

**The original documents are located in Box 26, folder “September 28, 1974 - Ohio Black Political Assembly” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

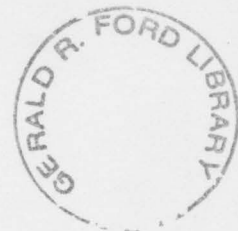
### **Copyright Notice**

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 Bettye L. Scott donated to the United States of America her copyrights in all of her husband's unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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

HOLD FOR RELEASE 8:00 A. M., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1974

CIVIL RIGHTS SINCE THE SIXTIES  
OHIO BLACK POLITICAL ASSEMBLY  
CINCINNATI, OHIO

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



I WELCOME AND APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN  
YOU HERE IN CINCINNATI TODAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE  
OHIO BLACK POLITICAL ASSEMBLY. I WILL TAKE THIS  
OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE WITH YOU MY VIEWS ON WHERE WE ARE----  
AS A PEOPLE----AND WHAT I THINK WE MUST DO TO MEET THE  
CHALLENGES AHEAD.

JUST LAST YEAR, THE NATION MARKED THE TENTH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON WASHINGTON--  
ONE OF THE LARGEST ASSEMBLIES OF PERSONS TO PETITION THE  
GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON'S HISTORY. IN MANY WAYS,  
THOSE WERE THE "GOOD OLD DAYS" OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVE-  
MENT. FOR EVEN IF IT WAS A TIME OF DOGS AND WATER HOSES,  
OF AXE HANDLES AND JAIL CELLS -- OF THINGS BETTER CONSIGNED  
TO TEXTBOOKS THAN TO MEMORY -- IT WAS A TIME OF GENUINE  
BROTHERHOOD, OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS, OF MORAL  
FERVOR, AND A SHARED BELIEF THAT JUSTICE WOULD BE DELIVERED  
SWIFTLY TO ALL THE NATION'S CITIZENS. IT WAS AN ERA THAT



GAVE BIRTH TO THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION SINCE RECONSTRUCTION. IN SHORT, CIVIL RIGHTS WAS, IN THE WORDS OF THE LATE MARTIN LUTHER KING, "AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAD COME."

WHERE IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TODAY? HAS IT BORN THE FRUIT ONCE DREAMED OF AND FOUGHT FOR? OR IS IT A DEAD LETTER KILLED BY VICIOUS POLITICS? ANY FAIR ASSESSMENT MUST CONCLUDE THAT CIVIL RIGHTS TODAY IS AN ESTABLISHED, VIGOROUS, SOMETIMES COMPLICATED PROGRAM WHICH HAS DELIVERED, AND IS STILL DELIVERING, THE MOST DRAMATIC SOCIAL GAINS IN RECENT HISTORY. IT IS ALSO A PROGRAM WHICH HAS MUCH WORK YET UNFINISHED. AND FINALLY, IT IS A MOVEMENT WHOSE SUCCESSES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE BEEN SHROUDED IN THE CONFUSION OF RAPID CHANGE AND THE POLITICS OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.





EVEN THE MOST CASUAL OBSERVER OF RACE RELATIONS TODAY CAN SEE THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRIDES OF THE LAST FEW YEARS IN VIRTUALLY ALL AREAS OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF RECENT PERFORMANCE REVEALS ACHIEVEMENTS OF SUBSTANTIAL, OFTEN UNPRECEDENTED, DIMENSIONS.

LET'S LOOK BRIEFLY AT THE RECORD.

YOU MAY FIND IT INTERESTING TO KNOW THAT OUR GOVERNMENT'S EXPENDITURES IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELATED SOCIAL PROGRAMS WILL BE \$3 1/2 BILLION IN 1975 AS AGAINST \$1.1 BILLION IN 1970. WE'LL SPEND \$604 MILLION IN 1975 ON CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT AS AGAINST \$75 MILLION IN 1969.

WE NOTE A 400% INCREASE IN THE BUDGET OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1970 and 1975, --- \$11 MILLION to \$53.7. THIS IS MOST SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE THE E. E. O. ACT IS A MAJOR FOCAL POINT



ASSURING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR MINORITY CITIZENS.  
THROUGH THIS COMMISSION THE GOVERNMENT CAN:

- A. BRING SUIT IN U. S. DISTRICT COURTS TO ENFORCE  
NONDISCRIMINATION;
- B. FILE CIVIL ACTION AGAINST PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT  
DISCRIMINATION;
- C. INVESTIGATE CHARGES INVOLVING EMPLOYEES OF STATE  
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

WE ARE EXPANDING THE GOVERNMENT'S DRUG TREATMENT  
CAPACITY, INCLUDING A VA TREATMENT PROGRAM FOR 18,000  
VETERANS.

WE ARE ATTACKING ECONOMIC POVERTY AND OTHER SOCIAL  
ILLS THROUGH:

- A. FEDERAL OUTLAYS FOR BENEFITS TO LOW-INCOME PERSONS  
INCREASED FROM \$15.9 BILLION IN 1969 TO AN ESTIMATED  
\$32.2 BILLION IN 1975.
- B. FIVE-FOLD INCREASE IN FEDERAL FOOD AID FROM  
\$1.2 BILLION IN 1969 to \$5.8 BILLION in 1975.



- C. AN ESTIMATED 200,000 WELFARE RECIPIENTS WILL BE PLACED IN JOBS UNDER OUR WORK INCENTIVE (WIN) PROGRAM.
- D. FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR EMPLOYMENT RELATED CHILD CARE WILL COME TO \$586 MILLION IN 1975 AS AGAINST \$143 MILLION IN 1970.

I AM FREQUENTLY ASKED AROUND THE COUNTRY, "IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEAD?" MY CONSISTENT AND PERSISTENT ANSWER IS A LOUD NO. THE EMPHASIS OF CAREFUL PLANNING IN AND EXECUTION OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THE ERA OF CONFRONTATION IN THE 60'S HAS BEEN REPLACED WITH A FAR LESS DRAMATIC, BUT I BELIEVE A MORE DIFFICULT BUT PRODUCTIVE IMMEDIATE AND LONG RANGE PROGRAM.

MINORITIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THE POLITICAL APPROACH. GREATER EMPHASIS ON REGISTRATION PROGRAMS, DEFINING POLITICAL ISSUES AND APPROACHING THE VOTING BOOTH IN LARGER NUMBER.



THE SIXTIES CONSTITUTED AN EXAMINATION OF THE  
WRONGS: THE SEVENTIES AN APPLICATION OF THE REMEDIES.

DEALING WITH THESE QUESTIONS REQUIRES SCALPEL AND  
SUTURES, NOT THE BOILING CAULDRON OF A FEW YEARS AGO.

THIS IS THE WORK THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY. IT IS THE  
WORK THAT LOGICALLY FOLLOWS THE SYMBOLIC AND LEGISLATIVE  
GAINS MADE BEFORE. IT IS THE PAYOFF ON THOSE GAINS. WHILE  
I THINK WE MUST AGREE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, I WOULD  
ADD THAT THERE CAN NEVER BE ENOUGH PROGRESS UNTIL ALL  
AMERICANS ARE ASSURED OF PARITY ACROSS THE BOARD.

SOMETIMES IT'S EVEN HARD FOR STUDENTS OF RACE  
RELATIONS TO UNDERSTAND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BECAUSE  
WE ARE TALKING ABOUT NEW TACTICS IN THE 70's TO RESOLVE  
ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS CREATED BY PROGRESS MADE DURING  
THE PAST DECADE. MOST OF THE SYMBOLIC, EARLY GAINS  
STEMMING FROM CIVIL CONFRONTATION ARE BEHIND US. WHAT  
REMAINS IS THE LESS SPECTACULAR TASK OF RESOLVING THE

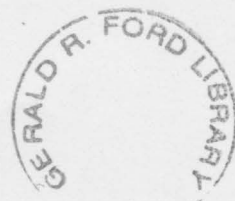




MORE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT ISSUES AHEAD IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL AS MINORITY RIGHTS. IT IS, IN MY VIEW, INDEED A SIGN OF MATURITY THAT IN TEN YEARS CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT HAS BECOME A PART OF THE BASIC FABRIC OF AMERICAN LIFE.

IN THE 60's WE WERE ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF FREEING OURSELVES FROM THE MENTAL CHAINS OF SLAVERY AND SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP. THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS WE PRESSED OUR BILL OF PARTICULARS BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH SIT-INS, JAIL-INS AND COUNTLESS OTHER FORMS OF MASS PROTEST.

NOW THE TACTICS HAVE CHANGED. MOST OF THE LAWS ARE NOW ON THE BOOKS. WE HAVE PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS AND VOTING RIGHTS LAWS. WE REALIZED IN THE 60's THAT IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE ACCESS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN LESS DRAMATIC INVOLVEMENT. WE WANT TO OWN SOME OF THOSE LUNCH COUNTERS, HOTELS AND GAIN SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT



AND PRIVATE SECTOR CONTRACTS. WE ARE FINALLY TALKING ABOUT BECOMING PRODUCERS AS OPPOSED TO AGE-OLD CONSUMERS IN THIS GREAT CAPITALISTIC DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GAINING A REAL PIECE OF THE AMERICAN PIE. NOW THAT WE HAVE MADE IT INSIDE THE FACILITY, WE NOW WANT A PIECE OF THE ACTION....AND RIGHTLY SO -- THIS IS WHAT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS ALL ABOUT.

THE MOMENTUM OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS CONTINUING, EXPANDING, AND ACHIEVING GREATER CONCRETE SUCCESSES IN BOTH OLD AND NEW AREAS OF ENDEAVOR.

SO WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE TO MAKE EQUALITY A REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS? FIRST, I THINK, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE CERTAIN TRUTHS.

THE BLACK VOTE TODAY IS THE LEAST EFFECTIVE VOTE IN AMERICA. WE HAVE EARNED THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA -- THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS -- IN





THE SIXTIES, BUT WE HAVE NOT LEARNED TO PARTICIPATE TOO WISELY.

HERE'S THE SITUATION TODAY -- IN SEPTEMBER OF 1974.

A CANDIDATE CAN ANNOUNCE FOR OFFICE AND BEFORE HE MAKES HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN SPEECH -- IF HE HAPPENS TO BE A DEMOCRAT -- HE KNOWS THAT HE HAS FROM 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF THE BLACK VOTE IN HIS HIP POCKET. HOW CAN AN INDIVIDUAL OR A GROUP OF PEOPLE GAIN COMMITMENTS FROM POLITICIANS KNOW THAT THEY HAVE THAT INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP'S VOTES AT THE OUTSET?

WE, AS A RACIAL MINORITY, HAVE GOT TO STOP ALLOWING OURSELVES TO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED -- BY THE DEMOCRATS, AND THOSE OF US WHO COUNT OURSELVES REPUBLICANS -- MUST FIGHT TO MAKE THE GOP LIVE UP TO ITS PROMISE OF BEING THE "PARTY OF THE OPEN DOOR."

AN INDICATION OF HOW STRONGLY I FEEL ABOUT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS SIMPLY THIS: IF 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF BLACK



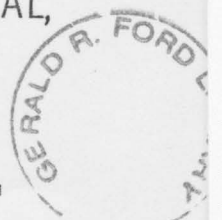
AMERICANS WERE VOTING THE REPUBLICAN LINE TODAY, I WOULD SWITCH TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

WE WILL NEVER, IN MY VIEW, LIVE UP TO OUR POLITICAL POTENTIAL AND REAP THE BENEFITS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM UNTIL WE INSIST THAT BOTH MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES ACTIVELY SEEK OUT OUR VOTE.

I STRONGLY AGREE WITH LOS ANGELES CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE, NORMAN HODGES, WHO STATED RECENTLY:

"THE AMERICAN TWO-PARTY SYSTEM EXISTS ALMOST EVERY PLACE IN THE NATION EXCEPT THE BLACK COMMUNITY. IN BLACK COMMUNITIES ACROSS OUR NATION ONLY ONE OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IS WORKING FOR US, AND A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM CAN'T DO AN EFFECTIVE JOB. "

"HEAVEN FORBID, WE HAVE TO WAIT FOR SOCIAL UNREST DISPLAYED IN THE STREETS TO MOTIVATE THE EXISTING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL, UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE HARLEMS AND WATTS COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY. "



"IF YOU SHOW ME AN AREA IN AMERICA WHERE THERE IS BETTER THAN 75% DEMOCRATIC REGISTRATION, I WILL SHOW YOU A MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREA THAT IS MINORITY. IF YOU SHOW ME AN AREA WHERE DEATH BY VIOLENT CRIMES IS FOUR TIMES GREATER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE AND BLACK MALES ARE DYING FASTER BY BULLETS THAN CANCER, WHERE POCKETS OF UNEMPLOYMENT WILL AVERAGE 31%, SIX TIMES HIGHER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE, I WILL SHOW YOU AN AREA WITH A HIGH DEMOCRATIC REGISTRATION. "

"THE ABSENCE OF FUNCTIONAL POLITICS AND INFLATION ARE TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. IT IS PRECISELY ALL OF THE ABOVE CONDITIONS WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO INFLATION AND ARE MULTIPLIED BY THE NUMBER OF MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS. WITHOUT PROPER USE OF THE BALLOT, WE ARE A VOICELESS PEOPLE. "

IN OTHER WORDS, NO ONE POLITICAL PARTY HAS EVER DELIVERED ALL OF ITS PROMISES, AND NO ONE POLITICAL PARTY WILL DELIVER ALL OF OUR NEEDS IN THE FUTURE UNTIL WE INCREASE



THE SOPHISTICATED USE OF OUR BALLOT -- JUST AS OTHER INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS HAVE DONE SO EFFECTIVELY.

NOW TO THE BUSINESS OF A THIRD PARTY. THIS, RECALL, WAS A PART OF THE PHILOSOPHY THAT EMERGED FROM THE GARY MEETING IN 1972. I PROTESTED THEN AND I DISAGREE TODAY WITH THE CONCEPT OF A THIRD PARTY. THE FACT IS WE DO NOT YET PARTICIPATE IN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES. A THIRD PARTY FORCE, IN MY VIEW, WOULD ONLY FURTHER DILUTE THE STRENGTH OF OUR VOTE. IF WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GIVING 30 PERCENT OF OUR VOTE TO EACH OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES AND KEEPING IN RESERVE UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE OF AN ELECTION THAT 40 PERCENT BALANCE OF POWER I WOULD SAY -- DEFINITELY YES.

AND FINALLY, I WOULD URGE UNITY OF PURPOSE, UNITY OF GOALS, NOT UNIFORMITY. BUT WE MUST LEARN TO WORK TOGETHER FOR COMMON GOALS.

THE FRANCHISE HAS BEEN WON. NOW WE MUST USE IT. AN ESTIMATED 145 MILLION PERSONS WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN





THE NOVEMBER CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. IF PAST PATTERNS HOLD, FEWER BLACKS PERCENTAGE-WISE AS COMPARED WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, WILL EVEN BOTHER TO VOTE.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT FREEDOM IS NOT FREE. WE MUST MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITY AT THE BALLOT BOX; WE MUST MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN SUPPORTING EACH OTHER. THE CHALLENGE IS OURS.

SO, IF WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN A SINGLE DECADE -- AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE -- WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPT OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL. FOR IT IS ONLY THROUGH CONTINUED DEDICATION THAT WE WILL FINALLY REACH THE DAY THAT MEN LIKE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING ENVISIONED FOR US ALL IN HIS HISTORIC DREAM OF A DECADE AGO.

THANK YOU.

###



I welcome and appreciate the opportunity to join you here in Cincinnati today to participate in the Ohio Black Politics Assembly. I will take this opportunity to share with you my views on where we are --- as a people --- and what I think we must do to meet the challenges ahead.

~~JUST A FEW YEARS AGO~~, THE NATION MARKED THE TENTH  
Just last year  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON WASHINGTON --  
ONE OF THE LARGEST ASSEMBLIES OF PERSONS TO PETITION THE  
GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON'S HISTORY. IN MANY WAYS,  
THOSE WERE THE "GOOD OLD DAYS" OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. FOR EVEN IF IT WAS A TIME OF DOGS AND WATER HOSES, OF AXE HANDLES AND JAIL CELLS -- OF THINGS BETTER CONSIGNED TO TEXTBOOKS THAN TO MEMORY -- IT WAS ALSO A TIME OF GENUINE BROTHERHOOD, OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS, OF MORAL FERVOR, AND A SHARED BELIEF THAT JUSTICE WOULD BE DELIVERED SWIFTLY TO ALL THE NATION'S CITIZENS. IT WAS AN ERA THAT GAVE BIRTH TO THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION SINCE RECONSTRUCTION. IN SHORT, CIVIL RIGHTS WAS, IN THE WORDS OF THE LATE MARTIN LUTHER KING, "AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAD COME."

~~WHERE~~  
~~WHAT~~ IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TODAY? HAS IT BORN THE FRUIT ONCE DREAMED OF AND FOUGHT FOR? OR IS IT A DEAD





LETTER KILLED BY ~~DEFARIOUS~~ <sup>Vicious</sup> POLITICS? ANY FAIR ASSESSMENT  
MUST CONCLUDE THAT CIVIL RIGHTS TODAY IS AN ESTABLISHED,  
VIGOROUS, SOMETIMES COMPLICATED PROGRAM WHICH ~~IS~~ <sup>HAS</sup>  
DELIVERED, AND IS STILL DELIVERING, THE MOST DRAMATIC  
SOCIAL GAINS IN RECENT HISTORY. IT IS ALSO A PROGRAM  
WHICH HAS MUCH WORK YET UNFINISHED. AND FINALLY, IT  
IS A MOVEMENT WHOSE SUCCESSES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE BEEN  
SHROUDED IN THE CONFUSION OF RAPID CHANGE AND THE  
POLITICS OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

EVEN THE MOST CASUAL OBSERVER OF RACE RELATIONS TODAY  
CAN SEE THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRIDES OF THE LAST FEW YEARS IN  
VIRTUALLY ALL AREAS OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL  
LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF RECENT PERFORMANCE REVEALS  
ACHIEVEMENTS OF SUBSTANTIAL, OFTEN UNPRECEDENTED,  
DIMENSIONS.



Briefly  
LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD.

YOU MAY FIND IT INTERESTING TO KNOW THAT OUR GOVERNMENT'S EXPENDITURES IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELATED SOCIAL PROGRAMS WILL BE \$3-1/2 BILLION IN 1975 AS AGAINST \$1.1 BILLION IN 1970. WE'LL SPEND \$604 MILLION IN 1975 ON CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT AS AGAINST \$75 MILLION IN 1969.

WE NOTE A 400% INCREASE IN THE BUDGET OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1970 AND 1975, \$11 MILLION TO \$53.7. THIS IS MOST SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE OF THE E. E. O. ACT IS A MAJOR FOCAL POINT FOR

← ASSURING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR MINORITY CITIZENS.

THROUGH THIS COMMISSION THE GOVERNMENT CAN:

- A. BRING SUIT IN U. S. DISTRICT COURTS TO ENFORCE NONDISCRIMINATION;
- B. FILE CIVIL ACTION AGAINST PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION;
- C. INVESTIGATE CHARGES INVOLVING EMPLOYEES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

~~IN THE AREA OF MINORITY ENTERPRISE, EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. MORE FUNDS ARE BEING SPENT -- EVEN CONSIDERING A DEFLATED VALUE OF THE DOLLAR -- TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, FIGHT DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND PROCESSING A MAJOR WAR ON THE DRUG PROBLEM.~~

~~IN COMPARING 1974 AND 1970, WE NOTE AN INCREASE FROM \$690 MILLION TO \$754 MILLION IN 1975. WE ARE EXPANDING THE GOVERNMENT'S DRUG TREATMENT CAPACITY, INCLUDING A VA~~

4. ~~3~~

TREATMENT PROGRAM FOR 18,000 VETERANS. ~~NO ACTION~~

WE ARE ATTACKING ECONOMIC POVERTY AND OTHER SOCIAL  
ILLS THROUGH:

A. FEDERAL OUTLAYS FOR BENEFITS TO LOW-INCOME  
~~(INCREASED)~~  
PERSONS FROM \$15.9 BILLION IN 1969 TO AN ESTIMATED  
\$32.2 BILLION IN 1975.

B. FIVE FOLD INCREASE IN FEDERAL FOOD AID FROM  
\$1.2 BILLION IN 1969 TO \$5.8 BILLION IN 1975.

~~C. OF ALL THE OEO MAJOR PROGRAMS, ONLY ONE  
COMMUNITY ACTION -- WILL BE PHASED OUT. BUT COM-  
MUNITY ACTION WILL BE REPLACED WITH A PROGRAM OF  
DIRECT SUPPORT.~~

~~D. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES WILL BE FUNDED  
FOR \$39.3 MILLION IN 1975.~~

E. AN ESTIMATED 200,000 WELFARE RECIPIENTS WILL BE  
PLACED IN JOBS UNDER OUR WORK INCENTIVE (WIN) PROGRAM.



F. FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR EMPLOYMENT RELATED CHILD CARE WILL COME TO \$586 MILLION IN 1975 AS AGAINST \$143 MILLION IN 1970.

THIS IS PROGRESS, TANGIBLE AND ENCOURAGING.

~~BUT NOW MY FELLOW PROBLEM SOLVERS. WE MUST MOVE ON TO THE MORE DIFFICULT STRETCH ON THE ROAD TO PROGRESS. WE HAVE HAD THE DECADE OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONFRONTATION IN THE 60's. NOW, WE MUST CAREFULLY CONCEPTUALIZE, PROGRAM AND ATTACK VIGOROUSLY THE REMAINING SOCIO-ECONOMIC ILLS. WE FIND INEQUITIES STILL IN ALL THE AREAS I LISTED EARLIER IN MY REMARKS CITING PROGRESS. FOR AS PROGRESS IS MADE, GREATER AND MORE PERSISTENT DEMANDS FOR SWIFTER AND MORE NOTICEABLE CHANGES ARE BEING MADE.~~

~~AS FAR AS THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF OUR GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED, I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST A COURSE OF ACTION. THIS COURSE WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US AS PARTNERS TO MOVE FORWARD IN A LEADERSHIP ROLE.~~





6

I AM FREQUENTLY ASKED AROUND THE COUNTRY, "IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEAD?" MY CONSISTENT AND PERSISTENT ANSWER IS A LOUD NO. THE EMPHASIS OF CAREFUL PLANNING IN AND EXECUTION OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THE ERA OF CONFRONTATION IN THE 60's HAS BEEN REPLACED WITH A FAR LESS DRAMATIC, BUT I BELIEVE A MORE DIFFICULT BUT PRODUCTIVE IMMEDIATE AND LONG RANGE PROGRAM.

MINORITIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THE POLITICAL APPROACH. GREATER EMPHASIS ON REGISTRATION PROGRAMS, DEFINING POLITICAL ISSUES AND APPROACHING THE VOTING BOOTH IN LARGER NUMBER.

THE SIXTIES

CONSTITUTED AN EXAMINATION OF THE WRONGS; THE SEVENTIES  
AN APPLICATION OF THE REMEDIES. DEALING WITH THESE QUESTIONS REQUIRES SCALPEL AND SUTURES, NOT THE BOILING CAULDRON OF A FEW YEARS AGO.

THIS IS THE WORK THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY. IT IS THE WORK

THAT LOGICALLY FOLLOWS THE SYMBOLIC AND LEGISLATIVE GAINS made before. It is the pay off on those gains. while I think we must agree that progress has been, I would ~~tell~~ that there can never be enough progress until all Americans are assured of parity across the board.



7

~~12-5~~

~~WE MUST AGREE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE.~~

SOMETIMES IT'S EVEN HARD FOR STUDENTS OF RACE RELATIONS  
TO UNDERSTAND THE ~~EXTENT OF THAT PROGRESS~~ *Civil Rights Movement* BECAUSE WE ARE  
TALKING ABOUT NEW TACTICS IN THE 70's TO RESOLVE ADDITIONAL  
PROBLEMS CREATED BY PROGRESS MADE DURING THE PAST  
DECADE. MOST OF THE SYMBOLIC, EARLY GAINS STEMMING  
FROM CIVIL CONFRONTATION ARE BEHIND US. WHAT REMAINS  
IS THE LESS SPECTACULAR TASK OF RESOLVING THE MORE COMPLEX  
AND DIFFICULT ISSUES AHEAD IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS  
AS WELL AS MINORITY RIGHTS. IT IS, IN MY VIEW, INDEED A  
SIGN OF MATURITY THAT IN TEN YEARS CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT  
HAS BECOME A PART OF THE BASIC FABRIC OF AMERICAN LIFE.

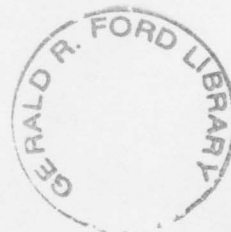
IN THE 60's WE WERE ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF FREEING  
OURSELVES FROM THE MENTAL CHAINS OF SLAVERY AND SECOND-CLASS  
CITIZENSHIP. THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS WE PRESSED OUR  
BILL OF PARTICULARS BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH SIT-INS,  
JAIL-INS AND COUNTLESS OTHER FORMS OF MASS PROTEST.





NOW THE TACTICS HAVE CHANGED. MOST OF THE LAWS ARE NOW ON THE BOOKS. WE HAVE PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS AND VOTING RIGHTS LAWS. WE REALIZED IN THE 60's THAT IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE ACCESS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN LESS DRAMATIC INVOLVEMENT. WE WANT TO OWN SOME OF THOSE LUNCH COUNTERS, HOTELS AND GAIN SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR CONTRACTS. WE ARE FINALLY TALKING ABOUT BECOMING PRODUCERS AS OPPOSED TO AGE-OLD CONSUMERS IN THIS GREAT CAPITALISTIC DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GAINING A REAL PIECE OF THE AMERICAN PIE. NOW THAT WE HAVE MADE IT INSIDE THE FACILITY, WE NOW WANT A PIECE OF THE ACTION ... AND RIGHTLY SO -- THIS IS WHAT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS ALL ABOUT.

THE MOMENTUM OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS CONTINUING, EXPANDING, AND ACHIEVING GREATER CONCRETE SUCCESSES IN BOTH OLD AND NEW AREAS OF ENDEAVOR.



8

SO, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE TO MAKE EQUALITY A REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS ? FIRST, I THINK, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE CERTAIN TRUTHS.

TODAY

THE BLACK VOTE/IS THE LEAST EFFECTIVE VOTE IN AMERICA. WE HAVE EARNED THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA---THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS---IN THE SIXTIES, BUT WE HAVE NOT LEARNED TO PARTICIPATE TOO WISELY.

HERE'S THE SITUATION TODAY--IN SEPTEMBER OF 1974. A CANDIDATE CAN ANNOUNCE FOR OFFICE AND BEFORE HE MAKES HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN SPEECH---IF HE HAPPENS TO BE A DEMOCRAT--HE KNOWS THAT HE HAS FROM 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF THE BLACK VOTE IN HIS HIP POCKET. HOW CAN AN INDIVIDUAL OR A GROUP OF PEOPLE GAIN COMMITMENTS FROM POLITICIANS KNOW THAT THEY HAVE THAT INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP'S VOTES AT THE OUTSET ?

WE, AS A RACIAL MINORITY, HAVE GOT TO STOP ALLOWING OURSELVES TO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED--BY THE DEMOCRATS, AND THOSE OF US WHO COUNT OURSELVES REPUBLICANS--MUST FIGHT TO MAKE THE GOP LIVE UP TO ITS PROMISE OF BEING THE "PARTY OF THE OPEN DOOR."

AN INDICATION OF HOW STRONGLY I FEEL ABOUT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS SIMPLY THIS: IF 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF BLACK AMERICANS WERE VOTING THE REPUBLICAN LINE TODAY I WOULD SWITCH TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

WE WILL NEVER, IN MY VIEW, LIVE UP TO OUR POLITICAL POTENTIAL AND REAP THE BENEFITS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM UNTIL WE INSIST THAT BOTH MAJOR/PARTIES ACTIVELY SEEK OUT OUR VOTE.



# Hodges

## CONGRESS

NORMAN A. HODGES, Candidate  
31st Congressional District

HUBERT L. HEMSLEY, M.D.  
Chairman

JOHN HEALEY  
Vice Chairman

LEONARD K. FIRESTONE  
Hon. Finance Chairman

GEORGE M. ELTINGE  
Finance Committee Chairman

JOHN DAVID DUNCAN  
Treasurer

MRS. JOSEPH BLATCHFORD  
Secretary

LARRY GOULD  
Legal Advisor

ANN LADD  
Recording Secretary

LAURENCE K. GOULD, JR.  
Counsel

TED SHORT

JAMES WOODS

STEFFANIE LEE

REV. PAUL MARTIN

MEN FOR HODGES

E. J. JONES

ED ELLIS

WOMEN FOR HODGES

BETTY WOODS

BEVERLY CARNELL

YOUNG VOTERS FOR HODGES

ROBERT ADAMS

KIDS FOR HODGES

OIDA WOODS

JOHN SMITH

DEMOCRATS FOR HODGES

MAXIE FLIER

HILLARD HAMM

NORMAN R. HODGES

Youth Coordinator

SISTER MARILYN THERESE RUDY C.S.J.

DR. HENRY LUCAS

RICHARD ALLEN

ROBERT H. FINCH

JOHN GRAYSON

ROBERT ALDANA

DEAN SLOAN

TOSH SHINNABUKURO

Voter Registration Chairman

TRUMAN JACQUES

### POSITION PAPER

#### INFLATION AND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM FOR BLACK AMERICANS

~~Norman A. Hodges~~

*I strongly agree with Los Angeles Congressional Candidate, Norman Hodges, who stated recently:*

"The American two-party system exists almost every place in the nation except the Black community. In Black communities across our nation only one of the political parties is working for us, and a one-party system can't do an effective job.

"Heaven forbid, we have to wait for social unrest displayed in the streets to motivate the existing Democratic leadership to come to grips with the problems of social, educational, unemployment and economic needs of the ~~Black~~ *Harlems and Watts* communities across the country.

~~I seek the office of the United States Representative from the 31st Congressional District to bring, in a functional way, the benefits of the two-party system and its inherent competition into an area where schools lack the funds to provide a meaningful education to the young, where communities have pockets of unemployment of 31%, where one-third of the houses are boarded up (in the Compton area) and those that are occupied are secured with bars to keep out vandals and~~

Hodges for Congress  
2509 W. Rosecrans Ave.,  
Los Angeles, Ca. 90059  
Telephone: 638-8516





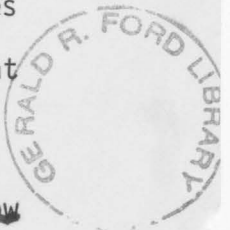
~~burglars who unconsciously prey the streets with dope, unprepared educationally and thus, unacceptable for skilled employment!~~

All these factors contribute heavily to the increasing inflation. The continuously disregarded costly studies promoted by the federal government and the consequent ineffective programs of the expanding bureaucracies only add fuel to the flames of the ever-growing inflation.

The impact of inflation on the country at large has been articulated by many significant organizations and individuals. But the impact of inflation on the Black community, its welfare recipients, its under-employed, its aged and unemployed, is becoming quietly catastrophic.

As I address this issue, it would seem to be self-serving and smack of political selfishness, to state that political competition is needed to bring efficient social programs that have failed dramatically to bring minority Americans into the ~~mainstream~~ mainstream of the American economy. I state that without reservation, that one of the best ways to arrest spiralling inflation is to bring the inherent into high density minority populated areas. competition of the two-party system and all of its nuances./

"If you show me an area in America where there is better than 75% Democratic registration, I will show you a major metropolitan area that is minority. If you show me an area where death by violent crimes is four times greater than the national average and Black males are dying faster by bullets than cancer, where pockets of unemployment will average 31%, six times higher than the national average, I will show you an area with a high Democratic registration. If you will show

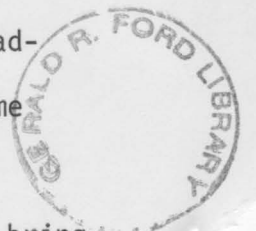


me an area where businesses have been abandoned, vandalism and property damage are higher than in any other parts of the community; if you will show me where homes have been boarded up because residents are in flight to find other liveable surroundings leaving the federal government holding the note on houses that are unfit to live in, I will show you an area where insurance premiums will be almost three times higher because the area has been deemed a high risk area and 42% of this community will be in ill-health, poorly housed, poorly educated, and unequipped to obtain employment where professional or trade skills are needed.

"The absence of functional politics and inflation are two sides of the same coin. It is precisely all of the above conditions which contribute to inflation and are multiplied by the number of major metropolitan areas. *Without proper use of the ballot, we are a voiceless people.*" #

Normal competition that could be used to reduce the inflationary spiral does not exist to the same degree in the Black community as it does in an affluent white community. So, the problem remains longer and continues to have an adverse impact long after it is reduced in other areas of the country. Unless we in the Republican Party increase the spirit of free enterprise and competition in the Black community and among the poor in general there is no hope, for the disadvantaged, too, must have access to improved quality of life the same as all other Americans.

Electing a Black Republican Congressman committed to bringing the two-party system to all Americans will be a first step in that direction; however, it won't solve all the problems of inflation. But it will provide the kind of impact to bring a balance of thinking into the



delivery of goods and services to all Americans.

The problems of inflation are not singular in effect, but are the result of a complex series of events. It is necessary that a completely integrated and total systems management program be implemented to seriously be effective in the elimination of inflation. For example, the creation of a new cabinet position - Secretary of Domestic Economics - which would focus on rapidly growing domestic issues and prepare the policies necessary to solve them in a reasonable length of time. These policies can not be dictates of government, but rather in concert with the self-restraint of business, labor, consumers, and the softening of their collective demands for more.

Our country has gone through three presidential assassinations, impeachment hearings, and a presidential resignation. And we haven't missed a step as a nation. Our political system is still well and functioning. No military organization has had to take over the government to transfer its power. It's a great system. We must apply the best of that system to make a better life for all Americans. Our nation can set a ten year objective to place a man on the moon, utilizing the greatest array of technology the world has ever witnessed. And, yet, we can't seem to find enough financial resources to aid a Black Republican congressional candidate who is attempting to bring the vitality of the two-party system to minority Americans. I suggest that the Republican Party must change its priorities to what is important to the growth and stability of our nation. What we do in these times of crisis must not be what's good for minority or majority, Republican or Democrat, but for the good of our nation as a whole.





IN OTHER WORDS, NO ONE POLITICAL PARTY HAS EVER DELIVERED ALL OF ITS PROMISES, AND NO ONE POLITICAL PARTY WILL DELIVER ALL OF OUR NEEDS IN THE FUTURE UNTIL WE INCREASE THE SOPHISTICATED USE OF OUR BALLOT-- JUST AS OTHER INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS HAVE DONE SO EFFECTIVELY.

NOW TO THE BUSINESS OF A THIRD PARTY. THIS, RECALL, WAS A PART OF THE PHILOSOPHY THAT EMERGED FROM THE GARY MEETING IN 1972. I PROTESTED THEN AND I DISAGREE TODAY WITH THE CONCEPT OF A THIRD PARTY. THE FACT IS WE DO NOT YET PARTICIPATE IN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES. A THIRD PARTY FORCE, IN MY VIEW, WOULD ONLY FURTHER DILUTE THE STRENGTH OF OUR VOTE. IF WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GIVING 30 PERCENT OF OUR VOTE TO EACH OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES AND KEEPING IN RESERVE UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE OF AN ELECTION THAT 40 PERCENT BALANCE OF POWER I WOULD SAY--DEFINATELY YES.

AND FINALLY I WOULD URGE UNITY OF PURPOSE, UNITY OF GOALS, NOT UNIFORMITY. BUT WE MUST LEARN TO WORK TOGETHER FOR COMMON GOALS.

THE FRANCHISE HAS BEEN WON. NOW WE MUST USE IT. AN ESTIMATED 145 MILLION PERSONS WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN THE NOVEMBER CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. IF PAST PATTERNS HOLD, FEWER BLACKS PERCENTAGE-WISE ~~WILL VOTE~~ AS COMPARED WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, WILL EVEN BOTHER TO VOTE.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT FREEDOM IS NOT FREE. WE MUST MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITY AT THE BALLOT BOX, WE MUST MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN SUPPORTING EACH OTHER. THE CHALLENGE IS OURS.

SO, IF WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN A SINGLE DECADE --  
AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE -- WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPT OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL. FOR IT IS ONLY THROUGH CONTINUED DEDICATION THAT WE WILL FINALLY REACH THE DAY THAT MEN LIKE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING ENVISIONED FOR US ALL IN HIS HISTORIC DREAM OF A DECADE AGO.

THANK YOU.

###

