

1-16-1972

Chapel Transcript: February 16, 1972- Black Awareness Panel

Holy Spirit Research Center, Oral Roberts University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalshowcase.oru.edu/chapel>

 Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), [Christianity Commons](#), [Ethics in Religion Commons](#), and the [Higher Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Holy Spirit Research Center, Oral Roberts University, "Chapel Transcript: February 16, 1972- Black Awareness Panel" (1972). *Chapel Audio & Transcripts*. 6.
<https://digitalshowcase.oru.edu/chapel/6>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Oral Roberts University Collection at Digital Showcase. It has been accepted for inclusion in Chapel Audio & Transcripts by an authorized administrator of Digital Showcase. For more information, please contact digitalshowcase@oru.edu.

Black Awareness Panel
2-16-72

VOICE: Mr. Homer Johnson is not here yet, but I think he will be along in a little while, so I would like to introduce the two panel members who are here to begin. I am listed as a panel member but I would like to be in the role of master of ceremonies, feeling the questions and separating these fellows if they disagree too much and generally trying to keep us on track and doing something that's profitable rather than just getting off on some tangent and spending a lot of time. We will lay some ground rules. We want you people to participate, we want you to take part. We want you to make some comments as well as ask some questions. The only thing about it is, we don't want you to make more comments than the panel. But if you don't agree with the panel, we want you to sound off, ask them awkward, embarrassing and hard questions and we would like to really get them to respond to the real issues of the black-white situation if that's what you want and try to without hedging establish what is the role or what is the place of the black man in society today. So let's begin by introducing the panel. We have Mr. Don Waltz, who is the director of a labor program here in Tulsa, which is basically an attempt to get young or to get black people, I don't know it's necessarily young black people, but black men and women, or mostly black men in the labor movements in the construction trades of various kinds, and he will tell you more about that and then we have Dr. Zan Holmes that you met this morning, Texas legislator, a Methodist superintendent and I think both of these men will add greatly to our discussion. Let me introduce the other panel member that we expect to be here. He's Mr. Homer Johnson, who is the director of the Citizen Participation program of Model Cities. It's his responsibility when there is a model cities program in the target area that is mostly in the black community of Tulsa, it's his responsibility to see to it that the people have a voice in the planning of the various programs and the various things that are done in the model cities program. The people should have a voice, they should help make decisions,

AA 1.C 1972 2/16 TR A
Black awareness panel
Chapel 2/16/72 Various

Page 2

they should help plan these programs and this particular area or program that he's the director of is the program to keep the people informed and to get feedback from the community on what should take place, what programs should be approved and how the federal money should be spent. So when he comes, that's who he will be, and we won't have to introduce him then. OK, I'm going to ask Mr. Waltz if he will, to tell us a little bit about what he does and something about himself and we won't have formal speeches. We will get right in the heart of the thing by letting you ask the questions, and then without any more introduction Dr. Holmes will follow him.

WALTZ: First of all, I do appreciate the invitation to come tonight. I do enjoy interacting with people, particularly young people, and I finally reached that grand old age of irrevelancy, I'm 30. But something I do want to share with you is that I understand that you have something to do with miracles out here and I've asked for \$100,000 and I fully expect a miracle before I leave, so I'm involved with the Labor Education Advancement Program of the Tulsa Urban League. It's a program designed and I do say designed, I mean just that, to get minorities in the trade union. Now what it's designed for, what we actually do is two different things. I guess we've had about as much success as a barber shop in Berkeley of really making a significant dent in the construction industry whereas blacks are concerned. I'm personally committed to blackness, it's the only thing I'm an expert at, I've been expert at long enough to know what it is. That's the only thing I know. That's the only thing I've ever been, really. So I do hope that unlike the last time I was here that we do have some interacting and let's, if we do, let's don't disagree to disagree, but in the end agree to agree or agree to disagree again, because I do think interaction is healthy and in my age of irrevelancy I'm not too old to learn and I'm quite open, you know. So perhaps some of you can change my mind. I rather doubt it. I'm pretty much a racist, I think, you know, and so we will get into why I'm a racist and why I aspire towards that and the history

Page 3

behind it. But I love people. I dearly love people and I understand when you dearly love people that you really ain't got time to hate, so when I say I'm a racist it's not synonymous with hate, you know. I've got a great deal of pride in who I am and why I am what I am and what I want to be and what I want our people to be and ignorant whites in many instances consider this racism, so I don't want to get into an argument on that. I'm a racist, so we can cut that short and we can wheel and deal on ways to making the mainstream a reality with the masses of blacks in this country. I say masses of blacks, I don't mean just blacks, you know, I mean the Mexican-Americans and the hell holes of Texas. I mean the whites in Appalachia. I mean the Indians in prisional reservations in Mexico, black is just an easy word to get out and relate because I am black and that's all I know how to be. But our problem in America is no different than any other problem in any other ethnic group that's ever been here, it really ins't. The only difference is, we met more prejudice than most did and we wasn't able to really melt in the melting pot and I've got some ideas about that melting pot that I hope we during the program can share with you.

HOLMES: Well you heard from Avis this morning and so I'm not going to take up much time with a statement here at this time, to tell you what I do, I'm a district superintendent in the United Methodist Church. This position came with the merger of our all-black West Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church with the predominantly white North Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church. My district is composed of 26 white churches, 6 black churches. We have programs that are geared to bring about a greater understanding between blacks and whites in the church and also to involve the church to a greater extent in the solution of many of the problems of the black community and this is a very challenging task that we have. I've had this position for some two years. I also am a member of the Texas House of Representatives. I got there really by accident, our first black representative from Dallas was killed in a plane crash in 1968

Page 4

and I was asked to run for his unexpired term which I did, with the understanding at that time that I would only serve for six months. But to make a long story short, my arm was twisted and I ran for two full terms on my own. I had not filed for re-election, I did not file for re-election this year. I'm not running anymore because it just is too much to try to carry on both jobs at the same time, but having been in politics and being in politics right now I see that as an arm of the ministry of the church. I see a tremendous need for the church to make its witness in the world of politics because I see the world of politics determining so much which effects our lives today and I think that's one area in which we as people must really take more seriously and realize just how important it is. So I'll just stop at that point.

VOICE: OK, we don't want to have any lax time involved here and we don't want to have any dead situation. I'm going to repeat just to get us started a concept Dr. Holmes mentioned this morning in his presentation and that was that blacks and whites will eventually have to work together and from what I could understand he was not in a favor, he was not in favor of segregation, either by law or segregation on a voluntary basis, even if blacks volunteer. I believe he suggested or said outright that he did not believe that blacks should isolate themselves but that blacks and whites in order to solve the problems would have to eventually come together and work together. There are many articulate blacks today, some militant, some semi-militant, who really feel that blacks should isolate themselves and should run everything for themselves and ignore the white man as much as possible. I'll close my part of this what I hope to be a provocative statement by quoting a black from Tulsa. He said that what he thought they ought to do as black people is to secede from the union with at least five states, and he named the states. I don't think it would help any to name the states, but you would probably guess some of them, declare war on the United States, get defeated and then become rehabilitated as a separate country, because you know we always

Page 5

rebuild and do more for the countries we defeat than for our own people. So I'll leave it there and see how you respond with your question. Yes. (Comment) Should the black man make his own mistakes, get ourselves together, and does this mean isolation? All right, Dr. Holmes.

HOLMES: I think I understand that question. When I speak in terms of the need for blacks and whites to come together to really provide solutions to the problems the many problems that we face in our society today, I do not intend to imply that there is not a need for blacks to draw apart as it were in order that they might have a better understanding of themselves, and/or that they might feel the freedom that they must have to really express themselves. For example, I have been in situations where blacks were reluctant to be themselves to speak what they had on their minds as long as whites were present. Simply because blacks have in their minds that the history, you know, those experiences whereby, when a black spoke out he was usually put down, he went to work the next morning and discovered, you know, someone had called down ahead of him and, you know, he was fired from his job. So blacks who have experienced these kind of intimidations are reluctant sometimes to say what they really feel in the presence of whites. I think this is an example to lift up the fact that given this kind of history, you know, and this kind of framework I can see where it's necessary for blacks to come together as blacks. For example, just this past week in Dallas I've been chairing a black coalition that's trying to get together where we can come together and agree upon some black candidates who are going to be running from predominantly black districts, opposition

End of Belt #1

is that we didn't want persons from outside of the black community selecting our own leaders who are in turn going to be representing us. In that setting the majority of the people of that coalition felt it wise for this to be an all-black group from

we were not saying that we were pulling apart and we never wanted any whites to work with us because now we are at that stage having made these basic decisions where we are going to be cooperating with whites who really appreciate what we are doing and realize and accept the need for us to do what we are doing. So I'm not eliminating what I feel to be the need for us, yes, to get our thing together, but I'm saying it ought to be getting out thing together, looking toward the eventual coming together of black and white to get the total thing together, which effects us all. That's a long answer to your short question.

VOICE: Ross, do you agree with that? Where did I hear that quote to start with?

ROSS: Well I feel very strongly, I don't want to, yes I do, I believe very strongly that blacks have to get themselves together. Now I don't have any hangups in whites. Some of my best friends are racist whites, you know, they really are. I can deal with them but I have to deal with them on a level that they understand my relationship and I understand my relationship with them and we come together, you know, when there, like the Rev. said, when there is a need. For instance, in Tulsa we need some whites off the school board, you know. We really do. But blacks alone cannot put them off, so we can't say, we don't want, we do not want to work with whites. We need you at that time to run them off and put some more there and I'm not talking necessarily for black candidate, I'm talking about anybody that has sympathy to our cause. But again, I also have a hangup with us, you know, we are good rappers. You ought to hear me when I get wound up, I can rap right back to Flip Wilson, you know, and it's all over. And all of this trouble about togetherness ain't no good. It ain't no good at all unless it brings some power where you can do something. The so-called leader that we are so concerned with ain't got nothing, there ain't no power nowhere. You know, they just got a job, man, that's all they got. They ain't doing nothing, can't do nothing and it's not a to run the amount of our business being away, we've got to get ourselves so together where we don't care white folks hear what we've got to say, because it's together and we are going to do it, you know, we are going to do it the way it's got to be

Page 7

done and man, you have to have a power base. It means some money. We ain't got a dime, man. The man who controls us, politically, economically, physical, you know, man decided and now tells us that we didn't need a show, you know, and we ain't got one. The man decided we didn't need no entertainment, we ain't got nothing. Now if we was together, how come we ain't got some movies and things for the young kids to do. Then we get concerned about our kids stealing tape recorders and all out of white folk's cars. I'm saying that's entertainment, you know, that you ain't got nothing else to do, you know, go ahead and them all. I'm not hung up with any of that nonsense, you know, that don't bring some power, you know. I can grin at, you know, my formula is, get along with whites, grin with them and carry a long knife and when they turn you stab them in the back and keep on pushing. So I can deal on any level, any level the whites want to deal on. If they want to be friends, I can be friends, you know, they want to be cold, I can be cold, they want to fight, I'll buy a gun. I'm just not concerned.

VOICE: OK, I think that's a good start. We have some people there in the hallway, come right on down front, it won't hurt a thing. We'd like to have some people on the front two rows. OK, let's go to another question now and then we will come back to that. (Question) He's going to ask a new question. All right, let's pursue it. Is it a class struggle or is it a color struggle?

ROSS: Man, let me tell you this, the way I feel about that particular question. Everybody that tries to get into the main stream in America ultimately ends up in a class structure, struggle. That's what it is. But look here, nobody, no ethnic group has never achieved what we are trying to aspire to in this American society and that means we want the masses of blacks to be accepted in total, all together, the Italians, the Jewish people, you know, they still can't join Southern Hills right today. You know what they did, they started with the basic, all right, the Irish. They took over the political system, they run the yard, you know, every stature in the is named after an Irishman. The Italians, they took over the

crime, you know. The Jews, they took over the money. You know, and us, you know, we took over the jukeboxes. And we don't control that really because we need Italians to protect us from the stickup men, we need a politician to get on the jukebox, then we've got to pay it to a Jew. So we end up, we still ain't got nothing, so we can't get hung up among ourselves, you know, particularly ourselves, on a class struggle. Black is a nigger, I don't care what circle he travels in, you know, when he's dealing with the structure, when he's dealing with society. Now the white folks got a class struggle, you know, they don't like poor whites. They've really got a hangup. We got ourselves together where black becomes a symbol of what we are, not that I'm a doctor or you are a bus driver, blackness becomes a symbol. We can wipe the whites out without picking up a gun because they are always fighting each other. I don't want him in the club, no, no membership for him, he's too bold. Anybody that's black is our brother and that's what we've got to get hung up on. We've got to get hung up not on classes, on blackness. Look, man, it ain't been so long ago that you cats would jump on somebody for calling you all black, you know, look what we've done. We took a word that the white man made dirty, the white man made sick, he made us ashamed of and we retrieved that word and we made it something beautiful and don't tell me we can't get together. We done stold that word, man, we put it back and we can put ourselves back. We can't get hung up on some Uncle Tom. Let Uncle Tom Tom. I all the time. I'm militant when you are supposed to be militant, I'm when you are talking about power to get a piece of it. I get hung up on that stuff, man, let's get it together and we can't get together looking at some Tom that you think is that you really don't know but he's got more than you've got so he evidently is . We can't get hung up there.

VOICE: May I respond to that question. I do think when you talk about whether or not this is a class struggle that one of the big tragedies, major tragedies of our time as I see it is the fact that poor whites and, poor whites fail to realize that in a real sense they are in the same boat with poor blacks. Now, of

course, it's worse for poor blacks because when you are black and poor that compounds the situation. But I think that it's a tragedy that in so many instances politically, you look at your political races, how poor whites vote and how poor blacks vote, for example, if blacks line up with a certain candidate, you know, poor whites will vote against that candidate because they say, well if blacks are for him, you know, it must be wrong for me. And somehow we have not been able to bring about that coalition, the coalition between all of the poor of this country to help them understand that what effects one poor person also effects the next poor person. I recall this past year a couple of years ago in Austin we had a, we were trying to increase the ceiling on welfare spending for persons on welfare. And the thing was defeated by the old age whites, you know, old age who voted against the thing, not realizing, you know, that they were being effected as a result of it. But they voted against it because blacks was crusading for it, you know, and without even trying to look into how the thing was effecting them, you know, blacks were against it and they say, I'm for it, you know, I mean, blacks were for it and they were saying, I'm against it. How to break through that coalition and there are those who are about that business to try to bring together this kind of understanding among blacks, poor blacks and poor whites, but I do feel that when you mentioned class struggle that in this sense, you know, it is a class struggle and it is important to look at it that way. OK, there's a question up here. Yes. (Question) You are asking when I mentioned come together am I speaking of just coming together physically, you know, for a display of joining hands saying, here we are, or am I talking about actually becoming involved in seeking to bring about some changes in solving some of the problems of the society, etc. Is this what you are asking? When I say come together, of course I realize that's a kind of cliché. I am saying not necessarily that we must all get to the point where we all think alike, where we all look alike, where we all do get in a melting pot, you know, and we are all one. I pray to God that never happens in that way. I think if we ever become

all alike that's going to be the worse thing that ever happened to America. I think there's something about our diversity that strengthens our individuality, our individual cultures. I mean, when I say come together, I mean that we must begin to communicate, we must begin to see ways and means whereby we can actually work together to solve problems that we do have in common, you know, lest we become lest we ignore, you know, the problems that are facing us and we are destroyed in the process. For example, right now in Dallas we are involved in a court ordered desegregation plan that's just an ordered, there are those in our community who are saying that, you know, we don't want busing, we don't want the schools to be integrated as such. There are those in the black community who are saying, well, you know, a few years ago we were talking about pulling apart, forming our own separate societies, you know, and whites said that they didn't like that, they didn't think we should do that, you know, that's wrong. And now we start talking about integration you know and we talk about how to achieve that integration, you know, using busing as a tool to bring it about and whites are saying, we don't want that either. Now I'm saying that that in that kind of situation, in that kind of setting, that a vacuum is created wherein you do have polarization and which it does become difficult for people to actually come together really in a physical sense where they can really begin to communicate and hear each other and realizing that you

End of Belt #2

can't have your cake and eat it too. Come together not necessarily because we always want to come together, but I think that we have to realize, you know, come together and really look at our situation and understand that unless we do accept the fact that we are going to have to work together and we are going to have to live side by side and have an open society, that we are not going to have any society at all. So to be more specific, you know, yes, some of the very things you were talking about, strengthening yourself so you can in turn

strengthen your fellow man, I think as we do this in our several societies, you know, several cultures, you know, that we are working toward this goal that I talked about when I mentioned us coming together. Rather long answer to a brief question, I don't know if I'm very clear on what I'm saying to you.

VOICE: OK, I think that's very good. Here we have a question right here.

(Question) do what? Start with equality. I don't know, I question, I don't know what you mean by equality. You know, I think that the most unequal thing is to provide equal treatment for unequals. If you understand what I'm saying, you know, if you are in a race and you've got somebody out here and this boy here and somebody's back here and you give them equal treatment, you know, in a sense you have not remedied, you know, you have not eliminated the injustice in that situation. So I think we are talking about more than just simply plain equality. To begin with especially, especially in trying to arrive at, you know, what we call equal opportunity for all people, what's beyond that once we get there, you know, that's one thing I haven't had time to think about because I'm so busy trying to get there, you know, get there first and I think that's, you know, that's where our energies ought to be concentrated at the present time.

VOICE: Listen, I get hung up on it. Because the time, you know, I hope that if that day comes when blacks can be considered equal, I hope I'm dead, because the whole meaning of my life, I'd be out of a job, no, the whole meaning of my life would be over and I come up under the old school. I rather vindictive, because I think the only way blacks can become equal is to control the power mechanisms of this country, or any institution we are involved in and I know with all of the stuff I don't put up with white folks with ain't no way in the world I'm going to be happy with just being able. I'm going to get even with some of them, really, and I would think that I wouldn't mind giving you all a turn at slavery, you know, I mean I'm serious. You have it made. Everything is pushbutton and electric and all that nazz, I just want a chance to crack a whip across one of you and I'm serious. So let's...

Page 12

are working towards, and if we ever get a chance let's crack the whip.

VOICE: We might say that if we do reach that point and work Mr. Ross out of a job, perhaps we could erect a statue to him and call him Don O. Ross. OK, Miss Hall. (Question) Would you make your question specific? Yeah, I understand what you are talking about. I agree with you that I feel that we have been playing a lot of games with ourselves, you know, some of the people who have made some of the quickest sell-outs in the black community as far as I can determine are some folk who have gone around with afros that wide and talking all the talk of rhetoric, you know, and it's happening in Dallas, it's happening in cities throughout this country, some of the farmers for the Dallas Police Department who in the black community of some folk who, you know, have all the appearance of grassroots folk and I'm not saying the police department shouldn't have their informers, but, you know, I'm just simply saying I'm aware that this kind of thing is going on. I feel that the movement, the black awareness movement, is a very important movement as I try to say this morning. I think the rhetoric has been very healthy for us as black people. I think we've had to have that, but I do feel that we've come to the point now where we've got to move beyond rhetoric. I think we've come to the point now where more important than talking black power is showing our black power in actual programs and as the young man mentioned said a moment ago, using the phrase, getting our thing together. I keep trying to refer to concrete examples of some things that I'm associated with in Dallas just so you can get some idea what I'm talking about now. I mentioned a moment ago that we have been about the business in Dallas of trying to bring together a black coalition, black political caucus. Now what we come to realize in Dallas in the black community is that for example most of our candidates for the legislature up until this year have been elected at large, that's the same thing for the school board, the same thing for the city council. In most instances the black, one black in each instance has been put on the ticket, you know, in order to really bring the rest of the black votes, the rest of the candidates on

opinion has worked not only to the disadvantage of the black community, but to the disadvantage of the white community as well. There are many blacks who even though we now have single member districts where we elect people from districts, there are blacks in the community now who still want to play the same old game, you know, with some of the folk downtown, you know, and to really get black candidates elected who are not, who do not have the best interests of the black community in mind, in my opinion. And I don't think their service in office, you know, will be helpful to the black community nor to the white community because they are lying to the white community and are not getting the white community the true feelings of the black community. And I think to be hypocritical to whites in this day and time is to do our white sisters and brothers a grave injustice. So what we try to do is to pull off this coalition and forming this coalition we've said, we've had to say to ourselves, we need everybody, we need the so-called Toms that you've referred to, we need the so-called militants because we really don't have any militants in Dallas like you might have in Oakland, so nobody is throwing any bombs in Dallas, you know. The press uses that phrase, you know, the militants, but, you know, we don't have folk around there shooting guns, you know. We've never had a riot in Dallas, you know, we are pretty mild folk there when you compare to some things that are happening in other parts of the country. But we have had to come together, a broad cross-section of our community and we have had to say to each other that if we are going to be able to bring about those changes in the political structure that are going to work for the benefit of all black people, that we are going to have to have a greater measure of unity about ourselves and we've got to understand some of the things that have caused us to have some of the divisions that we have among us. Now we haven't solve all our problems. We still have some division, but again, in so doing I think that we are actually going to be able to bring about some changes. Of course it's going to take that measure of unity and understanding in the black community before we can really get to the heart of some of the real problems that I feel are confronting us. And again,

Page 14

I think it's not only healthy for blacks, I think it's healthy for whites also.

VOICE: OK, I see about 20 hands or 25 went up awhile ago, there are a lot of questions. Make your question right to some point, very specific, and then we will ask them to make about two or three minute answer and we will see if we can cover a lot more ground. OK? (I heard you.) Stand up first and you got it. You see how the blacks are going to beat you. You stand there being polite.

(Question)

VOICE: What is my opinion of it? I understand that she asked what is my opinion of Shirley Chism's campaign for president of the United States and something about in conjunction with the black man's role in society? I really have no problems with Shirley Chism's campaign for president of the United States. I think that I do understand that the black caucus of 13 black congressmen in Washington have some reservations about this, that only one of them really supported her at the outset, and basically because she is a woman and I think their hangup centers around the fact that the black society, you know, has been kind of a matriarchal society, you know, black women have always had a little bit more freedom than black men. They've been able to move about in society and black men have been in situations where they weren't able to get employment but their wives could always get employed as a maid, you know, and this did something to the ego, to the dignity of the black male and I think our so-called black people are still suffering from this. We haven't overcome all of the past acts of discrimination, you know, against us as a people. So I understand that's why some folk have reservations about it. I applaud her effort because I see it as an excellent political tool. Number one, to create more interest on the part of blacks in the election process and also turn out that black vote, and that's crucial. We didn't do it in '68, we've got to do it in, this time around.

VOICE: I can really deal with that one. I think people are people. Some of

them because they fraternize with blacks too. You know, you can't say that blacks hold their people back because they call them Toms. Well some people call them integrationists on this campus, you know, and they have a real problem with dealing with other whites because they have white friends and black friends and African friends, etc. So, you know, when it gets right down to it, that's the symptom of what we are.

End of Belt #3

What this society is all about. If you don't do the in thing, you are out. It's as simple as that, and evidently the blacks in your group aren't doing in things. The whites are choosing black aren't doing the in thing with whites. So what this society in my opinion has to work towards is the society where the goals are the same and everything is in and nothing's out and you do what you please. Like the man said earlier, you do your own thing. And that's what the hippies, I guess, are talking about, you know, they are copping out. Don't none of you all make sense to them, so they go to the woods and grow flowers and stuff. I mean, it doesn't sound like a bad idea, you know, really when you get to thinking about it. So let's not say ever that you can point out a difference in blacks relationship with blacks in your group and also not point out a different with whites dealing with whites in the total group. Any problem, you can point out, any problem you can point out with the blacks interacting with one another on a larger scale, you can look over to the white group and you can see identical problems and it might be a class struggle after all,

VOICE: Very good. Here is a young man right here. (Question)

VOICE: I was just thinking. I'm doing a lot of study right now on the Jewish situation in Germany and I was thinking about this same question in line with Uncle Tom up here and this whole idea about the blacks folks saying to their children, you know, we don't want you to be in that choir. If you were a Jew

child, you know, we've got one in here, if you were a Jew boy, and your mom and dad were in the concentration camp and the children of the SS, you were living in Germany, and the children of the SS in town had a choir down at the local, you wouldn't say church, the youth center, they were running it, your mom and dad had been in see, what do you think they would think about you going down there? Now maybe you were in control of the money in town, maybe you weren't, but most of you guys weren't raised in . A lot of these black kids were, other kind. And we represent to them, in my home town, I am the child of a citizens council member, see. So I mean, and my daddy got converted, but they know it, but still he was a citizens councilman. And so I see your point myself. I can see it in Germany and I can see it here. I can see how they wouldn't want their children doing it because of the situations we've set up.

VOICE: OK, yes go ahead.

VOICE: I think this is a crucial question, the choir situation, I think that any white group ought to first understand, you know, why there might be some possible reasons why blacks would have reservations about participating in such a group. I also feel that whites should not get so upset all the time, you know, because they invite blacks and blacks don't show up. Because maybe those black kids have their own choir that they just like singing in that choir better, their style of music, they just like it. So don't make it racial, you know, don't get so, see, sometimes whites feel rejected, they don't want to be rejected by blacks and you really worry about that sometimes. I think you overreact sometimes and so back to what I was trying to say this morning, you know we still sometimes fall in that trap into thinking that just because I organize something and it's all white, you know, all the blacks ought to run to it because what's white is right, you know, you ought to leave what's black, you know, because you've got such bad things down here and here we are giving you this great opportunity for you to come here. Blacks, because of the pride in their culture are saying, we've got great choirs on our own, we like doing what we are doing. It's like, what's that?

Page 17

our own churches, not that we don't want to be with you, but we just like what we , you know. So I don't think we ought to overdo that thing. I think blacks who enjoy worshiping with whites, being with whites, I do. I worship in a practically white church, you know, every Sunday and there are other blacks who feel the same way, you know, I enjoy worshiping with whites, you know, but I still love, I'm happy to get to that black church, you know, when my time comes to go to one of the black churches, you know, because I'm homesick for it, you know. Don't blame me for that, you know, that's in my soul, my bones, you know. So, you know, I don't think we ought to get as up tight about these kind of situations all the time.

VOICE: And everything you all do just ain't all together that groovy.

VOICE: OK. (Question) We are probably chained to our technique. Homer will be militant and I'll start Toming in a few minutes. I am what I am what you made me, you know. I don't apologize for the way I feel, you know. I'm so confused about white folks and how they relate and interact with me, I basically don't know how I feel. To give an opportunity to do something to you all and not be thrown in those concentration camps and prisons, I flatly don't know what I'd do, you know. I'd pray afterwards, I'm sure, whatever I do. But see now, look here, man, you cats, you know, history tells me what you've done to me. You tell me. You do it every day, you know. You can walk through this campus as good and as gracious as President Roberts is and all he's trying to do and it's still here. If he can't do it, almost no university in the country can do it. And then all of a sudden because you have a change of heart and you feel, I'm tickled to death. Now what's on your brother next to you, this question, because I am what I am and any black man in America understands this, it's only what you made it, nothing more, nothing less. We are a victim of your oppression.

VOICE: Let me say something. I heard a statement make a statement about power and giving power, power is not to give, you have to understand that

power, nobody gave you the power to run this country. You took it from the Indians. And just like we know that you are not going to give us power and we have to understand what a power relationship is. We live in ghettos but they are just colonies as it relates to your question and what we are after is to take the power to run the ghettos first. I'm not concerned about taking nothing from you yet. We've got to take it in our own ghettos that we have, until that, until we accomplish that, don't worry about the other, you know, just get that first.

VOICE: Thinking about his question just a minute, it's more or less this, and I know the feeling and I know other white people have this experience this feeling, OK, I have never done anything consciously against the black man and yet my ancestors have. All right, so how guilty am I and how guilty should I feel and how long should I feel guilty. But if I try to treat you as a brother, as an equal, and you reject me, you know, I'm a human being too, how am I going to react to it? Do you just want me to sit and wait and be patient until you get through getting even with me? That's the feeling some white people get.

VOICE: I got in late. I apologize the way, we had trouble in the ghetto. First of all, let's take one thing and set some rules to this game. You know, we are in trouble and we are in trouble because 51% of you all got a hangup and I'm being very liberal in stating my percentage factors. I think that at this particular stage of the game that within black communities there is a great deal of resentment for whites in the black community at the present time. And I think part of it is due because 51% of you are still wrong from the we shall overcome days and it's evident in your government, it's evident in everyday life that we still have 51% factor that oppresses the minority people. So that rather than placing your energies and your emphasis on trying to get us free, put that emphasis in the white ghettos to try to get them straight to change their from 51% oppressors to 51% of people, human beings, then the rest of it will resolve itself. But until you get straight, you are not going to make nothing else straight because you still

Page 19

constitute the great majority that the vice-president just talked about today on Today's Show, you know, that the minority is trying to have things happen for the over the majority. So, therefore, we are saying that the majority is still wrong and if you feel that way then your job is in the white community, not in the black community.

VOICE: OK, here's a question. (Question:) OK, repeat the question and speak to it, anybody who'd like to.

VOICE: Yeah, you are saying it would be a waste of time for Shirley Chism to run for president this time because of the problem in the ghetto. Yeah, well see, I don't see a separation between what Shirley Chism is doing and the problems in the ghettos because Shirley Chism is a black woman who is very sensitive to the needs of the ghetto. As I've said, I see her running as a political tool, more than anything else to inspire the turnout of the black vote. Now let me remind you what happened in '68, black people didn't turn out and vote. They sat it out because they said, Humphrey, he's not going, he doesn't mean that much to us, you know. Nixon doesn't mean much to us and you know Wallace doesn't mean anything to us. And you know, yeah, and they said, we don't have any choice. And so black people stayed home and they got a president. Now and at the same time now we've got in many Southern states all across, we've got the possibility of electing many more black people at the local level, but still you need a tool, an instrument to get black people interested in politics to get them out to vote, to let them know that, you know, it's in that arena that some changes can be brought about, and this is what the significance I see in what Shirley Chism is doing. I bet you this, the fact that she's running, you are going to have more black folk talking about the presidential race, you know, there will be more concern than there would be

End of Belt #4

if it was only Muskie and who are those 12 other guys running, yeah. So I mean, I see it in that light. On the other hand, you know, if she were running and just knew she was going to be president of the United States and black people reaching in their pockets and giving all the money they've got toward that effort, you know, I think that would be wishful thinking, yes.

VOICE: Look, you said it was a waste of time, that's the only thing black people got is time, you know. I mean, really, we can't get hung up on wasting time. But look here, Shirley Chism's candidacy to equal time, free time or white folk's money, she will reach more black people talking about more relevant issues than probably any black person in the history of politics. Number two, Shirley Chism can raise issues in, as running for president than will go unforgotten, wouldn't be raised, Shirley Chism can enlighten the masses of what's really going on with the power brokers that will not be raised. We need Shirley Chism and we've got time.

VOICE: Let me speak to just this particular issue because I think that one of the points of you are saying is overlooked is that we just got through relating to power, well see, every so often you have to measure power, you have to measure it on a local level, you have to measure it on a regional level, then you have to measure it on a national level. And a lot of us have spent a lot of time talking about political education for blacks. I think that with a candidate like Shirley Chism we have an opportunity to measure the effects of our political education program that we have been conducting all over the country and more especially in the South. The other thing is, what is the significance of a Republican president or Democratic president when its primary function and objective is to carry out the mandates for school national government. You have to understand that you can take a government to one extremity to another and somewhere in the middle lies that neutral area and each political party changes roles but they all are moving closer to that middle or that neutral spectrum. The reason I'm saying this is because you can take the Johnson administration, take any administration, and remove the rhetorics, take

rhetorics away and then let's talk about what it means to a black man.

End of Belt #5

.....political things and I think this is really what the significance of a Shirley Chism or anyone of that stature on a national level is projecting as far as black people who are really studying the political ramifications of a black going into a national office.

VOICE: OK, there's a question right down front here. (Question)

VOICE: I would attempt to answer that. I'm not sure I understand the question. You know, Leroy Jones was on the black , what last Thursday, two Thursdays ago, and he's a stone nationalist, I mean, honest to God. He went through the New Jersey bit, the whole thing. And he said that we've got to get ourselves together where we know how to use a Tom effectively for blackness. We know how to use a militant, we know how to use integrationist, we know how to use a nationalist, but the primary goal that we have to understand is blackness that means to get some money that the militants need to buy guns and we need guns the white man, then, you know, I don't care about Tommy. But the , you know, that's just the way I feel about it and we money for our program, home or anybody else, and that man has it, you know, and Homer's posture has to remain relatively strong in the community and Homer can't go down there as a pawn broker and bite the hand that's feeding him. So I think as we look, if we look at the masses perhaps if we are going to get hung up on blackness, most of them are probably integrationists. You know, I'm convinced of that. But if you've got to label somebody, you've got to label it, you've got to, and if he has to function by your label, then know how to use him. And the primary objective is towards blackness, you know. I hope I answered your question, I don't know.

Page 22

VOICE: Tell me when you run out of tape on that thing, will you, and we will break about two minutes and allow you to rewind it, just give us a signal.

All right, who has the next question? OK, right here. (Question)

VOICE: Boy, I love that question and it's one that we are faced with. You wanted to know, as I understand, that how do I rationalize the fact in many instances black sold black into slavery. I think what you have to understand about slavery of that time is that slavery, blacks, you know, the way you look at blacks is pretty much the way you look at Indians today, but in Africa we were a nation, we were a nation. One nation for another nation, it was tradition. Once that nation was conquered that they were slaves, white folks was selling white folks in slavery. You look at Cleopatra day, most of the slaves were white, I mean, that was an institution they were dealing with. So I have no problem with dealing with the fact that as a point of that culture that blacks sold other blacks into slavery. I have no problem in dealing with it. Now, what I'm saying is that we establish this country, this country different, afro-America, on the premise that we are a country under God where all men are created equal and then we put people in chains to make this country equal. You know, we said, you have to understand this whole bit of how we come into being. The cats really had no intention of making nothing equal in America from the , really. One reason that we vote to revolution with England to begin with is because the king didn't want to go across the Mississippi because he had traded with the Indians and French and would have, he knew it would create him some problems. Well we want to expand, we wanted to move over there as Americans and we couldn't do it unless we had some slaves from somewhere and we understood the institution in Africa, we understood how it worked and under the premise of building a brotherly country we cast people in chains. So we started with hypocrisy, we started with lies and yeah, I still hold whites accountable for the sins of their problems.

VOICE: Slavery, first of all, all of this is a Christian school and you have

to understand that slavery is as old as the times, you know, where Moses got a mandate from God to go down in Pharaoh's land and get them people out of bondage, you know, but you have to understand what was meant by slavery. Up until this time no other form of slavery has been in existence as it was in this country. And I think this is what get blacks up tight. But you know rather than that I'm not concerned about that, you know, Don gets that way because he's frustrated. I'm not frustrated from that degree because I can understand where it all come from in the first place. I understand how this nation was built and I understand who it was back. So therefore I can understand why they adopted that form as being a form of slavery. So the point that I'm concerned is because it did happen and because it was an incident that you have to understand that we are entitled to that. You know, these are some of the things that as black people we are entitled to and if you get up tight about it, then all we can see is perpetuation of the ideal of the philosophy of a philosophical view that puts you in a position to think that if I would take that pole up there and go to hitting you over the head and you wouldn't get mad, you know, and I should assume that that should be your posture, that you shouldn't get mad. Now, you know, until I see Christ again, I don't think we've got that person around here because that's a natural reaction, every action brings about a reaction, and that's all that is.

VOICE: OK, let's see if we can get out of the slavery days and what are we going to do about it now? What can be done now? OK, louder. (Question) She says, what are you doing here tonight? Do you feel you are wasting your time, or are you just tolerating us good Christian people by coming out and participating? What are you doing here tonight? Do you think you are doing any good?

VOICE: I came for a miracle.

VOICE: Well let me speak to her. In some instances, we always and I think, you know, I'm not even concerned about white and black anymore. I'm concerned about survival and not just my survival but survival of the nation and I don't think that unless we can discuss that and put that in the arena

and this is what I've been angry with all along for that question, that if I talk about the black and white issue and I'm wasting my time because just like I said, there was trouble in the ghetto, that's the reason why I was late. I could still be back over there. But every opportunity I get to talk to and enlighten an audience, then we will talk about enlightened subject matter, you know, the whole thing about the reconstruction of this system, this antiquated, maybe it was really not started, you know, the revolutionaries didn't like the constitution of the land wrote the constitution. And you know, we can get in a discussion of that and how we can change it, how you young people who will constitute over 51% of the next election and not the 1972 election but the 1976 election, you will constitute the majority and if we talk about we , we know what's happening, well let's talk about what's happening in 1976, if it is a 1976. And I would prefer that we would discuss it and put it in that arena and I think I'd be know why I'm here, but as it is now, it is a waste of time.

VOICE: I'd like to ride piggyback on what you've said. I would suppose all of get up tight, you know, rapping, rapping day in and day out and when we know that there is a lot that needs to be done, but you know I think we ought to cherish these moments when we can come together and talk and communicate because if the day ever comes that we stop coming together like this and stop talking, well then I think we've had it. I think if the day ever comes that Homer, I haven't gotten your last name, Homer, but if Homer Johnson, if the day ever comes that the Homer Johnsons and the Rosses and the Van Holmes and you know stop coming sitting around the table rapping with students like you, the battle will have been lost. I think it's most crucial that we do keep these channels open regardless of what's being said, the fact that we are saying it to each other is crucial.

VOICE: I'd like to respond to that question too. Homer says I'm frustrated, I am. What's driving me crazy doesn't seem to bother you, so I'm going to keep on acting crazy until I drive you crazy too. I guess I'm here to drive you crazy.

You know, it's symbolic that we are here because that ought to tell you even though you are enlightened, thank God, that there are some hope. I know numbers of blacks in this community and home that wouldn't dare sit out here, they might jump on you for asking them. You ask John PX to come by here, so it's a symbol that maybe it's not too late, maybe it's not too late for your involvement at least. I think it's important that you understand some of the pressures and problems that we face just because we are black and that it's symbolic maybe to a greater degree with the masses of blacks. There are blacks, a lady asked what black is, black is, in my opinion, a person who is on the bottom of the totum pole and can't help himself simply because he's black. I'm not that, so maybe I'm not black, you know, so since I am not that I can come in and tell you however enlightened you are the evidence of your enlightenment are not showing in the epitome of what we hope the society will be one day and whatever you are doing to achieve that you are not enough fast enough. It will take those of you who are enlightened to enlighten that other 51% that Homer talked about. Go to work, you know. If I can rap to you and scare you or excite you to do more, it's worth the time. I ain't got nothing but time, and until you all give me some power I'll always come out here and rap to you. You've got to take power. OK, fine, here is a question right here.

(Question)

End of Belt #6

The question is busing, forced busing thing. Well I don't think it's really an up tight issue as far as blacks are concerned, because I think historically we've been bused anyway, so you know we don't really have no hangups and for those blacks, we have a large majority of blacks who believe that integration can be accomplished now, so this satisfies their particular thing. I don't think that your parable is justifiable. I think you put two parties there. Yes, but you have to understand that, see the facades that creates the action, that creates the reaction, it's ascenine because you spent about two billion dollars for

commission reports and no where in the commission report to resolve this great social problem. Have I seen anything about busing? How many reports, I forget how many we've had now, we've had so many. Within the we shall overcome times I think we had one before the Kerner Commission, then when the riots came we had one with the Kerner Commission and we had one major one after that and I think Mr. Eisenhower commsed another commission, who all came back with reports and no time have I seen busing. So what we are talking about, these are just little actions to create reaction, both pro and con from both all ethnic groups and this is a time waster, really ain't even worth talking about. Talk about some of the Kerner Commission reports and some of the recommendations to resolve the social problems and implement some of these.

VOICE: In our society, we must remember, really, that busing is a mode of transportation not a pursuit of an education, you know. Let's lay it on the table, white folks don't want to go to school with black folks because they know traditionally they kept the money out of the black schools and they are inferior to the white schools, and then they are scared somebody is going to marry their daughter, or something, that old silly jazz. And we ain't got no time for that, we want our people to get a superior education, an education that is a quality education, where they can deal in this gracious society and function and still achieve in spite of it. So we ain't got no time to be dealing with you about a program about busing. What kind of program, you catch a bus and go to school. You just get on a bus to go there and you get in class where the bell rings. But if you've got inferior teachers, inferior material, then you need a program, and of course you need money over there and you highly ready for that.

VOICE: Might I just respond briefly to your question. I think that we sometimes make integration seem appear to be more difficult than it really is. I think it's much easier for us to desegrate our schools than we want to admit. And I've struggled with this matter of busing, you know, and really it's creating some real problems for me personally. Because we sit here and talk tonight and

we talk about the need to get together and then we arrive at the question, what can we do to get together. OK, that silly answer is busing. And then we get our hangups and I see this happening in our society today and I'm disturbed about that and I'm just wondering what does this say for, you know, here is a means whereby we can bring black and white together to learn together, beginning with our young people so that they can overcome some of the hangups some of the grown folk have today and perhaps work towards unity and peace in our society and given that excellent opportunity, that wonderful opportunity, here goes this red flat of busing. I'm very, very disturbed about that. Because I think this is a means of accomplishing some of the stuff we've been talking about.

VOICE: All right, I want to change the format of our program just for a moment. Sometimes the questions are not to the point, sometimes they are maybe not what the panelist would like to speak on. After feeling some questions here for awhile like you have, let's go down the line and let's see if the panelists want to tell us one or two things that they think are the real issues of what they would really like to see done. Let's let them bring us to what they think the issues are and then we might pick up some questions regarding what they say the issues are. Do you think that would help some? All right, we will just let them, beginning with whichever one wants to begin, if you want to tell the white people or the black people something that can be done, your favorite thing that you really would like to see happen regarding setting things right, let's hear what they think the crucial issues are and then we might base some questions around their short statements. What are the crucial issues, Homer?

HOMER: I just think the crucial issue right now is survival, survival of this nation. I think that I'm looking from a broader perspective and I'm looking from a perspective of the world and this nation's relationship with the world and what I see, you know, I don't like. The same thing that we are discussing as blacks in America, America has used the world as an arena to exercise the same basic theories and it was no mistake about China when they came into the

UN saying we are now entering the third phase of the third world concept. And if you notice you find that all over the world and even with the Western world you are finding that the other countries are looking on this thing called America in an entirely different light. You are seeing some strange unions taking place. You are seeing coalitions being developed and you are seeing America as they say imperialistic being nationalized. What I'm saying is that as we move and unless we can resolve the problems on a local, which would be a national level, of the social issues then I would project that we wouldn't, we won't be around to see the thing when we enter into the fourth world concept. And what I'm saying for young college students, I'm saying it to young high school students too, because they represent that voting element that will come up in '76, that you have to take a close look at the system because you will represent the majority, because hooked together with them swinging cats who's 30, you know, that came through the 1962 times, we shall overcome, they are out there and they are supposed to have their stuff together too, putting together these types of coalitions then if you feel that the system is wrong as relates to a nation, that has all kind of definite makeups, that have all types of minorities, that as you as individuals installing and putting people who are responsive to that type of change mechanism is necessary to show everybody, because he who is on the bottom today is on the top tomorrow like spring comes, winter is bound to show. The world is a cycle and it continues to evolve and you can look at your history and history will tell that and you can't stop time, so what we are saying is, somewhere along the way somebody is going to have to put a pilot program on the road for the world so that we can resolve the social problems. And really, these social problems are now just here, they are in India, and you know, you see the same people trying to get it together over there and what we are saying is, young people, you have an opportunity to really take over the government. I'd like to see in '76, I'd like to see a 32-year-old president, ain't nothing against it, you know, and then after you get that if you feel that 32-year-olds ain't together, you know.

pass a law, you should be controlling the senate and the house, you should be controlling all local political arenas, then if you don't feel that that's together, let the '18-year-olds then take over and pass a law to outlaw you 32-year-old antique people who can't get it together, but somewhere along the way what I'm saying is, you as young people and you as people that feel that you've got it together, you are going to have to take control of your political, of the politics for this country, the policy-makers of this country, and change it. And the only way you are going to change it, I would recommend one of the things for you to do is to get Fred Harris down here and let him talk about some of the things that he would like to see and they may be too far out. I haven't really heard them all but what I heard they bear examining. And from there then you go out to your separate places and do your thing.

VOICE: OK, Don, we've heard that politics can help us straighten things out, and young people could help dominate that.

VOICE: I'm concerned about a lot of things and Homer really into some of the things I wanted to say. I'm concerned about some of the questions raised here, particularly the ones about from the blacks, you know, about Uncle Toms and what black is and, you know, really, we really haven't got time, you know, to even spend time on that definition of what things ought to be in terms of words. I'm concerned in reference to young people like yourselves is that you first of all define what power is and as a citizen of these United States what power you have and then you decide how you can best use it. I think until such time as the masses of poor people and blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indian, Mexican-American, etc., are brought in to the mainstream of this society, that they involve themselves into the political structure, the power structure, until somehow they are made a part of America, then I think we have a problem because the gap, we are getting, every year more poor people than we are getting rich people and pretty soon they are going to wake up that they really outnumber

Page 30

the rich people and the powerful people and they can control this government. Now, I'm not so sure that we are ready at this point to work towards a society where men can really feel that they are free and they are equal and they are a part, because we have hangups. We get hung up on stop gap, things like busing. I don't care about a bus, have school in a bus, you know. We get hung up about who should get what jobs and what criterion should be, or how old somebody ought to be, what age you ought to be retired, as long as he's functional. We've got to insure and this

End of Belt #7

democratic society that men and women who can work and who want to work and who want to be a part are given an opportunity to be equal, that they don't waste away on welfare, one of the biggest myths in white society is that black people want to be on welfare. Can you imagine anyone of yourselves want to get about \$105 a month? You know, with five kids? I mean, it doesn't make sense the kind of that young white people have about how this society ought to function. You've been more exposed than any group, black or white, of what this system ought to be. You owe your fathers, your mothers, the poor blacks have too much of a time struggling like Homer says, for survival. You young people at this point are failing the society because the ideas that your founding fathers set up, you must implement, and you are playing games with the little old that your parents set up that you know ain't right but you don't have the guts to face up to responsibility because somebody might call you an integrationist. I'm not hung up on nationalism or integrationalism, I'm hung up on people, black, white, green, disfranchised people, ought to be able to function in the society and they are not. And young people like yourselves, young people like us, ought to be working on delivery systems whereby this can come about and until such a time as we enlightened young people begin to set up those systems whereby poverty is a thing of the past

then I say, we are failing and you are failing with us.

VOICE: OK, I hear the second speaker, Mr. Ross, saying, get involved. I hear him saying that black and white will have to work together, cautiously at the risk of being called Uncle Toms or whatever and I think I hear him saying, get your education and get whatever it takes to get that position where you can influence and exercise some power. I think I heard him say, get in the mainstream, whatever it takes. Did I hear that? (Not all that.) I'm concerned about what you would say to black young people sitting here tonight, should they strive to get in the mainstream? I mean of life, to find the good life, to get a job, to get a position, to compete with the white, isn't that what your job is as director of LEEP?

ROSS: I can answer that just briefly. Hey, the concept is, where we've got to start is, hey, we've got to say we're in the mainstream, there's some white cats that ain't in it, you know, and then we've got to work on the delivery systems to deliver the kind of power to insure that we control that mainstream. Now I think money is power and power is money and somehow our goals have to be oriented to that delivery system that puts money where the folk need it. And when the folk got some money, when he ain't got, you know, one reason this cat doesn't vote is that he is looking at Flip and one reason he's looking at Flip is because he's been looking at white folks all day and he's just tired, you know. Hold it, let me say one thing to the young blacks, get whatever it is, do whatever you want to do, but remember, put a little back, put a little bit back, that's all.

VOICE: When you say, put a little bit back, you are talking about (I'm talking to black people, they know what I mean.) You are talking middle class now, you are not talking to black and white. That's the way middle class always talked to us who raised out in the slums of lower class.

VOICE: This would be a black, what would be the term, I don't know what you would call it, this is something--

Page 32

VOICE: You are saying something to the black people that we don't understand?

VOICE: Not so much that you don't understand, I think you would understand if you examined what I said, but I'm saying it to them and I think--

VOICE: Tell us what you are saying.

VOICE: I'm saying, I don't care nothing about the mainstream, I don't even know where the stream is.

VOICE: What do you mean when you say "put a little back?"

VOICE: That was just something I was telling them--not at this time.

VOICE: OK, the isolation part is still there.

VOICE: Oh yes, definitely. I didn't make it.

VOICE: OK, I -

VOICE: I would just want to re-echo some of the things that have already been said, again I repeat you sort of heard my themesong this morning. I'd like to re-emphasize that I do truly believe that the future of this country is in your hands, you young people. I think that the direction in which you move is going to determine what happens to America, not the direction in which I move, the direction in which persons move who are older than I am, but I think the direction in which you move is going to make the critical difference. And I think that as young people you've got to seriously face up to the fact that you have that kind of power and responsibility in your hands. If you can seriously face up to that fact. I think that you will discover you will find some way to get it together and to bring about the kind of unity that we've been talking about. Assuming this is my concluding statement as such, I would also like to say in all honesty and fairness to you here at Oral Roberts University that I've been extremely impressed with what I've seen here today. I'm not saying that you've got it made, you've got problems and you've got a long, long way to go, but I do believe that you have something here that is unique, a spirit that can enable you to be that pilot program to help America become what she ought to be.

VOICE: Coming down the line, is there any concluding statement you want to make?

VOICE: You know, I'm frustrated so consequently I rap all my frustrations out. I'm one of the rappers, you know, I corner somebody and if I can't get it out of you you didn't have it in the first place. It's kind of the way I'm structured. But I'm really concerned like Homer, Homer is scaring me to death talking about the end, you know, it's coming and we've got to struggle for survival. I'm about to go into bankruptcy buying guns. But I really think that this country, this state, this city, maybe this university, I don't know, got to make some changes, you know. We are only oppressed people can only take so much and we are seeing some symbols around the world, what was it bangle day, you know, wasn't much but they did it. You know, oppressed people, no uniforms, borrowed stolen guns, they did it, they controlled the government and they are getting even, you know. They really are. So you know and we've went through cycles of that, you know, and maybe through those cycles of violence there is some remedy of hope. I can remember when Homer and I spoke at a Chamber of Commerce and we said we wasn't ever going to talk to white folks no more and didn't for two years, you know, and Huey Newton he's talking about putting the guns down. Maybe the time of getting things together, the turmoil, or when whites begin to get violent, made us all think there's some hope here for us to really get it together. Now I'm going to go anywhere at any time or any place. I'll be at OU tomorrow night, you know, and I feel very strongly that, hey, nobody has ever did it or put anything together in a democratic, semblance of a democratic process in this country, but then through our own apathy and the fact that we are not concerned, certain structures perhaps beginning with the tariff of the tax on tea, right on through slavery, prevent people from becoming involved in the system. People cannot qualify blacks, some of you cats when you get this degree will find out you can't get a job. There's something wrong with the society. I would pose this to you, he's trying to get me to tell what my job is, my job is getting blacks into labor unions, construction crowds, and I'm

going to give you something to look at. You are doing a lot of construction out here at Oral Roberts University. I understand what my problem is, when you build your new dormitories, count the blacks above the first floor. When they build your new thing out there, count the blacks above the first floor. I'll bet any of you a steak in New York you can count them all on one hand.

VOICE: No, no, you've got that wrong. All the athletes have jobs, all that want jobs have jobs.

VOICE: I'm not talking about the student. And my job, you know, well my job is somehow to get those blacks above the first floor. If you want to know something you can do right away, get mad if you don't see none above the first floor and do something about it.

VOICE: In any kind of construction all you do, just look at any construction, you know, you talk about why blacks get mad, look at any construction that you see where you go above the first floor level and count the number of blacks. Maybe it's different out here. If you've got a debate with him, go ahead.

VOICE: What was this? The people who make the money, not people who pay the money. Yeah. Let me point this out and be sure I'm clear. If President Roberts himself wanted an all-black to build that dormitory he, even though it's his building, couldn't do it. It wouldn't get built. So I'm not, I want to make it clear that I'm not indicting the university, I'm inviting the system that will not let blacks and other minorities into those kinds of jobs. Now, I want to point this out, you've got to understand, you all want us to pull ourselves up by the bootstraps, at least some of you do, even though, a lot of them boots is gone. Now construction industry is one of the last industries that you can realistically pull yourself up by the boots and all it takes is a good average intelligence and some of the lower in most instances and a strong back and you can learn a skill. The blacks who are in the industry earn starting \$3.75 an hour. Their daddies don't make that kind of money. So I'm saying, when they

Page 35

start building this spring, you know, just walk around the construction site and when you get past the wheelbarrows and the hard , you won't see us. That's the problem.

VOICE: OK, we are going to ask Mr. Johnson to take about three to five minutes and give us his summary statement.

JOHNSON: Well, I can do it in about two. You know, I'll be interested to take and measure, you know, what I've said here tonight and what I've said in other places where we have young people in 1976. I think that what I'm doing is talking about challenging you and challenging all the young people, you know, get it together. At least that's what I keep hearing, so if you've got it together I'll know come 1976. And a lots of other people that hold out the possibility that there is hope in the young, we will know by 1976 because, you see, we can't wait after 1976 because then we shall be saying, when we are 76, wait until 2000. And I don't want to be guilty of when my grandfather started a movement

End of Belt #8

he said it would take time. I don't want to be guilty of having to tell my great-grandchildren that it's going to take time, because I think the time is now and you are the time and you are now. And what I'm saying, if you talk about changing, talking about getting involved, get involved in that. See, the whole thing about it is, if you control Congress, if you control the senate and the house and the three branches of government, you know, you make the rules. You make the rules to the ballgame and just like any other form, you know, if in fact you are in power and you don't like the way it's going you change the rules or you alter the rules and the constitution is very flexible. So the judiciary wouldn't overthrow the rule that you make because you will be appointing the judiciary. You change the rules and impeach the judiciary, put the right judiciary there so that the constitution can be interpreted correctly. That's what

Page 36

Mr. Eisenhower did when he appointed the supreme court justice Warren to do some groovy interpretations of the constitution, to protect the people, you know, and that's what happened, although he didn't have control of the senate, or the house, so he just went that route. So I'm just saying to you all, get involved in the political thing. I don't think that you are going to do it no other way shorter than war and I don't think that you are capable of committing war between yourselves and so this is when I say that you know, after that the fourth phase of the third world movement comes upon us then see I've got to go just like everybody else because really the whole thing is that the people that instituted the third world concept look upon blacks, although we represent a portion of the colored world, as being the oppressors, the imperialists, and all of them other bad names these people call us. So you know I have just about as much chance of survival in that type of confrontation as you have, so I don't want that to happen, so let's get it together by '76.

VOICE: All right, let me make just about a two or three minute statement and let me say something that might be some help to some white students and white people regarding the issues involved. White students, white people get called a lot of names too and instead of calling us Uncle Toms they call us liberals and dogooders and nigger-lovers and they have various names for those of us who would like to see things better, better race relations. And then as you begin to try to make things better, you will find times when your white friends won't like you and your black friends that you feel you are trying to do something for or do something in their behalf will not only exploit you, but they will laugh at you after you have tried and spent your money and your time, they will laugh at you and make jokes about you and they've got more jokes about than we have about niggers. That's what a lot of white folks don't understand. They think all the jokes are about black people, they are not. Now, I don't claim to be an

expert on blacks, but I have worked a couple of years in their community and I worked there long enough to find out and to be completely convinced they are just a whole lot like people. You know how I found that out? They are selfish and they are good. There's some who hate and there are some who love. Everything I ever knew about whites I found out about blacks. I found out that sometimes when I work long and hard and sincere and earnest they will put you to the test and they won't really appreciate what you try to do. Now what you've got to make up your mind about is this, if you do it just for the blacks to like you, you have already missed the point and if you quit doing it because blacks don't pat you on the back and fraternize with you, you've missed it again. You've got to do it because you believe it whether you get positive feedback from them or your white friends if you do really believe in it. See? You'd better salt that away somewhere because you will need it when the blacks make fun of you and the whites put you down. You will find out just how liberal you really are. These two men right here, along with 150 other blacks one night, put me to a test and they had no idea the ramifications of that test. I was out there working in the war on poverty, a trooper on the front line, had my office right in the black community on Greenwood next to Pine. Now that's the heart. OK? I mean, I was really trying hard and that night trying to organize a citizen participation component so that people could really take part, the one that he is now the director of, Mr. Johnson, as I tried to attempt to organize this and tried to attempt to write the program along with these men and others, here is what they did to me and I want you to know it just as an example. They said, Mr. Inbody, we've got a telegram we are going to send to Austin, that's the regional headquarters where you get the money approved and to Washington, D. C. Would you sign this saying that the black people in the community have the last say-so about all the federal money? Now if I did I knew that the white people were going to put me down strong and if I didn't I knew I couldn't go back to the black community. So being a white Uncle Tom I signed, what else could I do? They clapped their hands and they said, You are one of us. Now

Page 38

that was just for that night, that doesn't last next week. You get a new test everytime you try. But that night I became a honorary member of the organization and honorary black person just for the night, you understand, but my wife happened to be working for the power structure that had sent me out there. It wasn't my organization, but another one that had asked me to do this, and the next week she got fired because I signed that for them in their behalf. Nobody came to mourn with me from the black community. Now you've got to decide if you believe in humanity because you believe in it, not if somebody comes and pats you on the back. OK?

VOICE: You just had a taste of what it was to be black for one moment.

INBODY: See what I mean? Good night and I'm glad you came.