

March 6, 1978

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson  
People United to Save Humanity  
930 E. 50th Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Dear Rev. Jackson:

I want you to know that I personally appreciated the message that you delivered to the Republican National Committee. I found it exceptionally well done, as I might expect from you. I was particularly impressed with the latter part of your talk to the committee regarding the moral values of our society. You've said it much better than I could have, although I feel as you do.

I've heard somewhere that if you're going out to find beauty, you must take it in your heart. And I'm confident in reading your speech that's precisely what you are doing.

Sincerely,

Victor Atiyeh

VA:mk

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 23, 1978

Dear Friend:

Last week I was invited to speak before the Republican National Committee. In accordance with their newly stated policy of opening up their party to a broader constituency--especially blacks--I chose to accept their invitation.

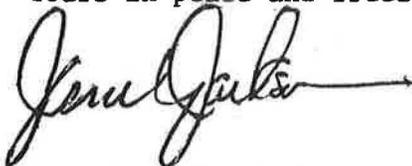
I think this dialogue between blacks and the Republican Party is important because to have both parties aggressively seeking to appeal to the interests of black and poor people is healthy.

Because of the ramifications of this dialogue and this speech I did not want to leave your understanding of what I said to chance or to distortions that may inadvertently occur because of condensed wire service stories or reporting. So I am sharing with you the entire text.

If possible I hope you will find the time to read and study it carefully. We encourage you to share any information or comments that you may have with us.

Thank you in advance for your interest in our work.

Yours in peace and freedom,



Rev. Jesse L. Jackson  
National President

JLJ/few

SPEECH BEFORE THE  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 20, 1978

BY

REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON

NATIONAL PRESIDENT

OPERATION PUSH (PEOPLE UNITED TO SAVE HUMANITY)

Last month your chairman, Mr. Bill Brock, sent me a letter. In the letter he indicated that the Republican Party was embarking on a new program to open its doors to greater participation by black Americans. He indicated, on behalf of the party, a willingness to listen and a desire to respond to our needs.

He also indicated that this platform would give us the opportunity to meet personally with leading Republicans across this nation and to discuss with them our organization, Operation PUSH, and its "PUSH for Excellence" in education program. Many of you may have heard of our work in this and other areas and desire to get involved. We welcome your participation.

Further, Mr. Brock said that he felt the American political process was on the threshold of historic change, and that black people should play an important role in shaping that future. We agree. So, after serious consideration and deliberation, I decided to accept your invitation. I view my presence here today as an indication of a new realization by this party that blacks do exist and are here to stay. Even more importantly, I hear you saying that our presence

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or absence does make a political difference.

Mutual need is the basis of an alliance. Black people need the Republican Party to compete for us so that we have real alternatives for meeting our needs. The Republican Party needs black people if it is ever to compete for national office or, in fact, to keep it from becoming an extinct party.

Since 1964, with very few exceptions, the Republican Party has turned its back on the black vote and black interests. Yet, we have both a right and an obligation to expand our political options. We must now exercise that right and obligation with regard to both the Republican and Democratic Parties, and create external pressure upon both.

I want to discuss four basic points today:

- (1) Political enfranchisement - the right to vote.
- (2) Political power - our political options.
- (3) Political program - our areas of vested interest.
- (4) Beyond partisan politics - a new America.

I want to state my premise at the very beginning. The only protection people have politically is to remain necessary. We must pursue a strategy that prohibits one party from taking us for granted and another party from writing us off. The only protection we have against political genocide is to remain necessary.

#### I. POLITICAL ENFRANCHISEMENT - The Right to Vote

For blacks, political participation historically has involved a struggle to gain equal access to the political arena. Our state of slavery meant we were property, not persons, and therefore could not enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship - including political rights. During the First Reconstruction, black registered voters actually outnumbered white registered voters in ten southern states, and we won elective office at all levels of

government, including the Congress. This progress, while nothing short of amazing, was short-lived and by the turn of this century had been reversed. It was not until the protest movement of the 1960s, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., culminating in the 1965 Voting Rights Act, that we again began to make political progress.

Thus, in 13 short years, we have gone from 400 black political officials to over 4,000, but it is still less than one-half of one per cent of all public officials.

In 1965 we had fewer than five black congresspersons, we now have 16 black congresspersons. We had no black U.S. senators, we now have one, Senator Edward Brooke. We had no black justice on the Supreme Court, we now have one, Justice Thurgood Marshall. A black serves as U.S. Treasurer and as chairman of the Civil Service Commission. We had no black lieutenant governors, we now have two.

While much progress has been made to eliminate the external barriers denying our right to vote there are still some barriers remaining. We can't even play the game adequately until our entire team shows up on the field. We have 16 million black people eligible to register and vote but only about 9 million are in political uniform - registered. We must press on toward full voter registration - and against the odds I might add.

The Democrats have no incentive to register us because we already comprise one-fourth of their total vote and they are afraid we will vote black. The Republicans feel they have no incentive to register blacks because we tend to vote Democrat. Many of the same people who opposed our right to vote also oppose our being fully registered to vote.

The natural energy crisis is not the only energy crisis before us. There is a human energy crisis. In the natural energy field we are rapidly

using up our fossil fuels. But in the human energy crisis the problem is the exact opposite - we have unusued fossils. The 7 million unregistered black voters are the unwanted and wasted political energy potential in our community and country. We cannot be useful unless we are used, yet our problem is that one party has capped up the pipeline and allows this potential energy to lay dormant, while the other party's pipeline is over-flowing therefore wasting energy. We want our energy to be used by being useful to ourselves and others, not mis-used through the waste of overflow or non-use.

We have the right to vote in 1978, but the ability to exercise that right through full voter registration is still the unfinished work of political enfranchisement.

## II. POLITICAL POWER - Our Political Options

Power is simply the ability to achieve purpose. Our purpose is both simple and complex. Simple because our goal is equity and parity (our share). Complex because we must begin where we are and use what we've got to take us to where we want and need to go.

If the Republican Party is to attract black voters, it must involve us in the party and in the process of developing the political strategy to attract the black vote. An all white Republican National, State and County leadership apparatus designing a strategy to attract black voters will not work. We must be involved in the party and political strategy development. We must be made a part of policy development and in putting forth programs. Only such a serious and genuine effort on the part of the Republican Party will result in effectively attracting black voters.

For one of the first questions black voters and potential candidates will ask is, "How has your party dealt with those committed black Republicans who have labored in your ranks through hard and often bitter years?"

Have your companies rewarded them with good jobs and contracted for their goods and services, or are they now being ignored by Democratic politicians and abandoned by Republican businessmen? Bob Brown, Jim Cummings, Sam Jackson, Gloria Tooté, Jewel LaFontant, Art Fletcher, these tried and true black Republican warriors are the bridges to the untapped black resources.

Black people have three strategy options available to them relative to the use of their political power. One - we can "not vote." We can adopt a cynical point of view which says that "neither party is putting forth the perfect candidate for us," therefore, we will vote for neither. I do not accept this option as viable for us. While black impatience with, and indifference towards the political process is understandable, it is a fact of life that non-participation only makes matters worse. So I reject the "no vote" posture as a strategy.

Secondly, we can adopt a strategy where we give all of our votes to one group of people based on blind loyalty, rather than vested interest and reciprocity. I can't endorse this strategy either, because it gives us power, but no leverage. A football team that runs all its plays on the ground and never throws a pass can be defended and stopped. A team that runs the same play all the time doesn't need to huddle. We've got to diversify our game plan.

A third option and strategy, which I do suggest we pursue, is that we exercise all our political options based on vested interest and reciprocity. We must, without cynicism but with realism, exercise every available political option open to us.

President Carter was elected in 1976 because 6 million black Americans gave President Carter over 90 per cent of their votes - not to mention the fact that it was the black vote that secured his nomination. Black voters

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provided Mr. Carter with the crucial margin of victory in several closely contested states, without which he could not have been elected. Mr. Carter defeated then President Ford by less than 2 million votes, and won the electoral college by the slight margin of 297 to 241 -- a change of 28 electoral votes would have allowed Mr. Ford to remain President. And if the Republican Party had nominated Senator Edward Brooke as its vice presidential candidate, a man fully qualified, Republicans would probably still be in power. If President Ford had won one state, Pennsylvania, he also would still be President, because their 29 electoral votes would have tipped the scales. Carter's margin in Pennsylvania was 128,456, but blacks cast 274,141 votes for the Democratic presidential candidate (87.2 per cent of the black vote). One state, where a change of just 65,000 votes would have made the entire difference in the election. And some of those 65,000 votes Republicans did not get because they simply did not go after them.

It should be remembered that the nearly six million black votes for Carter represented more than three times his popular vote margin of 1.7 million.

In the race for U.S. senate seats, in nine key states, blacks supported contested winners with at least 80 per cent of their vote. This was true despite the fact that only 61 per cent of eligible blacks are registered outside the South and 56.4 per cent in the South.

The Democratic presidential nominee won, not just because blacks tend to vote Democratic, but because there was an enthusiastic black vote. The apathy anticipated did not materialize, and an estimated 64 per cent of the registered black voters voted; compared to only 58 per cent of registered blacks who actually voted in the 1972 election, 87 per cent of which went to the Democratic nominee. Black apathy and political indifference cannot

be counted on in the future. So the difference was not just the black Democratic vote, but the enthusiastic black Democratic vote. In 13 states, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and Wisconsin, the black vote was the margin of victory.

Let me come back to the point of these seven million unregistered black voters. Only five presidents -- Herbert Hoover (1928), FDR (twice, 1932 and 1936), Eisenhower (1956), Johnson (1964) and Nixon (1972) -- have defeated their opponents by more than 7 million votes. Of the 50 states in the union, only 8 have populations of 7 million or more. Few countries on earth, and only a hand full of world capitals, have populations exceeding 7 million voters. Hands that picked cotton in 1966, did pick the President in 1976; and could very well be the difference in 1980.

It's a mystery to me why Republicans have had the attitude that blacks will not vote for them. Blacks vote as intelligently, and as diversely as any other group. We vote our vested interests and only when we are ignored or race is brought into a campaign as an issue does the black vote polarize. Mr. Ford lost Ohio and many other states because there was no real effort to attract the black vote.

I'm not just speaking theoretically when I say blacks will vote for Republicans who appeal to their vested interests and engage in reciprocity. Blacks contribute significantly to Senator Percy, Senator Mathias, Senator Javits, Senator Brooke and Senator Baker. Blacks did vote for Governor Milliken in Michigan, Governor Bond in Missouri and Governor Thompson in Illinois. In the past we have contributed considerably to Governor Winthrop Rockefeller in Arkansas and Governor Nelson Rockefeller in New York. These persons felt and feel that we are necessary, and we felt and feel they were worth

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putting in office. There is evidence that we will vote our vested interest.

We must use the political franchisement and power that we have to propel us to where we have to go.

### III. POLITICAL PROGRAM -- Our Area of Vested Interest

Where do we have to go? Just as we must demand equity and parity within political parties, we will support political programs that address our vested interest and lead to equity and parity in the society. We are behind, and the gap must be closed. Our political votes must be translated into economic oats.

#### BUSINESS

We do not have economic equity nor do we receive economic reciprocity for what we contribute financially to the American society. What black people own or control is nowhere in proportion to the more than 90 billion dollars of expendable income we spent last year in the American Market. In the larger cities of this nation, like Chicago, blacks are 35-50% of the day-to-day shoppers; and 85% of the weekend trade. Yet we do not have our share of the nation's banks in the country--and three of that small total was lost last year. We don't control our share of the nation's business wealth, since our businesses claim only 8/10th of 1 per cent of the total business receipts; and less than 1 per cent of business assets and we hire fewer than 3 per cent of the black labor force. OMBE is a bastard budget, an insult to our economic intelligence. We need targeted investments, co-venturers, priority access to divestitures of holding companies by banks, television stations and favorable interest rates.

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HEALTH

We do not have our share of the nation's trained doctors. We are only 1.6 per cent of the nation's physicians, and while there is 1 white physician for every 649 whites; there is only one black physician for every 4,298 blacks. The life expectancy in 1973 for white males and black males was 69 years and 62 years, respectively; and for white females and black females, 76 years and 70 years respectively. In 1969, the death rate from all causes in the U.S. was 731 per 100,000 estimated population. The rate for white was 695 per 100,000 population and 1,046 for non-whites--a difference of 352 per 100,000. In 1971, the white infant mortality rate was 17 per cent compared to 30 per cent for non-whites, a difference of 13 per cent. According to the American Medical Association's Annual Report on Medical Education, there are only 1,447 black medical residents of some 42,000 totally in the nation. There are fewer than 550 black interns out of a total of 24,000. At the same time there are over 15,000 foreign medical school students in graduate training programs. There are 50 per cent fewer American black doctors than foreign doctors in this nation.

PROFESSIONALS

We do not have our share of the nation's architects or engineers. A recent survey by the American Institute of Architects showed only 400 of 45,000 licensed architects to be black, less than 1 per cent of the total. Blacks are only 4.2 per cent of bank tellers; 3.1 per cent of the electricians; 3.1 per cent of the social sciences; 1.8 per cent of insurance brokers; 1.3 per cent of lawyers and judges; 1.3 per cent of stock and bond salespersons; and 1.2 per cent of engineers. In the skilled labor field, we are only 2 per cent of the carpenters and 9/10ths of 1 per cent of sheet metal workers.

EDUCATION

We have been denied our share of the nation's educational resources. While whites complete an average of 12.1 years of school, blacks still only complete an average of 9.4 years of school. Our college enrollment has suffered a 25 per cent decline in the past 4 years. The dropout rate for blacks is 43.8 per cent and blacks constitute fewer than 2.9 per cent of all college and university instructors. A study of the National Assessment for Educational Progress reveals we are 46 per cent of the functionally illiterate youths nationwide.

LAND

We do not hold our fair share of the nation's land. The Black Economic Development Center and the U.S. Census Bureau report a land loss among blacks in the past 20 years of over 7 million acres.

MEDIA

We don't approach equity in the mass media. A recent study by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights discloses that we are still locked out of the top level decision-making positions in the media, particularly in the television industry. While minority male employment has increased by 42.6 per cent and minority female employment by over 30 per cent, only 6.5 per cent of the officials and managers were minority; only 4.8 per cent were minority females. Only 2.7 per cent of department heads at stations surveyed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights were black males or females.

YOUTH

There are 400,000 men and women in America's jails and over 300,000 are black and brown and the overwhelming majority are young. Thousands are there because they are poor and can't afford bail-bond. Others are victims of long delays th

often surpass the length of the penalty. The liberties extended to the privileged of Watergate heighten the trauma. Our black young people are confronted with reduced life options. They are disproportionately occupying our jails (3 out of 4); languishing on the corners unemployed (65%); or going to early graves, when they ought to be in school or employed and becoming productive citizens. It costs more to incarcerate our young people than it does to educate them. If a young person is sent to jail in Illinois for four years, it will cost approximately \$52,000, and the chances are that he or she will only become a hardened criminal. If you send that same young person to the University of Illinois for four years it will cost approximately \$20,000, plus you have a tax paying, law abiding, productive citizen. The choice? Education and employment or ignorance and incarceration.

What are blacks asking in return for their votes? One thing we're not asking is for an exclusive black program. You will note, I hope, that each of the issues about to be discussed are not limited to black people, but will benefit all Americans. If I might make a suggestion, I would advise that you cannot anti-Carter your way into power. Your challenge is to chart a new course of action that addresses itself to the needs of the maximum number of people.

(1) Economic Security - Jobs are the creative alternative to welfare. We will not have reached our goal until every American willing and able to work is provided with a meaningful job doing socially useful work and making a livable wage - and affirmative action must aid our upward mobility.

(2) A Comprehensive and Coherent Urban Policy - There has never been a suburb without a city. We need a domestic Marshall Plan to rebuild our cities. We need a plan, a timetable and a financial commitment.

(3) Welfare Reform - Any welfare reform package must have incentives to earn and learn, with a commitment to protect the dignity of those receiving government assistance.

(4) Business Development - We are looking for a commitment to help build our economic institutions (our banks, insurance companies, etc.) and access to capital. Presently, even the monies targeted for our communities remain in downtown banks rather than in black banks.

(5) Education - Our right to equal opportunity and access to education must be protected, and enough money to provide a quality education for all must be provided.

(6) Health - We are looking for a program that provides a high standard of health care which is affordable by all Americans.

(7) Housing - There must be a commitment and a program to provide decent, safe and sanitary housing in a healthful environment. We must protect the housing we have and build the housing we need, including an expanded program of government assisted housing for low and moderate income families. Too few Americans can afford the prices of the present housing supply.

(8) Tax Reform - A fair and equitable tax reform package that assures that business and the individual pay their fair share.

Let me double back and make a few of these points a little clearer. First, economic security. Blacks seek jobs as the most viable alternative to unemployment, welfare and despair. Jobs in both the public and the private sectors must be provided. The government that uses our youthful energy in war; collects our taxes when we work; that same government, if it is a government of, by and for the people, must aid us in an unemployment crisis.

Secondly, a coherent urban policy, with an adequately financed housing and community development component that is perceived as a rational investment

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and a duty is needed. Cities need the latter to improve the quality of life and the former to increase the quantity of life's benefits to all of its citizens. We seek a policy which prioritizes rebuilding our cities. Our cities have a trainable and educable work force that is disproportionately idle because industry and jobs have fled to the suburbs - and frequently, overseas. Massive amounts of federal revenue sharing funds are needed to finance this immediately. This investment would in turn attract people and other monies from the private sector.

Thirdly, welfare reform. This is a concern of blacks because of the large percentage of black families in poverty. While eight per cent of the nation's families are poor, 32 per cent of black families are strapped by this disability. We seek a system that provides incentives to earn and to learn. We want jobs and job training and retraining. We need a balanced approach. It must be remembered that only 10 per cent of those presently receiving public aid are able to be employed.

Fourthly, business development. Blacks need business development as well as jobs. Today black businesses claim a mere 8/10ths of one per cent of the nation's business receipts and employ less than three per cent of the black and minority labor force. We have two political parties but one economic system. There are people in this room who represent the power of that economic system. You need not wait until 1980 to wield that private sector power in the interest of blacks. You can do this through support for black financial institutions and businesses, through joint ventures and acquisitions and through using your tax incentives to provide job and business opportunities in our depressed urban and rural areas. And, whereas government may not be

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able to do all things, it should be clear that government has to be more than a passive partner.

Blacks need access to the Commerce Department, both in terms of facilitating contractual relationships with other departments and agencies of the federal government and in terms of providing opportunities for such things as: foreign trade; purchase of divestured property; access to national markets; development of joint ventures, etc. Black banks need major investments from the public and private sectors. There are now eighty black banks but three were lost in the last three years and federal deposits in them have been decreasing over the last year. Black banks need at least \$4 billion to begin the work of reconstruction in our communities. We want to serve as development banks in target communities. We will teach the so-called unteachable. We will black-line the red-line and make it a green-line. We have survived with little help. We could flourish with support. Help us make flowers bloom in the desert. Black retail and wholesale firms need greater business opportunities and ability to leverage themselves and to have the benefits of increased capital formation.

Fifthly, education. Education is the major passport to economic independence. Yet, while whites average 12.1 years of schooling, blacks average only 9.4 years; and the drop-out rate among blacks is 43.8 per cent.

In the past four years there has been a 25 per cent decline in black college enrollments. Blacks have been entrapped by Bakke and Bakkeism---or a ground swell against affirmative action. This has already resulted in a 9.1 per cent drop in the number of first year black medical students, the Institute for Health Resources Development reports.

The costs of such discrimination rob this nation of \$13 billion annually,  
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and at present rates of progress it will take 43 years to remove job discrimination alone, according to an EEO study.

Business, labor, government and the consumer all must play a part and have a role in addressing these issues and developing these programs. People who are ill-informed or are ill-intentioned speaking on the role of government are often demagogic and divisive and their hand ought to be called. Those who argue that there is too much government end up having their businesses subsidized by government; having their house note insured by government; attending schools receiving government monies; living in suburbs built on government incentives; riding to work on highways subsidized by the government; taking government subsidized public transportation to their job; and taking vacations or business trips on subsidized airlines.

We've got to be consistent. You can't argue that government subsidies and investments should end just as soon as your needs are met. It's clear, business and labor can't do it by themselves. There's no use trying to turn back the clock. It can't and won't be done. Government's purpose is to protect and distribute justice and life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness to all its citizens. Government has been used to protect the interests of business and various other interests in this society. We can't all of a sudden degrade government intervention when it is used to protect the interests of the poor. It must be used to fulfill its essential purpose. So let's get on with the creative role of the proper relationship and balance between business, labor, government and the consumer that is fair and equitable for all.

In the international economy, we support free trade and fair trade. We are concerned about the flight of capital and jobs. Last year, of \$164 billion

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invested by American corporations, \$32 billion went abroad, often to cheap labor markets under the control of authoritarian governments. We are not willing to trade jobs paying livable wages for C.E.T.A. jobs. Every American has the right to a meaningful job doing socially useful work making a livable wage.

Whoever is most willing to meaningfully address themselves to this agenda through a political program deserves our vote. Black people behave politically just like everybody else. We supported Lincoln (by joining the Union Army) because he was the vehicle for deliverance from slavery. We supported Roosevelt because his "New Deal" addressed our needs. Many supported Eisenhower because he brought the boys back home. We supported Kennedy because he got Dr. King out of jail at a critical juncture and expressed an interest in our interests. And even then, 1960, the black vote of Fulton County, Georgia (Atlanta) carried the county for Mr. Nixon. The grandfather of Maynard Jackson had laid the groundwork. We are growing up now. We are maturing. We know how to split our tickets. Wise political parties and politicians exploit (in the best sense) the openings in the other team's offense and defense.

#### IV. BEYOND PARTISAN POLITICS - A New America

I contend that there are two great traditions, the political and the prophetic. And the two are sufficiently distinct until both have valid roles of service to people. Prophets need politicians---they keep reminding us of how things are. Politicians need prophets---they keep reminding us of how things ought to be. It is this creative tension that makes us healthy, alive, sensitive, alert and accountable.

Partisan politics has its place, but ultimately Democrats must be more concerned about democracy than the Democratic Party. And Republicans must be more concerned about the republic than the Republican Party. We must save our children, our families, our sanity with a foundation of spirituality. For beyond both Democrats and Republicans we need a New America, characterized more by ethical values than ethnic separation. We must have a transcendent agenda. Some values all of us must hold dear. We must choose the high road rather than the low. We must turn a bad situation around.

Enough of assassinations, Vietnams, Watergates and Koreagates. We must turn around the social decay and reverse the social despair. Create a society where life is meaningful and people do not have to turn to violence, drugs, intercourse without discourse, alcohol and other forms of escape just to cope. We must have the will and spiritual stamina necessary to fight the good fight. We must rekindle motivation, put forth the effort and engage in the discipline necessary to achieve our goals.

More vital than the economic crisis is the spiritual and moral crisis facing us. It doesn't matter if the Democrats or the Republicans are holding the bucket if the bucket has a hole in the bottom. We have lost the confidence of this generation's youth through war and scandal. Who in a government leading a war with no moral justification could tell our young people not to engage in violence and vandalism? What political leader involved in lying, cheating, cutting corners and other forms of scandal and venality has the moral authority to challenge a lost generation tripping out on angel dust, cocaine and alcohol?

The challenge of this generation of adults is to regain the lost confidence and trust of this generation's youth. We would be much better off if this generation of young people were in the streets marching and protesting for jobs, housing, health care, the environment, for the rebuilding of our cities and for reforming the criminal justice system -- all of which happen to be

socially redemptive programs -- rather than their present indifference and turning inward, so often putting dope in their veins, rather than hope in their brains. Even when our young people are marching and protesting, too often they're doing it in the name of personalisms and a morally decadent agenda. Paralyzed by cynicism, they're fighting to lower the drinking age to eighteen; fighting to extend their personal sexual habits; fighting to legalize dope; fighting to live together without assuming the responsibilities of mature adults in marriage; and other forms of decadence.

It is interesting that in spite of economic magnets, if the legislative and legal realm has not made life livable and safe; if the social institutions have not provided complimentary services; and if the religious institutions have not set a moral tone--people will never gravitate to the economic magnet. In other words, nations need money and jobs--but they need more than this. Neither people nor nations can live by bread alone.

Ultimately the concern for the quality of life must prevail. Homes outlast houses, and faith outlasts fact. Once there was a long and arduous biblical journey called the Exodus--as people sought to move from slavery to freedom. It is significant that the fertile soil of Canaan was not considered the kingdom (the millenium) without the 10 ethical commandments of a sound society, the moral laws by which people live. The issue and teaching of these laws was a forerunner to national development. In other words, the death of ethics is the sabotage of excellence. Without an ethical foundation, economics become unfeasible; education loses purpose; and purpose loses power.

Our country resembles Canaan, but without the ethical commandments and a decent moral tone and a safe environment, we will fail--even if the schools are new, the administration honest and dutiful, and the budgets balanced.

The loss of ethical values affects the economic value adversely. Usually an ethical collapse precedes an economic collapse. Crime in the suites often precedes crime in the streets. We are taking the ethical crisis too lightly. No one

includes it in their job description and thus no one assumes the responsibility for analyzing it or using creative energy to resolve it.

It is this revival of the spirit of the people that will attract industry and jobs.

It is an alert and sober people that will pressure the federal and state governments, and both parties, for sound priorities. A handful of sober and sane people wield more power than densely populated cities of drugged and alienated people.

I say to blacks, put pressure on the political system and on the politicians in both parties. We select them, elect them and now we must collect from them. I urge blacks to fully register and to join both parties and broaden our political options.

But there is a missing factor that must be derived from the governed not the government--the will to live, the urge to EXCEL. The power of the human spirit must take this national caterpillar and turn it into a butterfly. We must break out of the marshy meadows of mediocrity into the clear paths of the solid foundation of excellence. We must:

--Tell the people of our nation that the only protection against genocide is to remain necessary.

--Tell them that the laws of convenience lead to collapse, but the laws of sacrifice lead to greatness.

--Tell them if you can conceive it, and believe it, you can achieve it.

--Tell them it is not your aptitude, but your attitude that will determine your altitude with a little intestinal fortitude.

--Tell them not to be servile for it is humiliation, but to be of service-- for service is power.

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--Tell them to desire to work and then demand to work and then insist that they get paid for the work they do. A servant is worthy of his hire, but more than money is derived from work. For, from it comes the joy, the security, the fulfillment and the self-esteem of doing a job well.

I still believe the country can be saved with bold and courageous leadership. A flower can bloom in the desert if we dig deep enough to find the roots down beneath the soil--beneath the corruption, the corrosion, the hunger and the hurt. There is a taproot connected to an underground water supply from which all water flows. If we dig deep enough and wide enough we can turn the desert into fertile soil and make flowers bloom. Dig, dig, dig, for new values and new vision.

If we seek new values in the nation, we will add new value to the nation.

We need doctors whose concern for public health is greater than their desire for personal wealth.

Lawyers with a greater concern for justice than for judgeships.

Teachers who teach for life and not just for a living.

Politicians who seek not merely an office, but seek to be of service.

Preachers who prophesy, not just profiteer.

There must be love of the nation and love in the nation. But, unless God builds the house, we labor in vain.

If a nation is to survive, it must be a nation with solid foundations--whose builder and maker is God.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.