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48TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
REGENCY HYATT HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

BY:

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The White House
Washington, D. C.



I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK BEFORE A GROUP WHOSE INTEREST IN THE LAW IS NOT MERELY TO BRING IT TO THE COMMUNITY, BUT TO INTERPRET AND TO MAKE IT VITAL.

YOU AND I KNOW THAT PUTTING LAWS ON THE BOOKS DOES NOT MAKE THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE LAW COME TRUE. THE LAW BECOMES REALITY AS A RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF PERSONS LIKE YOURSELVES. AND WHEN THE LAW SOMETIMES FALLS SHORT IN ERADICATING MANY OF THE ILLS OF OUR SOCIETY, SOME SORT OF REFORM CERTAINLY APPEARS TO BE IN ORDER.

I BELIEVE NEW FEDERALISM IS AN EXAMPLE OF AN ESSENTIAL REFORM -- TOTALLY IN HARMONY WITH THE NEEDS OF THE TIMES. NEW FEDERALISM IN PHILOSOPHY, IN GOALS, AND IN SPECIFIC PROGRAMS CALLS FOR RADICAL RETHINKING OF THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

THIS COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED ON A PREMISE THAT A PROPER BALANCE BE MAINTAINED BETWEEN FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL



GOVERNMENTS. THE FOUNDING FATHERS WERE SUSPICIOUS OF CONCENTRATION OF POWER AT ANY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT. IN THE LAST 30 YEARS, HOWEVER, POWER HAS FLOWED INCREASINGLY AND UNCEASINGLY TO WASHINGTON. LIKE SOME GIANT MAGNET PLUCKING AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY FROM STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, WASHINGTON HAS THROWN THE BALANCE OUT OF WHACK.

THE INEVITABLE BY-PRODUCTS OF THIS TREMENDOUS CONCENTRATION WERE HUGE AGENCIES AND BUREAUCRACIES. GRADUALLY, THE BIGGER AND FATTER THEY GOT, THE MORE ISOLATED THEY BECAME FROM THE VERY PEOPLE THEY WERE TRYING TO SERVE. PAPERWORK BECAME MORE IMPORTANT THAN SOUND POLICY. REGULATIONS BECAME MORE IMPORTANT THAN RESULTS. SELF PRESERVATION BECAME MORE IMPORTANT THAN SERVICE. "WASHINGTON KNOWS BEST" BECAME THE WATCHWORD.

NOW, I DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT



IS ABOUT TO GO OUT OF BUSINESS. WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT THE AMERICA OF THE 70'S IS NOT THE AMERICA OF THE NEW DEAL OR EVEN OF THE 60'S. TODAY, THE ELDERLY, THE POOR, AND THE MINORITIES KNOW HOW TO ORGANIZE POLITICALLY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. THEY VOTE. THEIR VOICES ARE HEARD. AND THEY ELECT THEIR OWN -- AND NO LOCAL POLITICIAN -- NO MATTER HOW WELL ENTRENCHED -- CAN DARE IGNORE THEIR POWER OR DEMANDS.

THAT'S WHY THE DECENTRALIZATION INHERENT IN NEW FEDERALISM MAKES SO MUCH SENSE AND IS RIGHT FOR TODAY'S AMERICA. THIS IS WHY REVENUE SHARING, A PART OF THAT NEW FEDERALISM, WILL PROVE TO BE A BOON TO SOCIAL PROGRAMS RATHER THAN THE DEATH OF THEM.

MANY OF THE DECISIONS NOW MADE IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE MADE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. IT SHOULD BE UP TO YOU AND YOUR LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS TO DEFINE THE PROBLEMS, DETERMINE



THE PRIORITIES, AND DEVELOP THE SOLUTIONS, AND IN DOING SO, BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR YOUR ACTIONS.

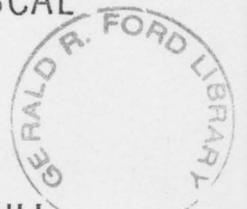
REVENUE SHARING IS A KEYSTONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S NEW FEDERALISM. ESTABLISHED WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE STATE AND LOCAL FISCAL ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1972, THE PROGRAM WILL RETURN MORE THAN \$30 BILLION TO OVER 38,000 JURISDICTIONS IN FIVE YEARS. AS PRESENTLY AUTHORIZED AND FUNDED, GENERAL REVENUE SHARING IS RETURNING FEDERAL MONEY TO STATES, CITIES, COUNTIES, TOWNSHIPS, INDIAN TRIBES AND ALASKAN NATIVE VILLAGES TO BE USED AS THEY DEEM APPROPRIATE.

GENERAL REVENUE SHARING REPRESENTS MANY THINGS TO MANY PEOPLE -- BUT ABOVE ALL, IT REPRESENTS A REVITALIZATION OF AMERICAN FEDERALISM -- A RENEWED FAITH IN THE CAPABILITY OF LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS TO SUCCESSFULLY SOLVE THE COMPLEX URBAN AND REGIONAL PROBLEMS OF AMERICA IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY.



GENERAL REVENUE SHARING IS DISTINGUISHED BY SIX
BASIC CHARACTERISTICS:

1. IT IS SIMPLE. -- THE OPERATION IS SPELLED OUT CLEARLY AND SPECIFICALLY IN THE LAW, THE MONEY IS DISTRIBUTED ON THE BASIS OF READILY AVAILABLE OBJECTIVE DATA. THE PROGRAM IS ORGANIZED TO OPERATE WITH A MINIMUM OF FEDERAL AGENCY ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD.
2. IT HAS NO STRINGS. -- STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ARE RELATIVELY FREE TO EXERCISE THEIR OWN DISCRETION OVER THE USE OF THE FUNDS. EXCEPT FOR A MINIMUM OF CONGRESSIONALLY MANDATED REQUIREMENTS, THERE ARE NO FEDERAL "STRINGS" TIED TO THE MONEY.
3. IT IS AUTOMATIC. -- THE STATES AND LOCALITIES CAN RELY ON REVENUE SHARING IN THEIR OWN FISCAL PLANNING. THE MONEY FOR REVENUE SHARING IS AUTOMATICALLY AVAILABLE EACH YEAR FOR THE FULL



FIVE-YEAR AUTHORIZATION FOR THE PROGRAM.

4. IT IS FAIR. -- THE FUNDS GO TO EVERY STATE, EVERY CITY AND EVERY COUNTY IN THE NATION. ALL AREAS ARE INCLUDED -- URBAN AND RURAL, LARGE AND SMALL, RICH AND POOR, INDUSTRIALIZED AND AGRICULTURAL.
5. IT IS NEUTRAL. -- THE STATE-BY-STATE AND THE INTRA-STATE DISTRIBUTIONS ARE MADE USING AN OBJECTIVE FORMULA WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT POPULATION, INCOME AND TAX EFFORT, AND, IN STATES WHICH WOULD BENEFIT, URBANIZED POPULATION AND STATE INCOME TAX COLLECTIONS.

TO ILLUSTRATE HOW SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING CAN ALLEVIATE MANY OF THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE SYSTEM PRIOR TO NEW FEDERALISM REFORMS, I WANT TO DISCUSS THE CASE OF THE BETTER COMMUNITIES ACT. THE FIRST RESULT OF



ITS ENACTMENT WOULD BE SIMPLIFICATION. THE BETTER COMMUNITIES ACT WOULD REPLACE SEVEN CATEGORICAL PROGRAMS WITH A SINGLE PROGRAM OF SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. INSTEAD OF TIME CONSUMING FORMS AND DOCUMENTATION, A COMMUNITY WOULD ONLY HAVE TO PUBLISH A SINGLE STATEMENT OF GOALS AND ANTICIPATED ACTIVITIES.

THE SECOND RESULT WOULD BE FLEXIBILITY. THE COMMUNITY COULD FUND THE PROJECTS IT DETERMINES TO BE OF HIGHEST PRIORITY. IF PREVIOUS PROGRAMS WERE SUCCESSFUL, THEY COULD BE MAINTAINED.

A THIRD RESULT WOULD BE MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS.

-- UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM, URBAN RENEWAL GRANTS AMOUNTED TO OVER \$11,000 PER CAPITA IN ONE COMMUNITY, AND OVER \$1,000 PER CAPITA FOR 25 OTHER COMMUNITIES. MEANWHILE, NEW YORK CITY RECEIVED ONLY \$60 PER CAPITA: INDIANAPOLIS



ONLY \$20 PER CAPITA; AND ST. PETERSBURG, ONLY 35 CENTS PER CAPITA.

-- THE BETTER COMMUNITIES ACT WOULD DISTRIBUTE FUNDS PRIMARILY THROUGH A FORMULA BASED ON THREE OBJECTIVE INDICATORS OF NEED: POPULATION, POVERTY, (COUNTED TWICE), AND OVERCROWDING OF HOUSING.

A FOURTH RESULT WOULD BE INCREASED CITIZEN PARTICIPATION.

-- UNDER THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM FOR EXAMPLE, 85% OF THE RECIPIENTS WERE NON-GENERAL PURPOSE UNITS OF GOVERNMENT. WHEN CITIZENS COMPLAINED ABOUT A PROGRAM ACTIVITY, A MAYOR COULD SHRUG AND PASS THE BUCK TO THE LOCAL RENEWAL AGENCY WHICH ANSWERED TO NO LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIAL.

THE BETTER COMMUNITIES ACT WOULD LIMIT FUNDS TO GENERAL PURPOSE UNITS OF GOVERNMENTS, WHERE OFFICIALS



ARE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO LOCAL CITIZENS, AND BEFORE THESE FUNDS COULD BE SPENT, CITIZENS WOULD HAVE 60 DAYS IN WHICH TO COMMENT ON THE STATEMENT OF GOALS AND ANTICIPATED USES OF FUNDS.

THE SAME BASIC RESULTS WOULD APPLY TO THE REMAINING THREE SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING PROPOSALS.

THE BETTER SCHOOLS ACT, THE ADMINISTRATION'S EDUCATION SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING PROPOSAL, WILL CONSOLIDATE SOME 32 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION PROGRAMS INTO FIVE BROAD AREAS OF SUPPORT: EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED, EDUCATION OF THE HANDICAPPED, VOCATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AID TO DISTRICTS WITH A HEAVY FEDERAL PRESENCE, AND SUPPORTIVE MATERIALS AND SERVICES. FAR FROM GETTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OUT OF THE EDUCATION BUSINESS, THIS PROPOSAL WOULD REINFORCE THE PARTNERSHIP NECESSARY BETWEEN STATE, LOCAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS.

MANPOWER REVENUE SHARING IS BEING SET IN MOTION

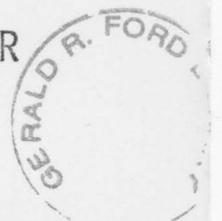


ADMINISTRATIVELY, RATHER THAN THROUGH NEW LEGISLATION. IN THE PAST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS OPERATED A NUMBER OF MANPOWER CATEGORICAL GRANT PROGRAMS LIKE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING, ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, AND JOB RETRAINING IN ORDER TO HELP THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE DISPLACED BECOME PRODUCTIVE MEMBERS OF THE LABOR FORCE.

SUCH PROGRAMS, THOUGH HIGHLY PRINCIPLED, WOULD OFTEN HAVE OVERLAPPING GOALS, AND RECIPIENTS WOULD BE FORCED TO TAILOR THEIR NEEDS TO CONFORM TO THE GUIDELINES SET UP BY WASHINGTON -- WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE COINCIDED WITH THE REAL NEEDS OF A GIVEN COMMUNITY OR LABOR MARKET.

JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES ONCE SAID, "BEHIND EVERY SCHEME TO MAKE THE WORLD OVER, LIES THE QUESTION, WHAT KIND OF WORLD DO YOU WANT?"

THE QUESTION OF THE KIND OF WORLD WE WANT GOES DIRECTLY TO THE HEART OF OUR ASSEMBLAGE HERE TODAY. IN THE PAST,



WE HAVE OFTEN CALLED FOR CHANGE WITHOUT KNOWING FOR SURE IN WHICH DIRECTION WE WANTED TO GO, OR JUST HOW FAR WE WANTED TO MOVE. WE WERE LIKE THE MAN WHO, WHEN ASKED THE ROUTINE QUESTION, "HOW ARE YOU TODAY?" REPLIED, "COMPARED TO WHAT?"

IN MAKING A SECOND REFERENCE TO THE MANPOWER REVENUE SHARING PROPOSAL, WE WILL BE DELEGATING TO STATE AND LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY FOR CONSOLIDATING, PLANNING, AND OPERATING MANPOWER PROGRAMS IN THEIR OWN AREAS.

FORMER TREASURY SECRETARY JOHN CONNALLY, SPEAKING OF GENERAL REVENUE SHARING IN 1971, SAID, "THIS IS AN AGE WHICH REQUIRES SOPHISTICATED MANAGEMENT OF THE HIGHEST ABILITY AND INTEGRITY. WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR IT THROUGHOUT THE PRIVATE SECTOR: BUSINESS, MEDICINE, LAW, SCIENCE. WE SEE REVENUE SHARING AS A WAY OF IMPROVING MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS BY PLACING MORE OF



THE DECISION MAKING POWER CLOSER TO THE PROBLEMS."

THE IMPACT OF GENERAL REVENUE SHARING CANNOT BE EVALUATED ONLY IN TERMS OF WHERE THE DOLLARS ARE FLOWING. THE DIVERSITY OF LOCAL NEEDS, THE COMPLEXITY OF DETERMINING PRIORITIES, AND THE POLITICAL REALITIES OF APPROPRIATING FUNDS MUST BE CONSIDERED WHEN EXAMINING GENERAL REVENUE SHARING EXPENDITURES.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE IS THE ONLY PROPOSAL SO FAR TO BE ACTED UPON BY CONGRESS. THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION PROVIDES GRANTS TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FOR THE PURPOSES OF REDUCING AND PREVENTING CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. THESE FUNDS SUPPORT FAR MORE THAN OVER-PUBLICIZED NEW POLICE EQUIPMENT. DEPENDING UPON THE ASSESSMENTS OF STATE AND LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS OF RELATIVE NEEDS AND PRIORITIES, THESE FUNDS SUPPORT A DIVERSITY OF EFFORTS RANGING FROM COURT REFORM TO STRENGTHENED COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONAL



PROGRAMS.

I BELIEVE IT IS APPROPRIATE AT THIS POINT TO NOTE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ASSURE NON-DISCRIMINATION IN FINANCIALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS IS A CLEAR ONE. LET THERE BE NO DOUBT IN ANYONE'S MIND AS TO WHAT THE LAW REQUIRES IN THIS AREA AND THERE BE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO ENFORCE FULLY BOTH TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND THE NONDISCRIMINATION PROTECTIONS CONTAINED IN THE GENERAL AND SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING BILLS. THE PRESIDENT HAS REQUESTED EXPENDITURES OF \$521 MILLION IN 1974 TO SUPPORT THE ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS, AN INCREASE OF 62% OVER 1973 SPENDING.

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS PRESENTLY GEARING UP FOR A STRONGER ROLE IN WHAT WILL BE AN IMPROVED AND STRENGTHENED TITLE VI COMPLIANCE CAMPAIGN. GREATER SCRUTINY WILL BE GIVEN TO AGENCY OPERATIONS, AND WHERE POTENTIAL DEFICIENCIES



ARE IDENTIFIED, JUSTICE WILL MOVE AGRESSIVELY.

EARLY STUDIES INDICATE THAT CONGRESSIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF THE REVENUE SHARING PROGRAM ARE BEING FULFILLED IN THE FOLLOWING WAYS:

(1) THE RESTORATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF BASIC CITY (AND STATE) SERVICES. IN MANY CITIES/STATES, GENERAL REVENUE SHARING DOLLARS ARE BEING EXPENDED ON ESSENTIAL SERVICES. WITHOUT THIS NEW FORM OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE, MAJOR CUTBACKS IN THE LEVEL AND QUALITY OF PUBLIC SERVICES WOULD OCCUR.

(2) THE STABILIZATION OF THE SPIRALING TAX RATE. MANY CITIES HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE FURTHER INCREASE IN THE PROPERTY TAX RATE WOULD BE ECONOMICALLY SELF-DEFEATING. GENERAL REVENUE SHARING PERMITS THEM TO HOLD THE LINE ON PROPERTY TAX RATE INCREASES. WITHOUT REVENUE SHARING FUNDS, THEY WOULD BE FACED WITH THE UNTENABLE CHOICE OF EITHER RAISING THE PROPERTY TAX RATE OR TERMINATING BASIC



PUBLIC SERVICES.

(3) THE CREATION AND EXPANSION OF INNOVATIVE LOCAL PROGRAMS. MANY LOCALITIES AND STATES ARE CHOOSING TO USE THEIR REVENUE SHARING FUNDS TO BEGIN INNOVATIVE NEW PROGRAMS.

(4) THE INCREASED INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL CITIZENS IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. WHILE THE REVENUE SHARING LAW AND REGULATIONS DO NOT MANDATE SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, MANY CITIES AND COUNTIES HAVE TURNED TO CITIZEN GROUPS FOR ASSISTANCE IN DETERMINING LOCAL NEEDS AND PRIORITIES.

(5) THE DEVELOPMENT OF EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIVE PLANNING AND PRIORITY-SETTING MECHANISMS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. GENERAL REVENUE SHARING IS STIMULATING MANY CITIES TO REEXAMINE THEIR TRADITIONAL PLANNING AND BUDGETARY PROCEDURES.

IN AN EARLIER CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION, THE PRESIDENT INDICATED HIS PLEASURE OF



THE GROWING AWARENESS BY BLACK LAWYERS OF THEIR ROLE
IN CHAMPIONING NOT ONLY THE CIVIL RIGHTS CAUSE BUT
THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN EVERY FACET OF OUR NATIONAL EFFORT
TO ENSURE A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

IN OUR IGNORANCE OF YESTERDAY, WE WERE SOMETIMES
CONTENT WITH THE MYOPIC VIEW THAT THE ATTAINMENT OF
THE AMERICAN DREAM MEANT A SHINY NEW CAR, COLOR
TELEVISION AND BROOKS BROTHERS' SUITS. TODAY, WE HAVE
COME TO EXPAND THAT VIEW TO INCLUDE THE MAKING OF THOSE
LAWS WHICH ALLOW ALL THESE THINGS TO BE POSSIBLE.

AS A BLACK IN THIS ADMINISTRATION, I AM WELL AWARE
OF BLACK PEER GROUP PRESSURE ON THOSE WILLING TO MAKE
A MOVE FORWARD. THE THING TO REMEMBER IS THAT WHATEVER
THE REASON FOR THAT PRESSURE, MAKE SURE THAT IT IS FOUNDED
ON A CLEAR AND OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS AND NOT A SHORT-SIGHTED,
EMOTIONAL BASE. WE HAVE LOST MANY BATTLES BECAUSE OF
BEAUTIFUL RHETORIC. WE CAN WIN MANY MORE IF WE RELY ON



STRATEGIC THINKING THAT IS BOTH RATIONAL AND REALISTIC.

THE ISSUE AT STAKE FOR US, AS BLACKS, IS GETTING SOMETHING DONE YESTERDAY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY. TO DO THIS, WE'VE GOT TO KNOW THE RULES OF THE GAME. THAT MEANS THAT EACH ONE OF US HAS TO MAKE SURE THAT WE LEARN THE GAME IN A HURRY AND PLAY IT WITH THE EXPERTISE OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PLAYING IT FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS.

RIGHT NOW THERE IS A LOT OF DISCUSSION ABOUT REVENUE SHARING. PEOPLE SAY, "YES, THE PROPOSALS MAKE SENSE, BUT WOULD THE MONEY REALLY BE SPENT IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY?" NOW, I SAY THIS IS REALLY A WAY OF QUESTIONING WHETHER LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIALS CAN BE TRUSTED TO SPEND ADEQUATE PORTIONS OF REVENUE SHARING FUNDS TO ASSIST THE DISADVANTAGED.

I DON'T BUY THIS LINE OF REASONING AND NEITHER SHOULD YOU. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE DISADVANTAGED CAN HAVE A LOT MORE INFLUENCE IN ELECTING A MAYOR THAN IN ELECTING A



PRESIDENT. THEREFORE, THEY CAN HAVE A LOT MORE CLOUT AND BRING A LOT MORE POLITICAL HEAT TO BEAR. THIS POWER OF THE DISADVANTAGED TO ELECT RESPONSIBLE MAYORS HAS BEEN CONCLUSIVELY DEMONSTRATED IN THE ELECTION OF FINE LEADERS SUCH AS TOM BRADLEY, CARL STOKES, KENNETH GIBSON AND OTHERS.

A BASIC PREMISE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS THAT THE BEST WAY TO ASSURE WISE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS IS TO ELECT WISE OFFICIALS AND GIVE THEM THE POWER TO CONTROL THE USE OF FUNDS. REVENUE SHARING IS BASED UPON THIS PREMISE. IT PUTS THE RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY IN THE HANDS OF ELECTED LOCAL OFFICIALS, WHO CAN BE HELD TO ACCOUNT BY THE LOCAL VOTERS -- THOSE WHO WILL BE MOST DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY WHETHER OR NOT THE FUNDS ARE USED WISELY.

OF COURSE, MANY HAVE RIGHTFULLY BEEN CONCERNED IN THE PAST THAT LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS DID NOT REFLECT THE WISHES OR THE DEMANDS OF THE ELECTORATE, ESPECIALLY IF



THAT ELECTORATE WAS BLACK, POOR OR DISADVANTAGED IN A NUMBER OF OTHER WAYS. I USED THE PAST TENSE ON PURPOSE BECAUSE TIMES HAVE CHANGED.

ONE REASON FOR THIS IS THE GROWING NUMBER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS. AT THE PRESENT TIME, 16 BLACKS ARE SITTING IN CONGRESS, INCLUDING ONE U. S. SENATOR -- EDWARD BROOK OF MASSACHUSETTS. THERE ARE ALSO 228 BLACK STATE LEGISLATORS IN 39 STATES, INCLUDING THE STATE OF MAINE.

IN THE SOUTH, THE NUMBER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS HAS GROWN TO 1,144 SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE 1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT. THERE ARE 38 BLACK MAYORS IN THE SOUTH; 55 BLACK STATE REPRESENTATIVES; NINE BLACK JUDGES; EIGHT BLACK SCHOOL BOARD PRESIDENTS AND MANY, MANY MORE.

STOP FOR A MOMENT TO CONSIDER WHAT ALL THIS MEANS. IT MEANS WE ARE BEGINNING TO HAVE SOME INPUT INTO THE PROCESSES THAT GOVERN OUR LIVES. I SAY BEGINNING BECAUSE



COMPARED TO THE NATIONAL PICTURE, OUR NUMBER IS RELATIVELY SMALL.

THE JUNE ISSUE OF "FOCUS", A NEWSLETTER PUT OUT BY THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES IN WASHINGTON POINTED OUT, "THE LOCAL LEVEL CONTINUES TO BE THE MOST PRODUCTIVE AREA FOR BLACKS SEEKING PUBLIC OFFICE. FORTY PER CENT (1,053) OF BLACKS HOLDING ELECTIVE OFFICE IN 1973 SERVE AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL." THE JCPS REPORT REVEALED THAT THE ELECTIVE OFFICES HELD BY BLACKS REPRESENTS ONLY A TOKEN ONE-HALF OF 1 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ELECTIVE OFFICES IN AMERICA.

THE INSTANT CONCLUSION WE CAN DRAW FROM THAT IS THAT IF WE ARE TO SEEK GREATER CONTROL OVER OUR LIVES WE MUST INCREASE THE NUMBER OF BLACKS IN POLICY MAKING POSITIONS.

IF THE EXPENDITURES UNDER THE REVENUE SHARING PROGRAM ARE TO REPRESENT PRIORITIES SET FORTH BY INDIVIDUAL



COMMUNITIES, IT IS OUR DUTY TO HAVE CITY PLANNERS AND MANAGERS WHO REPRESENT BLACKS.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE REVENUE SHARING CAN WORK. IT IS CLEAR ALREADY THAT THE NEW FEDERALISM HAS BEGUN TO ALTER THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LOCAL, STATE AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS IN WAYS WHICH MAY SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGE THE STRUCTURE AND POWER BALANCE OF OUR REPUBLIC.

REVENUE SHARING HAS GIVEN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MORE CONTROL OVER THEIR DESTINIES, AND BLACKS MUST EXERCISE THEIR VOTE AND CONCENTRATE ON PUTTING MORE BLACKS INTO THE STATE HOUSE, INTO CITY HALL AND THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT.

WITH THE ACTION SHIFTING TO THE LOCAL AND STATE SCENE, BLACKS MUST START TO THINK OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT IN TERMS OF ECONOMICS. WE MUST START TO THINK IN TERMS OF BLACK OWNED BUSINESSES, BLACK OPERATED FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, POLITICAL COALITIONS AND BUSINESS COALITIONS MUST BE OUR MAJOR CONCERNS.



I KNOW THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION WILL CONTINUE TO SHOW THE WAY TO ALL BLACK AMERICANS AS WE CONTINUE OUR STRUGGLE, TOGETHER.

WE CAN MAKE REVENUE SHARING WORK FOR EVERYBODY. AS MARTIN LUTHER KING SAID ON BEING AWARDED THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE:

" I REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT THE 'ISNESS' OF MAN'S PRESENT NATURE MAKES HIM MORALLY INCAPABLE OF REACHING UP FOR THE ETERNAL 'OUGHTNESS' THAT FOREVER CONFRONTS HIM. I REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT MAN IS FLOTSAM AND JETSAM IN A RIVER OF LIFE, UNABLE TO INFLUENCE THE UNFOLDING EVENTS WHICH SURROUND HIM. "



INSERT

I AM HONORED TO BE SPEAKING BEFORE SUCH DISTINGUISHED COMPANY. BUT I MUST CONFESS THAT SINCE I AM NOT A LAWYER, I FEEL A LITTLE LIKE THE MAN CHARGED WITH THEFT WHO SHOWED UP IN COURT WITHOUT AN ATTORNEY.

"DO YOU WANT ME TO ASSIGN YOU AN ATTORNEY?" ASKED THE PRESIDING JUDGE.

"NO SIR," SAID THE DEFENDANT.

"BUT YOU ARE ENTITLED TO AN ATTORNEY AND YOU MIGHT AS WELL HAVE THE BENEFIT OF HIS SERVICES," SAID THE PORTLY JURIST.

"IF IT'S ALL THE SAME WITH YOU," SAID THE DEFENDANT, "I'D LIKE TO THROW MYSELF UPON THE IGNORANCE OF THE COURT."

