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POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION

Municipal Auditorium
Topeka, Kansas
Friday, April 20, 1973



By:

STANLEY S. SCOTT
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THIS SUNDAY WE WILL AGAIN CELEBRATE EASTER. ASIDE FROM ITS RELIGIOUS CONNOTATION, WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE COLORFUL FASHIONS OF THE STROLLERS WHO TAKE PART IN THE EASTER PARADE. IN THE WORLD OF FASHION, WE HAVE QUICKLY LEARNED TO ACCEPT CHANGE. WHAT'S "IN" TODAY, MAY BE "OUT" TOMORROW. BUT CHANGING FASHION IS NOW CONSIDERED A WAY OF LIFE AND WE HAVE MADE ADJUSTMENTS IN OUR THINKING TO SUPPORT THAT TREND.

I WOULD HOPE THAT WE COULD ENJOY THIS SAME KIND OF FLEXIBILITY IN ADJUSTING TO SOCIAL CHANGE THAT COULD HAVE A FAR GREATER, MORE LASTING EFFECT OVER ALL OUR LIVES.

I AM HONORED THAT YOU HAVE CHOSEN ME TO SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT AT THIS ANNUAL FELLOWSHIP DINNER. AS A MEMBER OF THE NIXON TEAM, I COME BEFORE YOU AS AN ADVOCATE, TO INVITE YOU TO SHARE WITH US YOUR CONCERNS, YOUR HOPES AND YOUR DESIRES. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THIS IS AN ADMINISTRATION THAT CARES.

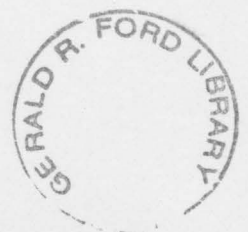


EVEN THOUGH WE ARE COMMITTED TO SERVE YOU, OUR WORK IS SOMETIMES HAMPERED BY RUMORS THAT LEAVE PEOPLE CONFUSED AND DISTRUSTFUL. AS AN ADVOCATE, I WANT TO TALK WITH YOU THIS EVENING ABOUT THE REAL FACTS AND FIGURES, NOT ABOUT FANTASIES.

INFLATION. BUDGET CUTS. POVERTY PROGRAMS. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THESE ARE SOME OF THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN NEWSPAPER HEADLINES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE MORE TALK YOU HEAR ABOUT THESE ITEMS, THE MORE CONFUSING IT ALL BECOMES.

THE AVERAGE MAN ON THE STREET IS LEFT WITH A LOT OF FRUSTRATION WITH EQUAL AMOUNTS OF MISINFORMATION.

ADDING TO THE AGGRAVATION ARE MANY BLACK LEADERS WHO GO AROUND THE COUNTRY PREACHING THAT THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THIS ADMINISTRATION ARE BAD.



BUT I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT SOME PEOPLE COMPLAIN FOR THE SAKE OF COMPLAINING. YOU AND I ALSO KNOW THAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE TO ACCEPT CHANGE. WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, RUMORS, MISINFORMATION AND HALF TRUTHS ALWAYS CREATE A BAD CLIMATE FOR CHANGE.

THERE ARE QUESTIONS I WANT TO RAISE ABOUT THIS AVERSION TO SOCIAL CHANGE.

IF WE DON'T CLING TO YESTERDAY'S FASHIONS, WHY SHOULD WE CLING TO OUTMODED SOCIAL PROGRAMS THAT BELONG IN THE PAST?

IF WE DON'T CLING TO MODEL T FORDS WITH CRANKS AND RUNNING BOARDS, CAN YOU TELL ME WHY WE SHOULD CLING TO A SLOW MOVING VEHICLE CALLED THE GREAT SOCIETY THAT GOT US NOWHERE IN A HURRY?



IF WE DON'T CLING TO YESTERDAY'S MEMORIES FOR FEAR
WE'LL MISS OUT ON WHAT'S HAPPENING RIGHT NOW, THEN I ASK
YOU, WHY SHOULD WE WANT TO CLOSE OUR EYES AND EARS TO
THOSE COMMITTED TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE --
A BETTER PLACE FOR BLACKS TO LIVE, LOVE AND LEARN?

THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF HELPFUL TIPS TO THE CONSUMER TO
ASSIST HIM IN SHOPPING AROUND FOR THE THINGS HE NEEDS
TO SUSTAIN HIM. THIS IS GOOD. BUT FOR TOO LONG THERE HAS
BEEN ANOTHER KIND OF SHOPPING THAT CONSUMERS HAVE CHOSEN
TO IGNORE. BLACKS HAVE BEEN BOUGHT OFF AS A PEOPLE.

IN 1968, THE PRESIDENT SAID, "FOR TOO LONG, WHITE AMERICA
HAS SOUGHT TO BUY OFF THE NEGRO -- AND TO BUY OFF ITS OWN SENSE
OF GUILT -- WITH EVER MORE PROGRAMS OF WELFARE, OF PUBLIC
HOUSING, OF PAYMENTS TO THE POOR, BUT NOT FOR ANYTHING
EXCEPT FOR KEEPING OUT OF SIGHT: PAYMENTS THAT PERPETUATED
POVERTY AND THAT KEPT THE ENDLESS, DISMAL CYCLE OF



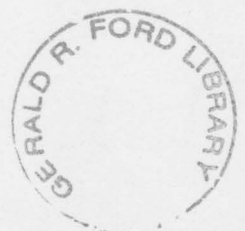
DEPENDENCY SPINNING FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION."

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET PROPOSAL FOR FY 1974 REPRESENTS A PHILOSOPHICAL TURN IN FEDERAL AFFAIRS. I BELIEVE IT IS THIS CHANGE IN PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH THAT MUCH OF THE STATIC IS BEING GENERATED.

BEFORE WE CONDEMN THE BUDGET ON THE BASIS OF HEARSAY, WE NEED TO EXAMINE IT IN TERMS OF HOW IT WILL AFFECT OUR OWN LIVES. I PREFER TO PASS JUDGMENT IN TERMS OF WHAT THE BUDGET IS, RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF WHAT IT IS NOT.

IT IS A BUDGET THAT SEEKS TO INCREASE SOCIAL SPENDING WITH TOTAL CIVIL RIGHTS OUTLAYS OF \$3.2 BILLION IN 1974 COMPARED WITH \$900 MILLION IN 1969.

IT IS A BUDGET THAT PROMISES TO MAKE POVERTY PROGRAMS MORE EFFECTIVE BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES ALREADY PROVEN TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE TRUE NEEDS OF POOR PEOPLE.

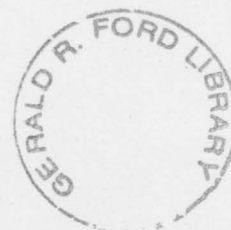


IT IS A BUDGET THAT GUARANTEES THE SUCCESS OF MINORITY ENTERPRISE WITH FUNDING UP FROM \$41.3 MILLION IN 1968 TO \$649 MILLION IN 1974 FOR THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION.

TIME AND TIME AGAIN, AS WE CLOSELY EXAMINE THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVES IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELATED SOCIAL PROGRAMS WE SEE PROOF OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE TASK OF BREAKING THE CYCLE OF DEPENDENCY.

THROUGHOUT OUR COLORFUL HISTORY AS BLACKS STRUGGLING TO BREAK THIS CYCLE OF DEPENDENCY, THE CHURCH AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE.

IT WAS WHILE TRAVELING TO KANSAS FOR THE NAACP THAT ANOTHER BLACK REPUBLICAN, JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, WAS MOVED TO WRITE THE WORDS FOR THE POEM HE LATER PUBLISHED AS "THE CREATION".



IF YOU REMEMBER, THE POEM BEGINS:

AND GOD STEPPED OUT ON SPACE
AND HE LOOKED AROUND AND SAID:
I'M LONELY --
I'LL MAKE ME A WORLD...

AS MERE MORTALS, IT IS BEYOND OUR POWER TO CREATE A
WORLD OF OUR VERY OWN. BUT I SUBMIT TO YOU TONIGHT THAT
EACH OF US HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO INFLUENCE THE WORLD
IN WHICH WE LIVE.

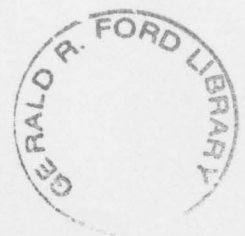
A NOTED SCIENTIST ONCE HAD THIS TO SAY ABOUT MAN'S
RESPONSIBILITY WHICH BETTER EXPLAINS THE POINT I AM
TRYING TO MAKE.

"FORTUNATELY FOR US," HE SAID, "WE SEE THE RATHER TERRIBLE
MESS WE MAKE OF A GOOD MANY THINGS, WE CAN BE ONLY TOO
THANKFUL THAT OUR CREATOR HAS KEPT IN HIS HANDS THE MAJOR
PART OF RESPONSIBILITY. BUT MORE AND MORE THAT RESPONSIBILITY
IS BEING LAID UPON OUR SHOULDERS.



"IT MEANS THAT MAN IS SHARING WITH HIS GOD THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING THIS WORLD THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS. AND ONE FINDS THAT HE IS FACED WITH A CHALLENGE, A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY OF WORKING WITH HIS CREATOR TO MAKE THIS WORLD OF OURS THE KIND OF WORLD THAT WE WOULD HAVE IT; BY LEARNING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THE WORLD IS LIKE, BY LEARNING TO UNDERSTAND OUR OWN NATURES SO THAT WE CAN DISCIPLINE OUR LIVES AND MAKE THE MOST OF THEM.

"LEARN THE TRUTH THAT WE MAY BE FREER TO DEVELOP OURSELVES IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAYS. LEARN THE NEED FOR GOODWILL AMONG MEN THAT WE MAY COOPERATE. LEARN THE MEANS OF COOPERATION. THOSE ARE THE GREAT PROBLEMS, AND THAT IS THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY WE HAVE TO DO OUR PART IN MAKING THAT WORLD A MORE EFFECTIVE WORLD."



IN OUR SEARCH FOR THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS WE WILL NATURALLY GO THROUGH MANY PERIODS OF TRIAL AND ERROR. BUT IF YOU HAVE TRIED SOMETHING FOR 10 YEARS OR TWENTY YEARS AND IT HASN'T WORKED, THEN YOU PROBABLY OUGHT TO FIND SOMETHING ELSE OR TRY A DIFFERENT APPROACH. THERE ARE GOING TO BE THOSE WHO WILL RESENT THIS, BUT THAT IS TO BE EXPECTED. THIS NATURAL RESENTMENT FOR CHANGE GOES BACK TO THE POINT I MADE EARLIER.

I MENTIONED BEFORE THAT ONE OF THE REASONS FOR SO MUCH STATIC IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S BUDGET REQUEST FOR FY 1974 IS A SHIFT IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH. FOR YEARS THE MAN ON THE STREET HAS BEEN ASKING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO LET HIM LIVE OUT HIS OWN LIFE AND CONTROL HIS OWN DESTINY. IN A REAL SENSE, THIS IS WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION I REPRESENT, IS TRYING TO DO. WE BELIEVE THAT LOCAL COMMUNITIES SHOULD HAVE MORE CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. THIS IS THE FIRST MAJOR SWITCH AND TURN TOWARD SMALLER GOVERNMENT IN 40 YEARS.

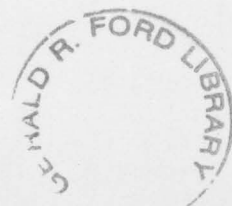
FORD LIA

THIS AFFAIR REPRESENTS THE KIND OF COMMUNITY INITIATIVE AND INVOLVEMENT THAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT.

AS THE JACKSON MEMORIAL CHRISTIAN COLLEGE LOOKS TO THE FUTURE, I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THE CONTINUED SUCCESS OF THIS INSTITUTION WILL REST EASILY IN THE HANDS OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE.

THE FUTURE OF THIS COLLEGE AND, INDEED, THIS NATION WILL DEPEND ON OUR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO BELIEVE IN THEMSELVES AND BELIEVE IN THE CONTRIBUTIONS THEY CAN MAKE.

I UNDERSTAND BLACKS IN THIS COMMUNITY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ACQUIRING LOW AND MODERATE INCOME HOUSING FOR THOSE WHO NEED IT. IT IS ALSO MY UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN DAYCARE FOR THE YOUNG AND THE JACKSON MEMORIAL CHRISTIAN COLLEGE FOR THOSE WHO WILL BE THE LEADERS OF TOMORROW. YOU ARE TO BE APPLAUDED FOR YOUR INVOLVEMENT.



I KNOW THAT THE PRESIDENT IS LOOKING TO THE NON-
GOVERNMENT SECTOR -- PARTICULARLY THE RELIGIOUS AND BUSINESS
SECTOR -- TO PROPOSE AND TO IMPLEMENT INITIATIVES FOR THE
IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL AS WELL AS THE ECONOMIC STATE OF
THEIR COMMUNITIES.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT BACKING AWAY FROM ITS
COMMITMENT TO ASSIST LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES.
IT WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST BY INSURING LOW DOWN PAYMENT
MORTGAGES AND ENFORCING LAWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN
HOUSING. DESPITE THE MORATORIUM ON HOUSING SUBSIDIES,
EXISTING COMMITMENTS WILL SUSTAIN HUD SUBSIDIZED HOUSING
PRODUCTION AT APPROXIMATELY A 250,000 UNIT RATE THROUGH
1974 -- THE SAME AS IN 1973.

BUDGET OUTLAYS FOR HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
WILL ACTUALLY INCREASE BY \$1.0 BILLION OVER 1973 TO \$4.9 BILLION



IN 1974. EXPENDITURES FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING WILL INCREASE 14% IN 1974 TO \$15.8 MILLION.

IN THE AREA OF EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES, ON A NATIONAL SCALE, THE NUMBER OF BLACK STUDENTS IN ALL BLACK SCHOOLS HAS DECREASED FROM 40 PERCENT IN 1968 TO 11 PERCENT IN 1972, AND IN THE SOUTH FROM 68 PERCENT IN 1968 TO 8 PERCENT IN 1972.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID:

"ONE OF THE MOST PROFOUND CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME IS THE PRESERVATION OF DIVERSITY, THE PRESERVATION OF FREEDOM ITSELF, IN THE FACE OF INCREASING COMPLEXITY AND INTERDEPENDENCE. AND YET INCREASING COMPLEXITY NEED NOT MEAN STANDARDIZATION, IF ONLY WE MAKE THE DECISION THAT IT MUST NOT. THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF AMERICA



HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A SOURCE OF DIVERSITY, OF POSSIBILITY, OF EXPERIMENTATION. THEY HAVE LONG PROVIDED THE CUTTING EDGE OF PROGRESS, PUSHING AHEAD WITH NEW IDEAS AND NEW TECHNIQUES...TO BE AN AMERICAN MEANS THAT YOU CAN GROW UP IN A REMOTE TOWN OR IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY AND STILL GO TO COLLEGE AND MAKE WHATEVER YOU CAN OF YOUR OWN RIGHTS AND YOUR OWN DREAMS...."

WE HEAR A LOT OF TALK ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES ABOUT ISSUES OF THE DAY. IT'S ALL RIGHT TO TALK ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT. IT'S ALL RIGHT TO TALK ABOUT THE SYSTEM, BUT IT'S NOT ALL RIGHT TO USE ALL YOUR TIME AND ENERGY TALKING WITHOUT DOING ANYTHING. WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE ABOUT IS GETTING SOMETHING DONE ABOUT THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY.

DURING THE DECADE OF THE SIXTIES, WE FOUND BLACK AMERICANS FROZEN IN A PERPETUAL STATE OF POLITICAL



ANIMATION....ON THE ONE HAND THERE WAS REASON FOR GREAT EXPECTATIONS AND ON THE OTHER...A SENSE OF DEEP FRUSTRATION. THERE WERE SOME WHO CHOSE TO REJECT EVERYTHING OUR SOCIETY STOOD FOR AND RETREATED FROM THE MAINSTREAM. BUT I HAVE ALWAYS LIVED BY THE CODE: IT'S BETTER TO WEAR OUT THAN TO RUST OUT.

IT WAS ALSO DURING THIS PERIOD OF PROMISES THAT WERE UNFULFILLED THAT WE STARTED TO TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT THE EMPTY PROMISES THAT FAILED TO PUT AN END TO POVERTY.

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 OUR SHROUDS AND GET ON WITH OUR PEOPLE'S BUSINESS -- THE BUSINESS OF MOVING



ON WITH PROGRAMS THAT ARE ALIVE; THE BUSINESS OF CREATING PROGRAMS THAT WORK AND GETTING ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF HELPING POOR PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES.

THERE ARE THOSE AMONG YOU WHO 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. WE HAVE DISCOVERED THAT ONE OF THE FAULTS WITH MANY OF THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS IS THAT THE REAL BENEFACTORS, IN FAR TOO MANY CASES, HAVE BEEN THE MIDDLEMEN OR THE INTERMEDIARIES WHO ARE NOT POOR.

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO PUT DOWN THE OLD PROGRAMS BORN DURING THE 60's. BUT WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO LIVE IN THE 60'S AND TURN OUR BACKS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE 70'S.

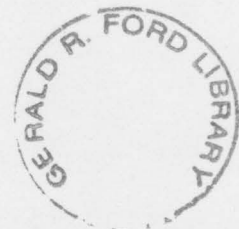
I KNOW THAT THE ADMINISTRATION I REPRESENT HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF "HACKING AWAY AT SOCIAL SPENDING WITH RUTHLESS INTENSITY" THAT IS PURPORTEDLY "DESIGNED TO DESTROY THE



SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE 1960'S." 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.

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 ACTIONS AGENCIES ARE BEING CUT.

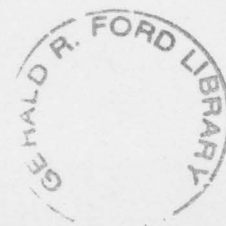
IN REGARDS TO OEO, ALL PROGRAMS ARE BEING TRANSFERRED TO EXISTING FEDERAL AGENCIES. OEO HAD A TOTAL BUDGET OF \$750 MILLION. THE INCREASE IN SOCIAL SPENDING WAS \$30 BILLION.



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 HELPED APPRECIABLY BY THE PROGRAMS OF THE 60'S. 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 SUCH PROGRAMS.

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.

LET ME CONCLUDE BY SAYING THAT BLACK PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM POVERTY EVER SINCE THE DAY WE STEPPED FROM THE BOAT IN 1619. WE HAVE A TREMENDOUS INVESTMENT IN THIS NATION



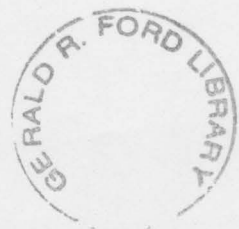
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THAT WE HELPED TO CREATE. IT SHOULD BE OUR RESOLVE TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. LET'S TRANSLATE EMPTY RHETORIC INTO POSITIVE PROGRAMS AND LET'S CHANGE WITH THE TIMES.

IN OUR OWN LIFETIME WE WERE BLESSED WITH A BLACK MAN OF THE MINISTRY, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, WHO LEFT A LEGACY OF GOODWILL AND GAVE HIS LIFE TRYING TO CHANGE INJUSTICES IN OUR SOCIETY. AS WE LEAVE TONIGHT, LET US CARRY WITH US THE WORDS FROM MARTIN LUTHER KING'S LAST SERMON:

"IF I CAN HELP SOMEBODY AS I PASS ALONG, IF I CAN CHEER SOMEBODY WITH A WELL SONG, IF I CAN SHOW SOMEBODY HE'S TRAVELLING WRONG, THEN MY LIVING WILL NOT BE IN VAIN.

"IF I CAN DO MY DUTY AS A CHRISTIAN OUGHT. IF I CAN BRING SALVATION TO A WORLD ONCE WROUGHT,



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"IF I CAN SPREAD THE MESSAGE AS THE MASTER TAUGHT,
THEN MY LIVING WILL NOT BE IN VAIN."

TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE AMERICA ^{THE} LAND OF MILK AND
HONEY FOR ALL PEOPLE.

I thank you.

