEING DESTROYED, IT IS BEING MOVED WHERE IT CAN BE MORE EFFECTIVE. SOCIAL REFORM IS NOT STOPPING, IT IS MOVING MORE RAPIDLY THAN EVER BEFORE.

I'M REMINDED OF SOME OF THE PRESS REPORTS FLOATING AROUND WASHINGTON WHICH SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET CUTS. SOME OF THE STORIES SAY "HE'S DOING WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE BUT HE'S MOVING TOO FAST. PERHAPS THE MOST UNIQUE STORY CAME FROM BLACK COLUMNIST BILL RASPBERRY OF THE WASHINGTON POST. HE CONCEDES THAT ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS HAVEN'T WORKED, BUT THEY SHOULD BE PRESERVED FOR THEIR "SYMBOLIC VALUE."



PERHAPS THEY SHOULD BE PAID, ACCORDING TO ONE
REPORTER, WITH SYMBOLIC MONEY.

A VERY INTERESTING THING HAS HAPPENED IN AMERICA
WHILE SOME OF OUR LEADERS HAVE BEEN FOCUSING BACK ON
THE 60s. HUMAN RESOURCES HAVE REPLACED THE DEFENSE
BUDGET AS THE HIGHEST EXPENSE ITEM OF THE BUDGET.
SOMEHOW THE WORD HAS NOT GOTTEN OUT TO OUR PEOPLE.

LET ME CONCLUDE BY SAYING THAT IT IS A WELL-KNOWN
FACT THAT BLACK PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM POVERTY EVER
SINCE WE FIRST STEPPED FROM THE BOAT IN 1619. WE HAVE
A TREMENDOUS INVESTMENT IN THIS NATION. IT SHOULD BE
OUR RESOLVE TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE
AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. LET'S TRANSLATE OUR RHETORIC
INTO POSITIVE PROGRAMS AND LET'S CHANGE WITH THE TIMES,
AND NOT ACCEPT THE "PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR". I WELCOME
YOUR POSITIVE SUPPORT.



Carolyn P. DuBose
free-lance writer

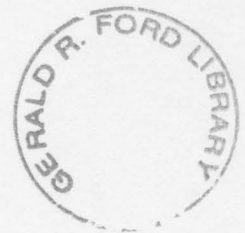
(AC 703) 979-2373

203 South Barton Street
Arlington, Va. 22204

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOARING SEVENTIES
OHIO REPUBLICAN COUNCIL SPRING CONFERENCE
COLUMBUS, OHIO

BY:

STANLEY S. SCOTT
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE



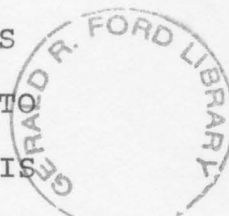
THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN FOR THAT VERY FLATTERING INTRODUCTION. I HAVE OFTEN HEARD THAT FLATTERING INTRODUCTIONS ARE LIKE SMOKING. THEY DON'T HURT YOU IF YOU DON'T INHALE. (laughter)

I AM HONORED TO BE A PART OF THIS OCCASION TONIGHT, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO ANOTHER VISIT TO THE BUCKEYE STATE.

IN MY EARLIER YEARS AS A WORKING JOURNALIST IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA I QUICKLY LEARNED THE VALUE OF GETTING THE FACTS STRAIGHT. AS A MEMBER OF THE NIXON TEAM IN WASHINGTON, I STILL ADHERE TO THAT PRINCIPLE. BUT IN MY JUDGMENT, THE PUBLIC HAS BEEN SWAMPED WITH A MUDSLIDE OF MISINFORMATION. IMPULSIVE REMARKS ARE BEING MADE ABOUT CHANGES IN THIS ADMINISTRATION WITHOUT TOO MUCH REGARD FOR THE FIGURES.

YOU KNOW, IT IS ALWAYS DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE TO ACCEPT CHANGE. WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, PARTICULARLY, RUMORS AND HALF-TRUTHS ALWAYS CREATE A BAD CLIMATE FOR ANY KIND OF CHANGE.

FIVE YEARS AGO, MANY BLACK LEADERS THOUGHT IT LUDICROUS WHEN A CONTENDER FOR THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY PROMISED TO HELP PUT BLACK AMERICANS INTO THE ECONOMIC MAINSTREAM OF THIS NATION. BUT THE PROMISE TURNED INTO REALITY AND THE OFFICE OF THE MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE WAS BORN. OMBE SET IN MOTION BROAD PROGRAMS AND POLICIES WHICH MOBILIZED FEDERAL RESOURCES ACROSS THE BOARD TO HELP MINORITIES GAIN A FOOTHOLD IN THE WORLD OF PRIVATE BUSINESS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POURED \$200/MILLION INTO THE BLOODSTREAM OF BLACK-OWNED BUSINESSES. IN THE COMING FISCAL YEAR AID TO MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISES WILL INCREASE TO \$1.2 BILLION. THOSE SAME BLACK LEADERS WHO WERE LOUD IN THEIR CRITICISM HAVE BEEN LUKEWARM IN THEIR PRAISE AND HAVE FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE



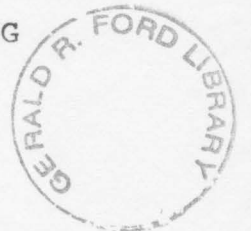
IMPACT MADE BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT PROMISE.

LOOKING AT THE FIGURES WE SEE THAT COMPARED TO FOUR YEARS AGO, THE NEW BUDGET WOULD SPEND 71 PERCENT MORE ON THE AGING, 67 PERCENT MORE TO ASSIST THE SICK, 66 PERCENT MORE TO AID THE POOR AND MORE THAN DOUBLE THE ORIGINAL OUTLAY TO FEED THE HUNGRY AND THE UNDERNOURISHED OF THIS COUNTRY. SIGNIFICANTLY, IN A REORDERING OF PRIORITIES, 47% OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET GOES TO HUMAN RESOURCES AS COMPARED TO 30 PERCENT FOR DEFENSE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT CHANGE FROM FOUR YEARS AGO WHEN ONLY 37% OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET WAS SPENT FOR HUMAN RESOURCES COMPARED TO 41% SPENT ON DEFENSE.

I CAN SAY UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT CHANGES IN THE BUDGET REFLECT THE SPIRIT OF THE SOARING SEVENTIES. SOCIAL SPENDING HAS BEEN INCREASED; NOT CUT. LISTEN TO THE FACTS, NOT THE RHETORIC.

THE OVERALL CIVIL RIGHTS BUDGET WAS INCREASED FROM THE \$900 MILLION BEING SPENT WHEN THE PRESIDENT CAME INTO OFFICE TO \$3.2 BILLION FOR THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR. IN THE AREA OF ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS, WE WILL BE SPENDING MORE THAN SEVEN TIMES WHAT THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION SPENT. WHILE THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED CERTAIN CUTS IN AREAS AFFECTED BY FEDERAL FUNDS, HE HAS AT THE SAME TIME ACTUALLY INCREASED THE FUNDING FOR MANY ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS. THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS NOT BEEN LOST.

CONTRARY TO RUMORS OF PHASING OUT OEO, ALL PROGRAMS UNDER THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ARE BEING TRANSFERRED TO EXISTING FEDERAL AGENCIES. IN FISCAL YEAR 1974 THE RESEARCH



DEMONSTRATION, AND EVALUATION PROGRAMS HANDLED IN THE PAST BY OEO WILL HAVE AN INCREASED BUDGET. FUNDING HAS NOT BEEN CUT BUT RAISED FROM \$66.7 MILLION TO \$78 MILLION.

IN ACTUAL FACT, MANY OF THE SUBSTANTIVE OEO PROGRAMS WILL BE CONTINUED EITHER AT THE SAME LEVEL AS 1973 OR IN MANY CASES INCREASED.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FUNDING HAS BEEN INCREASED FROM \$30.7 MILLION IN 1973 TO 39.3 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1974.

MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARM WORKERS PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN INCREASED FROM 36.3 MILLION TO 40 MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR.

ALSO, FUNDING FOR THE HEAD START PROGRAM IN THE OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN INCREASED, NOT CUT.

AS YOU KNOW, OEO WAS FOUNDED ALMOST 10 YEARS AGO WITH A PROMISE TO ERADICATE POVERTY IN AMERICA BY 1974. ONE HAS TO ONLY LOOK AROUND TO SEE THAT THE DEADLINE COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE MET BY NEXT YEAR.

EVEN THOUGH THE POVERTY PROGRAM HAD MANY SHORTCOMINGS, THIS ADMINISTRATION IS KEEPING IT ALIVE BY REDIRECTING SERVICES FOR THE GREATER BENEFIT OF POOR PEOPLE.

IN GEORGIA, I HAD A FRONT ROW SEAT WHICH GAVE ME A GOOD VIEW AND A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF POVERTY AND HOW IT AFFECTED BLACK PEOPLE.

WE ARE FORTUNATE IN THIS COUNTRY TO ENJOY FREEDOMS WHICH HAVE MOTIVATED AND HAVE MADE ROOM AT THE TOP FOR GREAT BLACK LEADERS SUCH AS THE LATE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, THE LATE WHITNEY YOUNG, THE DISTINGUISHED NAACP EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



ROY WILKINS AND A HOST OF OTHERS.

ALL OF THESE ABLE MEN HAD SEVERAL THINGS IN COMMON, AND THAT WAS AND IS TO MAKE A BETTER WAY OF LIFE FOR BLACKS, OTHER MINORITIES, AND POOR PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

UNFORTUNATELY, MANY OF THE BLACK SPOKESMEN GOING AROUND THE COUNTRY, TODAY, DON'T WANT TO ADMIT THAT THE POOR BLACK LIVING IN A HARLEM TENEMENT OF A RURAL SHACK IN GEORGIA HAS NOT BEEN HELPED APPRECIABLY BY MANY OF THE PROGRAMS THAT CAME OUT OF THE 60s.

MANY WHO RAISE OBJECTION TO THE RECENT CHANGES IN THE POVERTY PROGRAMS CLAIM THAT EVERY PROGRAM DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOR, DID IT'S JOB WELL. WE KNOW BETTER. THOSE WHO ARE STRUGGLING TO KEEP THEIR JOBS ARGUE THAT THEY ALWAYS HAD THE INTEREST OF THE POOR AT HEART. WE KNOW BETTER. WE KNOW FOR INSTANCE THAT MANY OF THE PROGRAMS FATTENED THE POVERTY PROGRAM STAFF MEMBERS AND KEPT THE POOR PEOPLE LEAN. IT COMES AS LITTLE SURPRISE TO ME THAT THE PEOPLE MAKING THE MOST NOISE ARE THE ONE WHO WERE RAKING OFF 80-85 PERCENT OF THE FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR THE POOR BUT NEVER QUITE GOT DOWN THAT FAR. WHEN THIS HAPPENS, IT IS TIME FOR SURGERY. THAT IS WHY THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES ARE BEING CUT. WHY THE CAAs? WHEN ONLY 15% OF YOUR TOTAL FUNDS ARE REACHING THOSE INTENDED TO BE HELPED, THEN IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE. WHEN YOUR TOP HEAVY OVERHEAD REACHES THIS LEVEL OF WASTE, IT'S TIME THAT SOMETHING IS DONE. THE PEOPLE BEING RIPPED OFF ARE THE POOR. NOW I KNOW THAT THERE WERE SOME SUCCESS STORIES, AND THESE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO SURVIVE UNDER REVENUE SHARING OR PRIVATE FUNDS.



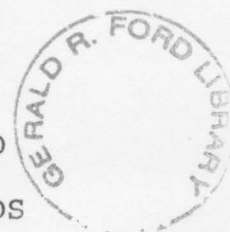
THE ADVANCES MADE IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS DURING THE 60s CERTAINLY GAVE US A PUSH IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. HOWEVER, MANY OF THOSE PROGRAMS WERE BORN UNDER FEAR AND HASTE. BUT THE MISTAKES THAT WERE MADE WERE OF THE HEART AND NOT THE HEAD. I THINK THAT MUCH OF THE RHETORIC WE HEAR TODAY ABOUT THE SHIFTS BEING MADE ARE MISTAKES OF THE HEAD AND NOT THE HEART. IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO PUT DOWN THE OLD PROGRAMS THAT CAME OUT OF THAT PERIOD, BUT WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO LIVE IN THE 60s AND TURN OUR BACKS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE 70s.

NOBODY WANTS TO TURN BACK THE HANDS OF TIME.

I AM AWARE, NEVERTHELESS, THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF "HACKING AWAY AT SOCIAL SPENDING WITH RUTHLESS INTENSITY" THAT IS PURPORTEDLY "DESIGNED TO DESTROY THE SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE 1960s". BUT THE FIGURES SHOW THAT THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET PROVIDES THE GREATEST AMOUNT OF MONEY EVER COMMITTED FOR HUMAN RESOURCES UNDER ANY ADMINISTRATION.

WHEN THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING GAVE HIS FAMOUS ADDRESS AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL DURING THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON IN 1963, HE TALKED ABOUT THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION THAT SET BLACKS FREE. BUT KING SAID IN DESPAIR: "ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER, THE NEGRO LIVES ON A LONELY ISLAND OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF A VAST OCEAN OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY. ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER," KING SAID, "THE NEGRO IS LANGUISHED IN THE CORNERS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND FINDS HIMSELF AN EXILE IN HIS OWN LAND..."

I THINK THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK AMERICANS TO REALIZE THAT IT IS NOT OUR DESTINY TO INHERIT THE WASTELANDS OF AMERICA. IT IS NOT OUR DESTINY TO RIDE FOREVER THE TAIL END OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERTIY, AND IT IS NOT OUR DESTINY TO



TO SIT AS SPECTATORS ON THE FRINGE OF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THIS NATION.

I SAY THAT IT IS TIME THAT WE SET OUR SIGHTS ON SOMETHING THAT HAS SUBSTANCE. UNLESS WE PUT SUBSTANCE INTO THE WORD BLACK IT WILL ALWAYS BE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT WHICH IS NOT BEAUTIFUL, NO MATTER HOW OFTEN WE MAKE STATEMENTS TO THE CONTRARY.

THE STORY OF THE BLACK MAN'S SUFFERING AND STRIFE SINCE HE STEPPED FROM THE BOAT IN 1619 IS A FAMILIAR ONE. WE HAVE SACRIFICED OUR BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS. THAT IS WHY WE SHOULD RESOLVE TO FULLY PARTICIPATE IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. WE HAVE A TREMENDOUS INVESTMENT IN THIS NATION.

THE KIND OF SUBSTANCE I AM TALKING ABOUT IS CAPITALISM. AND LET ME SAY HERE, THAT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS BLACK CAPITALISM. CAPITALISM HAS NO COLOR. IT RESPECTS NO COLOR. BLACKS WHO HAVE STARTED TO SUCCESSFULLY PARTICIPATE IN OUR CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY ARE STILL BLACK, BUT THE COLOR OF THEIR MONEY IS GREEN. I DON'T NEED TO TELL YOU THAT GREEN DOLLARS ARE UNDERSTOOD ALL OVER THE WORLD.

I'M REMINDED OF A BLACK AMERICAN THAT HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN AN AREA WHERE BLACKS HAD NOT HERETOFORE DARED, AND THAT IS IN MAGAZINE PUBLISHING AND IN THE NATIONWIDE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATION^s. YOU PROBABLY ALREADY KNOW THE DISTINGUISHED GENTLEMAN TO WHOM I REFER -- JOHN H. JOHNSON, PUBLISHER OF JET, EBONY AND SEVERAL OTHER NATIONALLY DISTRIBUTED PUBLICATIONS.

IN A RECENT ADDRESS TO THE UNITED MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSOCIATION MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY, MR. JOHNSON SAID: "BLACKS MUST ABANDON THE POLITICS OF POVERTY, AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR."



THE PUBLISHER WENT ON TO SAY, "OUR GREATEST FIGHT TODAY IS FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE OF THE WEALTHIEST NATION IN THE WORLD..."

MR. JOHNSON ALSO HAD A FEW CHALLENGING WORDS FOR THOSE AFFECTED BY THE CHANGING PRIORITIES BROUGHT ON BY THE PRESIDENT'S NEW BUDGET. HE SAID, "ALL OF YOU KNOW THAT SUCCESS IS NOT GUARANTEED IN ANY BUSINESS. WHEN YOU TAKE A RISK, YOU MAKE A RISK -- EVEN UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

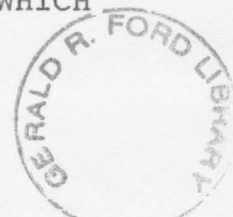
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AS A WHITE HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE I AM CONSTANTLY BESIEGED ABOUT CHANGES IN OUR DIRECTION. FOR EXAMPLE, A PROMINENT BLACK LEADER ASKED THIS QUESTION RECENTLY: "HOW DO WE EXPLAIN FEDERAL WITHDRAWAL TO POOR BLACK FAMILIES IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT?"

FOR ME, IT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO THE SAME FAMILY WHY THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM HAS EVICTED ONE MILLION POOR FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES. IT IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO THAT SAME FAMILY WHY ONE-HALF OF THOSE ONE MILLION EVICTED WERE BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS.

HOW DO I EXPLAIN TO POOR BLACKS THAT UNDER THE OLD FEDERAL PROGRAMS, FOR EVERY HOME BUILT, THREE WERE DESTROYED?

HOW DO I EXPLAIN THAT UNDER THE OLD FEDERAL PROGRAM WEALTHY REAL ESTATE OWNERS AND LAND SPECULATORS RIPPED OFF MONEY WHICH WAS MEANT TO ASSIST THE POOR?



HOW, INDEED, CAN WE EXPLAIN TO POOR BLACK FAMILIES THAT THE RAT INFESTED TRAPS THEY MOVED INTO UNDER CERTAIN FEDERAL SUBSIDIZED HOUSING PROGRAMS WERE SOLD TO THEM AT A PRICE FAR BEYOND THE SELLER'S PURCHASE PRICE AND THEY HAVE BEEN JUST RIPPED OFF AGAIN.

SO IT IS VERY EASY ME TO EXPLAIN TO THAT POOR FAMILY IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT THAT THE ANSWER TO THEIR PLIGHT IS NOT IN RIP-OFF PROGRAMS THAT HAVE FAILED TO WORK BUT IN NEW SOLUTIONS.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT WIRHDRAWING FROM ITS OBLIGATION TO ASSIST THE POOR IN THE AREA OF HOUSING. THE PRESIDENT IS SPENDING A BILLION DOLLARS MORE THIS YEAR IN THE AREA OF HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THAN LAST. BUT THIS ISN'T THE WORD THAT BLACK SPOKESMEN ARE PUTTING OUT TO OUR PEOPLE.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT WE NEED TO CLOSE THE COMMUNICATIONS GAP BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PEOPLE HE REPRESENTS.

IN THE GHETTOS AND IN THE BARRIOS THERE HAS BEEN A NOTABLE SILENCE. THE REASON BEHIND THIS, ACCORDING TO AN EDITORIAL APPEARING IN THE DENVER POST AND BASED UPON RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY A MAGAZINE, IS THAT MANY OF THE POOR FEEL THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS NEVER BENEFITED THEM. THE POOR WHO DID RECEIVED SERVICES ARE DISENCHANTED WITH THE QUALITY AND TYPE OF SERVICE. MANY OF THE POOR FEEL THAT THESE OLD FEDERAL PROGRAMS ARE JUST PACIFICATION PROGRAMS.

I'M REMINDED OF SOME OF THE PRESS REPORTS FLOATING AROND WASHINGTON WHICH SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET CUTS.



SOME OF THE STORIES SAY "HE'S DOING WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE BUT HE'S MOVING TOO FAST. PERHAPS THE MOST UNIQUE STORY CAME FROM BLACK COLUMNIST BILL RASPBERRY OF THE WASHINGTON POST. HE CONCEDES THAT ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS HAVEN'T WORKED IN THE PAST, BUT THEY SHOULD BE PRESERVED FOR THEIR "SYMBOLIC VALUE".

PERHAPS THEY SHOULD BE PAID, ACCORDING TO ONE REPORTER, WITH SYMBOLIC MONEY.

IT IS HIGH TIME FOR A CHANGE. LET US TRANSLATE OUR RHETORIC INTO POSITIVE PROGRAMS IN THE TRUE SPIRIT OF THE SOARING SEVENTIES.

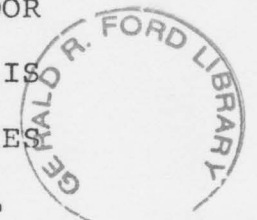


ROY WILKINS AND A HOST OF OTHERS.

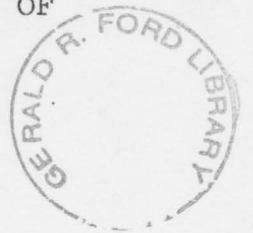
ALL OF THESE ABLE MEN HAD SEVERAL THINGS IN COMMON, AND THAT WAS AND IS TO MAKE A BETTER WAY OF LIFE FOR BLACKS, OTHER MINORITIES, AND POOR PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

UNFORTUNATELY, MANY OF THE BLACK SPOKESMEN GOING AROUND THE COUNTRY, TODAY, DON'T WANT TO ADMIT THAT THE POOR BLACK LIVING IN A HARLEM TENEMENT ~~OF~~ A RURAL SHACK IN GEORGIA HAS NOT BEEN HELPED APPRECIABLY BY MANY OF THE PROGRAMS THAT CAME OUT OF THE 60s.

MANY WHO RAISE OBJECTION TO THE RECENT CHANGES IN THE POVERTY PROGRAMS CLAIM THAT EVERY PROGRAM DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOR, DID IT'S JOB WELL. WE KNOW BETTER. THOSE WHO ARE STRUGGLING TO KEEP THEIR JOBS ARGUE THAT THEY ALWAYS HAD THE INTEREST OF THE POOR AT HEART. WE KNOW BETTER. WE KNOW FOR INSTANCE THAT MANY OF THE PROGRAMS FATTENED THE POVERTY PROGRAM STAFF MEMBERS AND KEPT THE POOR PEOPLE LEAN. IT COMES AS LITTLE SURPRISE TO ME THAT THE PEOPLE MAKING THE MOST NOISE ARE THE ONE WHO WERE RAKING OFF 80-85 PERCENT OF THE FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR THE POOR BUT NEVER QUITE GOT DOWN THAT FAR. WHEN THIS HAPPENS, IT IS TIME FOR SURGERY. THAT IS WHY THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES ARE BEING CUT. WHY THE CAAs? WHEN ONLY 15% OF YOUR TOTAL FUNDS ARE REACHING THOSE INTENDED TO BE HELPED, THEN IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE. WHEN YOUR TOP HEAVY OVERHEAD REACHES THIS LEVEL OF WASTE, IT'S TIME THAT SOMETHING IS DONE. THE PEOPLE BEING RIPPED OFF ARE THE POOR. NOW I KNOW THAT THERE WERE SOME SUCCESS STORIES, AND THESE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO SURVIVE UNDER REVENUE SHARING OR PRIVATE FUNDS.



THE ADVANCES MADE IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS DURING THE 60s CERTAINLY GAVE US A PUSH IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. HOWEVER, MANY OF THOSE PROGRAMS WERE BORN UNDER FEAR AND HASTE. BUT THE MISTAKES THAT WERE MADE WERE OF THE HEART AND NOT THE HEAD. I THINK THAT MUCH OF THE RHETORIC WE HEAR TODAY ABOUT THE SHIFTS BEING MADE ARE MISTAKES OF THE HEAD AND NOT THE HEART. IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO PUT DOWN THE OLD PROGRAMS THAT CAME OUT OF THAT PERIOD, BUT WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO LIVE IN THE 60s AND TURN OUR BACKS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE 70s.



NOBODY WANTS TO TURN BACK THE HANDS OF TIME.

I AM AWARE, NEVERTHELESS, THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF "HACKING AWAY AT SOCIAL SPENDING WITH RUTHLESS INTENSITY" THAT IS PURPORTEDLY "DESIGNED TO DESTROY THE SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE 1960s". BUT THE FIGURES SHOW THAT THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET PROVIDES THE GREATEST AMOUNT OF MONEY EVER COMMITTED FOR HUMAN RESOURCES UNDER ANY ADMINISTRATION.

WHEN THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING GAVE HIS FAMOUS ADDRESS AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL DURING THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON IN 1963, HE TALKED ABOUT THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION THAT SET BLACKS FREE. BUT KING SAID IN DESPAIR: "ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER, ⁷THE NEGRO LIVES ON A LONELY ISLAND OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF A VAST OCEAN OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY. ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER," KING SAID, "THE NEGRO IS LANGUISHED IN THE CORNERS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND FINDS HIMSELF AN EXILE IN HIS OWN LAND..."

I THINK THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK AMERICANS TO REALIZE THAT IT IS NOT OUR DESTINY TO INHERIT THE WASTELANDS OF AMERICA. IT IS NOT OUR DESTINY TO RIDE FOREVER THE TAIL ²

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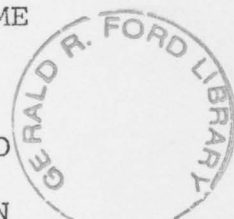
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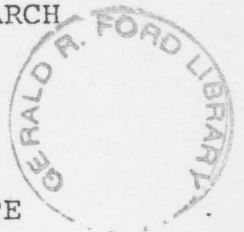
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Ohio
Republican
State
Committee

March 16, 1973

CHAIRMAN
John S. Andrews

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Miss Martha C. Moore

SECRETARY
Mrs. Louise R. Farr

TREASURER
Kent B. McGough

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN
Ray C. Bliss

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN
Miss Martha C. Moore

Mr. Stanley Scott
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Stan:

We are looking forward to seeing you at our Ohio Republican Council Spring Conference on April 7 in Columbus. Everything is going according to plan and you will be receiving program details very soon.

For publicity purposes, would you please send me a resume and a glossy photograph as soon as it is convenient?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Helen W. Evans
Executive Secretary
Ohio Republican Council

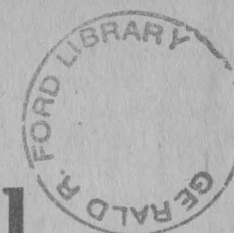
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KEEP THE LID ON TAXES AND PRICES



We Support Presidential and Congressional Efforts to Control Federal Spending



Americans have always had the ability to unite in order to accomplish great goals. As we now move to a peacetime economy, our nation needs a strong, viable government free of irresponsible spending and rising taxes and inflation. We can achieve this goal if Americans unite — if we let our representatives in Washington know that this is what we want.

Your elected representatives — your Senators and Congressmen in Washington — depend on you for guidance. They know how you feel only if you tell them. All too often, many of us take the democratic process for granted — we assume that our representatives already know what we think, even though we haven't told them. And when this happens, the voices of a few special interests can have more effect than the will of millions of

A responsible spending program does not involve any turning back of the clock. The President's budget, for one example, provides the greatest sum ever committed for human resources. Compared to four years ago, it would spend 71 percent more to assist older Americans, 67 percent more to help the sick, 66 percent more for the poor, and more than twice as much to feed the hungry and undernourished. Four years ago, 41% of the federal budget was spent on Defense, and only 37% for Human Resources. Today the priorities have been reversed: 47% goes to Human Resources and only 30 percent for Defense.