The original documents are located in Box 25, folder "July 21, 1972 - Soul City (Speech by Robert J. Brown)" of the Stanley S. Scott Papers, 1969 - 1977 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 Bettye L. Scott donated to the United States of America her copyrights in all of her husband's unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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.

SOUL CITY

JULY 21, 1972

Robert J. Brown Special Assistant to the President



IT IS INDEED A PLEASURE TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TONIGHT.

AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, I ALWAYS WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN HOME TO NORTH CAROLINA AND TALK WITH THE <u>HOME</u> <u>FOLKS</u>. BUT, THIS IS A SPECIAL OCCASION -- I DARE SAY, A HIS-TORICALLY-SIGNIFICANT OCCASION -- AND I AM PRIVILEGED, AS WELL AS DELIGHTED, TO BE HERE.

THIS IS A SPECIAL OCCASION BECAUSE IT IS THE KICK-OFF, THE FORMAL BEGINNING, OF SOMETHING WHICH IS UNPRECEDENTED IN OUR HISTORY, SOMETHING WHICH IS VITAL AND IMPORTANT TO OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE AS A RACE OF PEOPLE, AS A GROWING STATE, AS A STRONG, HEALTHY NATION --- SOUL CITY.

THE STRENGTHS OF SPIRIT, BODY, AND INTELLECT WHICH HAVE FOR SO LONG SUSTAINED US AS AN OPPRESSED RACE --- THOSE STRENGTHS WHICH HAVE ENABLED OUR STATE TO GROW AND IMPROVE



ITSELF -- THOSE STRENGTHS WHICH ENABLED THE FOUNDING FATHERS TO BUILD THIS NATION ARE EVIDENT IN THE CONCEPTION, THE PLANNING, AND THE BEGINNING OF SOUL CITY.

SOUL CITY IS THE PRODUCT OF ONE MAN'S SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE DREAM.

THAT MAN IS FLOYD B. McKISSICK, A NATIVE OF THIS STATE WHO HAS RETURNED FROM THE NORTH BECAUSE, AS HE SAYS, "THIS IS THE ONLY STATE I HAVE"; WHO HAS RETURNED HOME DETERMINED TO DO SOMETHING THAT NO ONE ELSE HAS DONE IN OUR TIME.

THE THOUGHT OF WHAT FLOYD MCKISSICK AND HIS ASSOCIATES ARE DOING HERE SIMPLY BOGGLES THE MIND: THEY ARE ABOUT TO TRANSFORM WHAT WAS A 19TH CENTURY, SLAVE-WORKED PLANTATION INTO A BOOMING, NEW INDUSTRIAL CITY OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

THIS IS NOT TO BE -- AS SOME PROFESS TO BELIEVE OR ACTUALLY FEAR -- AN ALL-BLACK CITY. THIS IS NOT TO BE A STRONGHOLD OF THE RACIAL SEPARATIST PHILOSOPHY.

SOUL CITY WILL BE <u>BLACK-OWNED</u>. BUT IT WILL BE AN OPEN CITY -- A CITY FOR ALL PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN THE TENETS OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, RACIAL EQUALITY, AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

A REQUISITE OF SOUL CITY IS COOPERATION BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES. WITHOUT BLACK AND WHITE COOPERATION, SOUL CITY CANNOT BE BUILT. WHY, THEN, WHEN IT IS BUILT, SHOULD IT BE A CLOSED CITY?

WHEN I CONSIDER THE IMPORTANCE AND MAGNITUDE OF WHAT MR. McKISSICK IS DOING HERE, I AM REMINDED OF OTHER GREAT



- 3 -

PIONEERS WHOSE DEEDS HAVE HAD TREMENDOUS, POSITIVE, AND LASTING EFFECT ON THE LIVES OF THE MULTITUDES -- SUCH PIONEERS

AS:

JEAN DUSABLE, THE FUR-TRAPPER AND MERCHANT-TRADER WHO FOUNDED THE GREAT CITY OF CHICAGO (THAT IS A LITTLE-KNOWN PART OF OUR BLACK HISTORY);

THOSE 27 BLACK LATINS WHO HELPED THE GREAT CITY OF LOS

AND THE LATE C.C. SPAULDING, A ONE-TIME BARBER WHO HELPED FOUND -- AND WHO FOR MANY YEARS HEADED -- THE LARGEST BLACK BUSINESS IN AMERICA, THE NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

WHEN I CONSIDER THE IMPORTANCE AND MAGNITUDE OF SOUL CITY, I AM REMINDED OF MANY GREAT BLACKS WHO DREAMED BIG DREAMS AND MADE THOSE DREAMS COME TRUE. SOUL CITY IS A DREAM COME TRUE. THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS DREAM COULD HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE BLACK COMMUNITIES OF THIS NATION, ON THE WHOLE OF AMERICA ITSELF, FOR WHAT IT MEANS.

WHAT IT MEANS IS THAT BLACKS ARE NOW GETTING INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE.

WE HAVE NOTHING AGAINST WELFARE FOR THOSE WHO MUST HAVE IT IN ORDER TO SURVIVE, BUT WE ARE TRYING TO BREAK THE CYCLES OF POVERTY AND THEY CANNOT BE BROKEN IF WE ARE HELD IN BONDAGE AS THE PRESENT WELFARE SYSTEM HAS DONE AND STILL

DOES.

SOUL CITY REPRESENTS TO ME--AND TO MILLIONS OF BLACKS--ONE WAY, ONE AVENUE, THROUGH WHICH WE CAN BREAK OUT OF, BREAK AWAY FROM, THE STATE OF BONDAGE, THE STATE OF POVERTY, WHICH IS THE PURGATORY OF FAILURE, DESPAIR, SICKNESS, AND DEATH FOR SO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE--RIGHT HERE IN WARREN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, AND THROUGHOUT MANY CITIES, COUNTIES, AND STATES OF OUR NATION.

FLOYD McKISSICK SPOKE THE TRUTH WHEN HE SAID, "WE HAVE ONE COMMON ENEMY--POVERTY. WE HAVEN'T GOT TIME TO FIGHT EACH OTHER."

FAITH ALWAYS HAS BEEN A VITAL FORCE IN BLACK AMERICAN HISTORY. WITHOUT FAITH, IN FACT, WE COULD NOT HAVE SURVIVED. WHEN I SPEAK OF HAVING FAITH, I DO NOT MEAN MERELY <u>BELIEVING</u>. I MEAN: HAVING THAT QUALITY AND STRENGTH OF FAITH WHICH ENABLES ONE TO GO BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY, WHICH ENABLES ONE TO GO

- 6 -

THAT SECOND MILE, WHICH ENABLES ONE TO HURDLE THE OBSTACLES AND ROADBLOCKS WHICH MEN WITH GREAT, NEW IDEAS ALWAYS FACE.

I WILL NOT DWELL TONIGHT ON THE ROADBLOCKS TO SOUL CITY. THAT WOULD, PERHAPS, BE POINTLESS. BUT IT IS NEVERTHELESS TRUE THAT MANY PEOPLE HERE IN THIS COUNTY AND STATE HAVE FOUGHT SOUL CITY.

THE MORE IMPORTANT TRUTH, HOWEVER, IS THAT FLOYD McKISSICK, LIKE THE CHAMPION ATHLETE, COMES TO WIN. AND, WIN HE DOES.

I CAN BELIEVE HIM WHEN HE PROJECTS FOR SOUL CITY IN 30 YEARS A POPULATION OF 44,000, BOOMING INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS, GOOD HOMES AND SCHOOLS AND HEALTH FACILITIES AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES AND STREETS--A CITY, IN SHORT, WHICH ITS PEOPLE WILL



BE PROUD OF -- A CITY WHICH HAS BECOME A MODEL FOR AMERICA.

I CAN ENVISION SOUL CITY AS A MODEL BY WHICH MANY OF THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN DECAY ARE SOLVED--ESPECIALLY THAT PROBLEM OF THE NORTH CAROLINIAN OR THE SOUTH CAROLINIAN OR THE ALABAMAN WHO FLEES HOME BECAUSE OF IMPOVERISHED CON-DITIONS ONLY TO WIND UP IN THE NORTH OR MIDWEST IN CRUMBLING, INNER-CITY GHETTOS.

WHEN MORE SOUL CITIES ARE BUILT, THE DISTANT "PASTURE" IN ANOTHER STATE WILL NOT APPEAR TO BE GREENER THAN THE VERDANT PASTURE OF HOME.

I FEEL THAT, AS A RACE, WE TEND SOMETIMES TO DWELL TOO LONG, TO EXPEND TOO MUCH ENERGY, ON OBSTACLES, REAL OR FANCIED, AND NOT ENOUGH ON DOING THE JOB THAT HAS TO BE DONE.



AN EXPLANATION DOES NOT MAKE A RIGHT OUT OF A WRONG. THE TRUTH IS THAT IT IS HUMAN NATURE AT WORK WHEN PEOPLE REACT ADVERSELY TO GREAT, NEW IDEAS. BUT ONE CANNOT LET NEGATIVE PEOPLE GET HIM DOWN.

THE CHAMPION KEEPS ON SWINGING, PLUNGING, FIGHTING. AND, LIKE THE CLEVELAND BROWNS OF JIM BROWN'S TIME, THE NEW YORK YANKEES OF OLD, LIKE THE BALTIMORE COLTS OF JOHNNY UNITAS' HEYDAY, THE CHAMPION MAKES HIS OWN BREAKS.

I AM HERE TONIGHT AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON'S REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. IT IS THROUGH THIS ADMINISTRATION, I AM PLEASED TO SAY, THAT FLOYD McKISSICK WAS ABLE TO ''MAKE SOME OF THE BREAKS'' SO NECESSARY TO THE

SUCCESS OF THIS MAGNIFICENT PROJECT.

UNLIKE PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE PAST, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO MINORITY ENTERPRISE, TO BLACK PROGRESS. IT IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT BLACKS WHO ARE STRIVING TO BUILD, TO GROW, TO OVERCOME -- NOT WITH SPEECHES OR MORE CONFERENCES, BUT WITH <u>HARD</u>, <u>COLD DOLLARS</u>.

THERE IS ONE THING I HAVE FOUND TO BE TRUE WHEN IT COMES TO "GETTING THE BREAKS": IF YOU'RE IN THERE PITCHING, WORKING, THINKING, DOING YOUR BEST -- IF, AS THE SAYING GOES, YOU'RE "TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS" -- OTHERS WILL OBSERVE THIS; THEY WILL BE IMPRESSED BY IT, AND THEY WILL OFFER THEIR HELP.

OR, ELSE, WHEN YOU NEED HELP AND ASK FOR IT, THEY WILL GIVE IT.

THIS ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO HELPING BLACK PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES.



IT IS COMMITTED NOT ON THE BASIS OF CHARITY OR ENSLAVING WELFARE BUT ON THE BASIS OF AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP AND SELF

DETERMINATION.

WE LIKE TO FEEL THAT WE ARE SPIRITUAL PARTNERS IN SOUL CITY AS WELL AS FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS.

WHEN I SAY "WE," I AM TALKING ABOUT PRESIDENT NIXON;

I AM TALKING ABOUT THE WHITE HOUSE;

I AM TALKING ABOUT THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT;

I AM TALKING ABOUT OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF THE U.S. GOVERN-MENT WHICH ARE PERTINENT TO THE BUILDING OF SOUL CITY.

AND, WHILE I AM ON THE SUBJECT OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, PLEASE PERMIT ME TO INFORM YOU AS TO SOME OTHERS OF THE BLACK PROJECTS WE ARE ENGAGED IN RIGHT NOW.

JUST TODAY, CHARLES WALKER, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT, ANNOUNCED THAT DEPOSITS IN BLACK BANKS, STIMULATED BY OUR PROGRAM TO HELP THOSE INSTITUTIONS, NOW AMOUNT TO MORE THAN \$800 MILLION. BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, THAT FIGURE WILL PAST THE \$1 BILLION MARK.

THAT IS NOT RHETORIC. THAT IS FACT.

IF THERE ARE ANY BLACK BANKERS IN THE AUDIENCE TONIGHT, THEY MAY CHECK IT OUT. IN FACT, ANYONE CAN VISIT ANY BLACK BANK AND HAVE THESE FACTS SUBSTANTIATED.

THE TRUTH IS THAT BLACK FOLKS NEVER HAVE HAD THIS KIND OF IN-PUT IN AMERICA AT ANY PREVIOUS TIME.

IF YOU CALL THIS CONSERVATIVE, WE NEED MORE OF IT. THIS IS THE ONLY THING WHICH WILL GET US OVER. THE SYSTEM WILL NOT CHANGE BY ITSELF. WE MUST GET IN THERE AND WORK WITH IT TO EFFECT WHATEVER CHANGES ARE NECESSARY TO HELP OUR

PEOPLE.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS BLACK COLLEGES.

UP UNTIL THREE AND A HALF YEARS AGO, THE MOST BLACK COLLEGES RECEIVED IN ANY ONE YEAR WAS A SORT OF PITTANCE OF A FEW MILLION DOLLARS. WE ARE NOW SPENDING MORE THAN \$200 MILLION ON BEHALF OF BLACK COLLEGES. AND THAT FIGURE WILL RISE DRAMATICALLY IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

NORTH CAROLINA, HAVING MORE BLACK COLLEGES THAN ANY OTHER . . STATE, IS ONE OF THE PRIME BENEFICIARIES OF THIS COMMITMENT. INSTEAD OF A COMMITMENT TO CLOSE UP BLACK COLLEGES, AS MANY OF OUR "LIBERAL FRIENDS," QUOTE, UNQUOTE, HAVE WANTED TO DO, WE NOW HAVE A COMMITMENT TO REVITALIZE THE BLACK COLLEGES.

WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT REVITALIZING BLACK COLLEGES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SEGREGATION BUT REVITALIZING THEM WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WE SHOULD KEEP OPEN EVERY COLLEGE DOOR POSSIBLE FOR ALL PEOPLE, BLACK AND WHITE.

IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUL CITY, I HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT MINORITY ENTERPRISE.

WELL, IN PREVIOUS YEARS, WE HAVE HAD A LOT OF <u>TALK</u> ABOUT MINORITY ENTERPRISE -- BUT THERE HAS BEEN VERY LITTLE ACTION ON IT -- VERY LITTLE GOVERNMENTAL HELP FOR IT.

A FEW YEARS AGO, SOMEONE SUGGESTED THAT WHAT WE NEEDED TO DO WAS ESTABLISH 10,000 NEW BLACK BUSINESSES EACH YEAR FOR THE NEXT 10 YEARS. BUT THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE PERSON WHO MADE THIS SUGGESTION DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT BLACK BUSINESS. HE HAD NO COMMITMENT TO BLACK BUSINESS. HE WAS MERELY TRYING TO CATCH THE EYE OF THE PRESS.

PRIOR TO THIS ADMINISTRATION, THE MOST EVER SPENT BY THE GOVERNMENT ON BEHALF OF BLACK BUSINESS WAS \$200 MILLION <u>IN FOUR YEARS</u>. NOW, MORE THAN \$800 MILLION IS BUDGETED FOR THIS PROGRAM IN FISCAL YEAR 1973.

AMONG THE MANY OTHER PROGRAMS THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS INITIATED ON BEHALF OF BLACK AMERICANS IS THE PROGRAM TO FIGHT SICKLE CELL ANEMIA. ALTHOUGH BLACKS HAVE SUFFERED FROM THIS DREADED DISEASE FOR 500 YEARS, NO GOVERNMENTAL

EFFORT WAS MADE TO COMBAT IT PRIOR TO THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

- 15 -

THE KEY TO SUCCESS IN THIS FIGHT IS MONEY. THE PRESIDENT HAS ALLOCATED FUNDS TO FIGHT SICKLE CELL ANEMIA. YESTERDAY, IN FACT, GRANTS TOTALING \$9 MILLION WERE MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING RESEARCH, TREATMENT, AND EDUCATIONAL CENTERS AROUND THE COUNTRY. THOSE GRANTS ARE FOR THE <u>FIRST</u> YEAR. THEY ARE GUARANTEED FOR FIVE YEARS.

WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A NEW STANDARD IN GOVERNMENTAL EMPLOYMENT.

NOW, SOME PEOPLE SAY IT IS NOT IMPORTANT TO HAVE BLACKS EMPLOYMENT IN GOVERNMENT, THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON SOMETHING ELSE. BUT I SAY IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE BLACKS EMPLOYED IN THE TOP LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

WHAT ARE WE EDUCATING OUR KIDS FOR?

THE <u>FUTURE</u> RESTS ON YOUNG PEOPLE--HOW WE RELATE TO THEM; HOW WE RESPOND TO THEIR NEEDS.

IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE EDUCATE OUR KIDS SO THAT THEY CAN FUNCTION IN TOP LEVEL GOVERNMENT JOBS, SO THEY CAN FUNCTION WHERE THE ACTION IS, SO THEY CAN HELP THEIR PEOPLE--SO THEY CAN HELP THE POOR AND THE DISADVANTAGED. WE'VE BEEN THROUGH THE ERA OF MASS CONFRONTATIONS FOR

THE SAKE OF CONFRONTATION. BUT THAT TIME IS PAST.

IF WE ARE GOING TO BRING ACTUAL MEANING TO OUR FIGHT FOR EQUALITY, THEN WE MUST STAY ON THE CASE -- AND THAT MEANS: HAVING 50 TIMES MORE BLACKS EMPLOYED IN THE WHITE HOUSE

THAN EVER BEFORE;

HAVING A BLACK MAN ON THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, WHICH CONTROLS THE VASTLY IMPORTANT BROADCAST MEDIA;

HAVING THE FIRST MILITARY COURT JUDGE WHO RULES ON MANY OF THE CASES WHICH DETERMINE THE COURSE OF MILLIONS OF YOUNG MEN'S LIVES IN THIS COUNTRY:

HAVING FOR THE FIRST TIME 10 GENERAL OFFICERS IN OUR ARMED FORCES--INSTEAD OF ONE BLACK GENERAL--WITH OPPORTUNITIES

TO MOVE AHEAD;

HAVING A CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT BUDGET OF MORE THAN \$600 MILLION INSTEAD OF \$75 MILLION THREE AND A HALF YEARS AGO.

THIS IS WHAT BEING ON THE CASE MEANS TO ME. FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN AMERICA, THIS IS WHAT IT HAS TO MEAN.

OF COURSE IT IS TRUE THAT NOT ENOUGH HAS BEEN DONE. NOT ENOUGH WILL HAVE BEEN DONE UNTIL THERE ARE NO MORE POOR PEOPLE IN AMERICA, UNTIL THERE IS NO MORE RACISM, UNTIL THERE IS NO MORE DISCRIMINATION--UNTIL IT IS NO LONGER THE PRACTICE TO HIRE BLACKS LAST AND FIRE THEM FIRST.

I AM NOT HERE TO TELL YOU THAT ENOUGH HAS BEEN DONE. WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT DESPITE ALL THAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION--THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION IS ANTI-POOR AND ANTI-BLACK, THAT THE PRESIDENT DOESN'T CARE--DESPITE THE HOSTILE ATTITUDES OF MANY BLACKS AROUND THE NATION. . . .

DO IT THIS WAY:

TAKE ALL THE FACTS, NOT RHETORIC, NOT SPEECHES. . .

TAKE ALL THE FACTS ABOUT WHAT IS BEING DONE AND WEIGH THEM AGAINST WHAT HAS BEEN DONE PREVIOUSLY AND MAKE YOUR OWN JUDGMENT ABOUT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

IS THAT FAIR ENOUGH?

I BELIEVE THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS PROVEN IT CARES ABOUT BLACKS. IN ALL TRUTH, THOUGH, I SOMETIMES WONDER WHETHER THE PROBLEM IS THAT BLACKS ARE ANTI-NIXON INSTEAD OF THE OTHER WAY AROUND. I DO KNOW, AS A RESULT OF WORKING WITH HIM, THAT PRESIDENT NIXON CARES.

THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS GONE THE SECOND MILE IN ALMOST EVERY INSTANCE WHERE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES ARE

WE HAVE DONE MORE THAN THE PAST ADMINISTRATION. IN SOME

CONCERNED THAT AFFECT THE LIVES OF BLACK PEOPLE.

CASES, WE HAVE DONE MORE THAN ALL OF THE PAST ADMINISTRATIONS.

WE HAVE DONE THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED VERY FEW BLACK VOTES IN 1968.

JUST ON THE BASIS OF BEING FAIR, WHICH BLACK PEOPLE ASK OF EVERYONE ELSE, I THINK HE DESERVES MORE CREDIT FOR WHAT HE HAS DONE THAN THOSE WHO WROTE US OUT A CHECK OF PROMISES WHICH BOUNCED EVERY FOUR YEARS.

HE HAS WRITTEN A CHECK AND THAT CHECK IS NOW BEING CASHED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SICKLE CELL ANEMIA, IN SUPPORT OF BLACK COLLEGES, IN SUPPORT OF BLACK BUSINESSES, IN FOOD PROGRAMS FOR THE POOR, AND IN MANY OTHER AREAS.

BLACKS PREVIOUSLY HAVE COME UP WITH CHECKS WHERE, AFTER TWO YEARS OR FOUR YEARS, THE CHECKS HAVE BEEN RETURNED STAMPED "INSUFFICIENT FUNDS." BUT NOW THE CHECKS ARE BEING CASHED AND THERE ARE SUFFICIENT FUNDS IN THE BANK TO COVER THEM.

THERE IS EVIDENCE OF THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON CARES RIGHT HERE IN SOUL CITY. THERE WILL BE A GREAT DEAL MORE EVIDENCE OF IT HERE IN SOUL CITY, IN WATTS, IN ROBBINS, ILLINOIS, IN BLACK AREAS ALL OVER AMERICA.

- 22 -

WE MUST STOP BEING DISHONEST WITH OUR PEOPLE. WE MUST TELL THEM THE TRUTH. ALL TOO MANY OF OUR LEADERSHIP HAVE BEEN DISHONEST WITH OUR PEOPLE--TELLING THEM ONLY ENOUGH OF THE TRUTH TO MAKE WHATEVER POINT THEY HAVE WANTED TO MAKE FOR THEIR OWN SELFISH PURPOSES. NEVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY HAVE SO MANY UNTRUTHS AND HALF-TRUTHS BEEN TOLD TO BLACK PEOPLE BY PEOPLE WHO ARE CALLED BLACK LEADERS. AND NEVER BEFORE HAVE SO MANY VITAL TRUTHS BEEN KEPT FROM BLACK PEOPLE. NO ONE DOES BLACK PEOPLE ANY GOOD BY DENYING OR ATTEMPTING TO HIDE THE TRUTHS ABOUT SUCH AS BLACK-ON-BLACK CRIME AND WELFARE.

WE'VE GOT TO RID OF SLUM LANDLORDS, NOT PROTECT THEM. WE MUST RUN THE MUGGERS AND THE DOPE DEALERS AND THE MURDERERS AND THE ROBBERS OUT OF BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS.

BLACK PEOPLE MUST MOBILIZE AS A FORCE IN THIS COUNTRY IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH OUR PROBLEMS--AND, IT SEEMS TO ME, THE PEOPLE KNOW ACTUALLY KNOW MORE ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE DONE THAN OUR "LEADERS," QUOTE, UNQUOTE.

THEY KNOW MORE ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF CRIME AND POVERTY, OF BAD HOUSING AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION; THEY KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO BE THE LAST HIRED AND THE FIRST FIRED---WHILE SO MANY OF OUR SELF-PROCLAIMED AND HIGHLY-PUBLICIZED "LEADERS," QUOTE, UNQUOTE, ARE LIVING HIGH ON THE HOG AS A RESULT OF THEIR EXPLOITATION OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

WE MUST CONCENTRATE MORE OF OUR EFFORTS ON SOLVING OUR DAY-TO-DAY, SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, WE MUST CONCENTRATE MORE ON THESE PROBLEMS THAN ON CONFRONTATION OR RACIAL SEPARATION OR OTHER EXOTIC EXPERIMENTS.

W.C. HANDY, THE LATE, GREAT MUSICAL COMPOSER, ONCE SAID THAT LIFE IS SOMETHING LIKE A TRUMPET. IF YOU DON'T PUT ANYTHING INTO IT, YOU DON'T GET ANYTHING OUT OF IT.

WE MUST BEGIN NOW TO PUT SOMETHING -- A GOOD DEAL <u>MORE-</u> INTO OUR INSTITUTIONS. . . . NOT JUST FOR THE SAKE OF GETTING SOMETHING OUT OF THEM, BUT FOR <u>THE SAKE OF OUR VERY SURVIVAL</u>.

THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WE NEED REQUIRES BRAINS AND HARD, UNGLAMOROUS WORK. IT REQUIRES AN UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN NATURE. IT REQUIRES MUCH MORE THAN ORATORICAL EXCELLENCE. IT MUST BE CAPABLE OF LOOKING AT OUR BROTHERIN THE GHETTO, UNDERSTANDING HIS DIMMING HOPE, AND REACHING OUT TO GIVE HIM A HELPING HAND.

WE NEED MORE BLACK LEADERS LIKE FLOYD McKISSICK.

NOT ONLY DOES HE POSSESS ALL THE QUALITIES I HAVE JUST MENTIONED, HE IS A MAN WHO UNDERSTANDS THE TRUTH OF W.C. HANDY'S PARABLE.

PREVIOUSLY, HE PUT HIS LIFE INTO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND, NOW, IN ANOTHER WAY, HE IS DOING SOMETHING VERY SUBSTAN-TIVE AND MEANINGFUL FOR HIS PEOPLE.

IT TAKES SOUL TO BUILD A SOUL CITY.

I KNOW THE CITY WILL BE GUILT BECAUSE SOUL IS ONE QUALITY FLOYD B. McKISSICK HAS A GREAT DEAL OF.

I THANK YOU.

