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Rep. Ronald Dellums
[PAS-5] #2/6



WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

FIRING LINE

SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

The FIRING LINE television series is a production of the Southern Educational Communications Association, 928 Woodrow St., P. O. Box 5966, Columbia, S.C., 29205, and is transmitted through the facilities of the Public Broadcasting Service. Production of these programs is made possible through a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. FIRING LINE can be seen and heard each week through public television and radio stations throughout the country. Check your local newspapers for channel and time in your area.

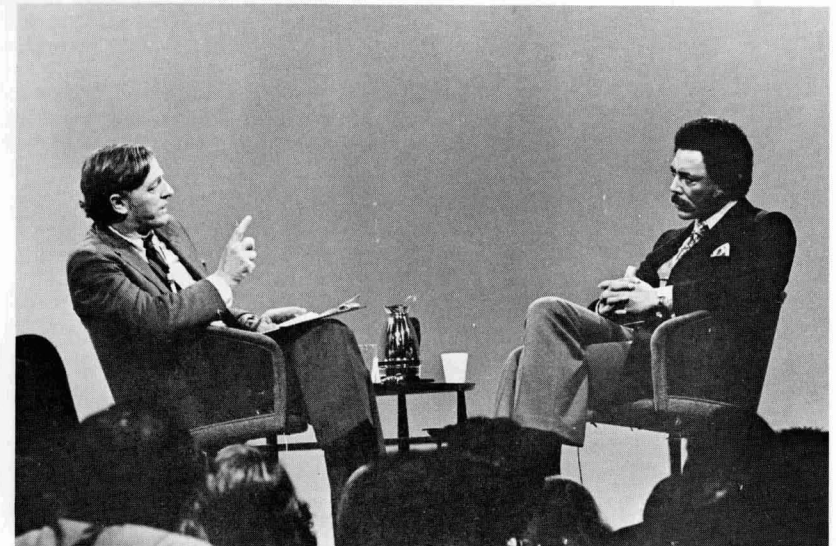
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Cover Artwork - Ronald G. Chapiesky

SECA PRESENTS

FIRING LINE



Host: WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Guest: Ron Dellums, D. Berkeley, Calif.
Congressman

Subject: THE BLACK CAUCUS

Student Participants: Laura Kramer - Barnard College
Fred Lowell - Columbia U
Governor Watt - Columbia U

FIRING LINE is produced and directed by WARREN STEIBEL

This is a transcript of the FIRING LINE program taped at Lewron Studios, NYC and originally telecast on PBS on June 23, 1971.

SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

MR. BUCKLEY: A few months ago, a group of Congressmen who had constituted themselves as the Black Caucus, having refused to be present when the President delivered his State of the Union message, put in to see President Nixon. Mr. Nixon put them off, but after publicity was given to the affair, he agreed to meet with them. They presented him with a series of demands which Mr. Nixon gave to his staff to study, eventually reporting back that many of the demands he could not accede to. He was thereupon denounced. One of the most conspicuous members of the caucus, Representative Ronald Dellums, has said that although he would not initiate impeachment proceedings against Richard Nixon, he would certainly vote for impeachment should the matter come up. Mr. Dellums was elected to Congress last November, having beaten a militant liberal incumbent in the democratic primary. He had been a member of the Berkeley City Council, had lectured at San Francisco State College and engaged as Senior Consultant for Social Dynamics, Inc., a Berkeley-based enterprise which develops manpower and community organization programs on a nationwide basis. Mr. Dellums served two years in the Marine Corps. I hope to find out more about the intentions of the Black Caucus and would like to begin by asking Mr. Dellums whether he believes Mr. Nixon was unresponsive to the caucus' demands.

MR. DELLUMS: Yes, I think the -- I join my twelve colleagues in making the statement that President Nixon didn't, in fact, respond to the sixty proposals which we didn't state as demands. We stated as proposals that dealt with the human questions in this country and very specifically and very dramatically affected the lives of the blacks and other racial minorities. And, we felt that on the basis of the response, obviously rather bureaucratic, that we didn't sense any real political alternative to the misery that I think millions of human beings are living in in this country and so, my answer to you, very shortly is, yes, I agree.

MR. BUCKLEY: Why did you initiate your approach to Mr. Nixon by declining to be physically present when he delivered his State of the Union message? Wasn't that a way of telegraphing your punch, i. e. of persuading a lot of people that no matter what Mr. Nixon proceed to do would, nevertheless, denounce what he did as unsatisfactory?

MR. DELLUMS: Well, let me make two responses to you on that. First is the historic response. Number one, I was not a member of the Ninety-first Congress where the nine members -- then nine black members of Congress who constituted themselves as the Black Caucus who requested to see the President, and he chose not to respond to that request to be heard.

MR. BUCKLEY: You joined them later -- you joined the caucus later?

MR. DELLUMS: Well, I'm a member of the Ninety-second Congress.

MR. BUCKLEY: Yeah.

MR. DELLUMS: So, that first encounter with the President on the part of the Black Caucus was made in the Ninety-first Congress. The rationale was (1) since the President would not meet with us, then why should we dignify the President's State of the Union address when (1) ostensibly we have some clear ideas about the State of the Union, and (2) based on historic evidence that this administration does not respond to those human questions, particularly as they relate to blacks, other racial minorities and poor people in the country. The second part of your question -- you raised the issue of whether we -- I'll tell you, the latter part of the question had to do with something about telegraphing --

MR. BUCKLEY: Or you point to -- in other words. If a group of people decline even to be physically present at the outset of a President's career aren't they, in effect, signifying to him that they have already reached a conclusion to that...

MR. DELLUMS: Oh, that's fine.

MR. BUCKLEY: ...the result of which makes really rather a formality the extremes, recommendations...

MR. DELLUMS: Well, number one, the request made in the Ninety-first Congress was a very legitimate request, and to have felt on the basis of integrity and some kind of dignity that the President chose not to respond to the black members of the Congress, of the Ninety-first Congress, then why should we, as thirteen members of the Ninety-second Congress, respond to his State of the Union address. But I think it goes beyond that, and I speak as one member of

the Black Caucus, and I believe that I speak for all thirteen members, that we don't see ourselves as being party loyalists. The problems that confront blacks and browns and reds and yellows and poor people and women and young people in this country go far beyond partisan politics. I don't see myself in the United States Congress as being loyal to the Democratic party. I'd like to hope that I have enough integrity and enough courage to be loyal to people in this country who desperately need to have their problems solved. And, so, what we said in a very clear way as the members of the Black Caucus if you would recall our opening statement. Number one, we call ourselves the Black Caucus because we happen to be black people, and by virtue of that responsibility we have to address the issues that confront the lives of millions of blacks who don't have the benefit of direct congressional representation; and, by the same token, we are members of a racial minority community in this country so we assume the responsibility of raising the issues as they affect the lives of other racial minorities; and, as human beings, we are also concerned about the human question. And we believe that those issues go far beyond the questions of the Republicans and the Democrats. So, my final statement to you is that we didn't try to position ourselves as cannon fodder for the Democratic party to embarrass the President. What we were saying was that here we are black members of the Congress who, hopefully, are humane and progressive in their ideas, and we're going to speak to the President, to the United States Congress and the Senate to bring some justice and some sanity to what's happening in this country.

MR. BUCKLEY: I see your point. It is, of course, a point which, presumably, you do not uniquely share; by which I mean I'm sure that a lot of your colleagues in Congress would say exactly what you just finished saying. As a matter of fact, I should think all of them would. I can't think of any Congressman I could bring here and sit in that chair and say, "do you put the interest of your party above the interests of your constituents or of humanity?"

They all would say, "No." So, therefore, I would like to know what it is that distinguishes you from them. The fact that you are a member of a minority group obviously wouldn't distinguish you from other members of minority groups--Catholics, Jews, or Poles or whatever

each one of whom, of course, has legitimate interests. There are Puerto Rican Congressmen who attend the State of the Union speech and there are, as I say, Catholics and Jews and the rest of it; but do I understand by the emphasis that you put on the fact that you weren't a member of the Ninety-first Congress that you would not necessarily have joined your colleagues in ostracizing Mr. Nixon when he delivered the State of the Union message?

MR. DELLUMS: Well, let's bring the level of the conversation down to some kind of reality so that we are not dealing solely in esoteric issues. I, personally, and I will advance my position, I frankly believed that it served no useful purpose to meet with President Nixon. Assuming that the administration would be responsive to the sixty issues that we raised and the manner that we attempted to raise them. But I frankly joined with my other colleagues because I thought it was important, not because I thought the administration was going to respond, but that, perhaps, for once in 1971, with young people and millions of other people wanting to see somebody stand up and talk about some honest politics with some integrity in this country, I thought that it was important for us to go see the President. Frankly, because it gave the Black Caucus (1) visibility, (2) whether we understand it or not now, we are entity. You have Ron Dellums on this program because the Black Caucus suddenly sprang forward.

MR. BUCKLEY: Oh, no, no. I probably would have had you on anyway.

MR. DELLUMS: Well, thank you.

MR. BUCKLEY: Especially...

MR. DELLUMS: However, here's my point. That it put us in a position where now the Black Caucus has to assume the responsibility because we publicly made the statement. And I think now that there are millions of blacks and other racial minorities and people in this country who will see to it that the Black Caucus does what it now has stated that it would do, and I think it was rather dramatic in the sense that we met with the President, but my frank and honest opinion was that I thought that meeting served no useful purpose other than the fact that it brought the thirteen black members of the United States Congress together hoping to poll some political alternative in the Congress.

MR. BUCKLEY: Sure. Now, it's extremely interesting to me that you believe as strongly as you do in symbols, because I do, too. And that's why I'm very, very much interested in exploring the meaning of the symbolic refusal of your predecessors on the Black Caucus to be physically present when the President delivered the State of the Union message. Now, the reason I think it's interesting is because there is, as you know, loosely speaking, there are two great tugs concerning the future of the black community. One is towards separatism, and the other is towards integration.

It has generally been the point of view of American liberals and most American conservatives that the optimum direction in which we should go is the direction of integration. There are some black leaders who have appeared on this program -- Milton Henry would be an example -- who denounce that and insist on separatism. Now, if black members of Congress refuse to participate, however passively, in one of the principal rituals of America, which is the annual occasion when the President addresses the Congress, are they suggesting that they align themselves with people who feel that the future of black people in America is separated from the future of white people in America?

MR. DELLUMS: Well, that's an extraordinary leap that I'm not sure we can justify logically. But let me make this response. You see, I think you have frankly stated the case that is simply -- the issue is not whether it becomes integration.

MR. BUCKLEY: You asked me to be more simple a while ago.

MR. DELLUMS: Okay. On separation. You see, I think that the issue that confronts blacks in America is the question of (1) what is our goal and how do we achieve it? And I see three ways. Not separatism versus integration. But separatism is one way. Evolutionary reform and fundamental institution of change, and I think that states the case much more specifically, and it does speak to a question of strategy. And, so, I'm not here advocating separatism or integration, you see, I think that those are means, not ends. Ends is when blacks and other people in this country and the world can stand up as human beings with a sense of pride and dignity in a world where we are not dropping bombs, and we're not polluting the air, and we're not being racists, and

we're not exploiting other people politically or economically or educationally or judicially. Now, if you're asking me, "Did our symbolic gesture against the President mean that the thirteen members of the Black Caucus were saying that we separate ourselves?" I would like to respond by saying, no, we are thirteen people. We have different points of view, and I'm considered to the left of that. My position is that we must have fundamental institutional change in this country in terms of how institutions relate to people and people's power in terms of defining how those institutions...

MR. BUCKLEY: Okay. Okay, now, you understand, I know, that there are some people in the United States who believe that it is actually to traffic with the establishment even to consent to be elected to the House of Representatives. This, for instance, is the position of Professor Marcuse. He says, no, don't even run for office because if you run for office that means that you are willing to abide to some extent with the system; that you are willing to become, however much in opposition, a part of it. That this is not a proper revolutionary posture.

Now, I take it, then, that by consenting to go to the Congress of the United States, you reject at least those outsiders. Do you?

MR. DELLUMS: I think that that statement, if that's the correct statement of the gentleman, I would suggest that that's overly simplistic. I think we have to deal with some pragmatic realities. One of the tragedies of our movement on the left is often it becomes esoteric, purist and elitist. And I'm saying that if we deal with the reality of how to build the movement in this country that speaks to the needs of change in America, you've got to start where people are, not where they ought to be. I think it's very presumptuous and very elitist to assume...

MR. BUCKLEY: I agree. I agree. So, therefore, you have a Congress in the United States, and, therefore, let's try to deal within it. In other words, that's what you're saying.

MR. DELLUMS: I'm making -- I want to finish this one point.

MR. BUCKLEY: Sure.

MR. DELLUMS: I chose to run for the United States Congress because Congress is a

platform.

MR. BUCKLEY: Um-hum.

MR. DELLUMS: That Congress provides me with a platform. And people ask me, "Well, you're a poor black who grew up in a west open ghetto, suddenly you're a member of the United States Congress. Does this give you renewed faith in the system?" And my response was, "No, it gives me renewed faith in the people." And that if you are willing to go out honestly with some kind of integrity, you can talk about issues no matter how controversial. If you are willing to explore those issues with people. We live in a democracy, and I suggest to you that if Democratic society cannot function or work unless the overwhelming majority of people in that society have access to information that allows them to make sophisticated and intelligent decisions. I'm saying the only way you can do that is to have people mount the platform who understand at this moment in time that their role is not so much--well, let me put it this way -- I realize that Ron Dellums wasn't going to vote over the United States Congress, but it gave me a platform to try to expose the hypocrisy and the contradiction and the corruption in the Congress, the ineptness of the Congress, the fact that the United States Congress is, perhaps, the weakest of the three branches of the federal government. That the Executive Branch of government is becoming extraordinarily more powerful. People are disenfranchised from the system of making, interpreting and enforcing laws. And I came to the Congress to mount that platform to try to say something to people in this country--hopefully, to try to wake them up. What I wanted to try to do, as one person, hopefully joining hundreds of thousands of other people, was to say to American people, "We have to develop some other yardstick by which we evaluate the empty rhetoric of the politicians who presently permeate the national scene in this country today, whether they're coming from right or left."

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, we should -- I agree. I couldn't agree with you more, but I think that you are really trafficking an awful lot of generalities, and I will cooperate with you and try to be a little bit more concrete. But, for instance, you say the fact that you were elected doesn't give you any faith in the system; it gives you faith in the people. Well, since the people make...

MR. DELLUMS: People can make intelligent decisions and they can discern, yeah...

MR. BUCKLEY: Since the people make the system, I find it hard to vote in favor of the people while rejecting the system they created. As I understand it, out in Oakland, California, where you come from, the way it is in New York or in Connecticut or in a lot of other places, the people decide who to send to Congress. You beat a liberal in a fair election and then you beat the Republican in the general election, and there you are. Now, is that part of the system?

MR. DELLUMS: Yes.

MR. BUCKLEY: Isn't it part of the system -- that the guy who gets the most votes gets sent to Congress and that he has the right to cast his vote, and that is a permanent part of the history of the United States. Is that part of the system?

MR. DELLUMS: Certainly.

MR. BUCKLEY: All right, then why are you against the system?

MR. DELLUMS: My point is that it's legitimate to vie for that office. One, because I saw it as a platform, because I think we have to educate people in this country and I think if we do it appropriately, that the overwhelming majority of people in America will understand the need for fundamental, institutional change. The only reason why they're not now is because we are playing divisive and fear tactics, politics, so that we start to think that blacks, browns, campus unrests are the major problems. And I'm saying we've got to evolve a rhetoric that puts the issues squarely before the people. But it is legitimate for me to run for political office, mount a podium, and advocate change from that system if that system is not working. There are approximately 35 to 50 million poor people, depending on whose book you read. There are approximately 15 million people who are hungry. There are millions who are unemployed. Corporate elite in this country end up not paying 50 billion dollars a year on taxes. We talk about welfare, but we never talk about subsidy.

MR. BUCKLEY: You're dealing with a lot of generalities.

MR. DELLUMS: Oh, I don't think these are

generalities. I'm calling them to you in specific terms.

MR. BUCKLEY: Of course they're generalities. Of course they're generalities.

MR. DELLUMS: Fifteen million people are hungry in America by virtue of Senate and Congressional hearings Thirty five to fifty million people are poor by virtue of federal government statistics. The Department of Labor says 65 hundred dollars a year is an adequate income for a family of four. (Buckley interrupts)

MR. BUCKLEY: Mr. Dellums, Mr. Dellums, look. Well, the trouble with playing this particular game, even though it's rhetorically pleasing and always suggests to a lot of people that you are more idealistic than the other guy, is that it fails to take into account that when people are born into this world, they are born without anything. (Laughter from audience) They are born, historically, in a situation in which -- that which makes it possible for them to be fed results in certain savings that were undertaken by their parents -- certain skills that were developed, and so on and so forth. Now, in a state of nature, I guess we all recognize that a person who is born into the world is not born in a situation in which he has available to him that which you and I would consider to be essential for civilization. Our next one, for example, is India. Now India, over 20 years ago, renounced what you call the American system, and people are, according to everybody's reckoning, poorer today after 25 years of socialism in India than they were 25 years ago. So, the argument is between people who are trying to elevate the level of general prosperity. America has, while India slid down, a record in which, by using constant dollars, the poverty figure went down from about 35 percent in your lifetime to about 12 percent. Now, this suggests that we're going in the right direction. You can sit here and say, "It's not going fast enough. And I want to show you, Mr. Buckley, and the rest of my listeners here how to make it go faster," and I will listen to you with great interest. But you've got to face a responsibility in the course of doing so. Not automatically to assume that people who disagree with you because they have found that the particular program that you encourage has not worked elsewhere, are not people who you can, therefore, simply dismiss as racists, or people who revel in squalor and the poverty and misery of

other people. You do understand?

MR. DELLUMS: Sure. And I think you are very eloquent and very skillful in the manipulation of words, but I want to come back to one point that you -- the one point that ought to be talked about. Because, you know, you are putting me in a bag that I wasn't in, so I don't particularly want to stay in it. You're perfectly correct at one level. The change has not taken place rapidly enough. The question is, what stuff do we have to take in order to produce that?

For example, we talk about the issue of competition in this country with respect to our economics. It would sound very radical or very controversial for me to say to you that we've always had socialism in America for the wealthy and the elite. We've always had extraordinary welfare...

MR. BUCKLEY: I want you to explain that to me.

MR. DELLUMS: I want to explain it. Certainly. Just give me the opportunity.

MR. BUCKLEY: Yeah. Sure. I'm giving it to you right now. We've always had socialism for the wealthy, is that it?

MR. DELLUMS: Oil depletion allowance and farm subsidy. Special provisions and loopholes in the tax structure...

MR. BUCKLEY: Okay, now, let's discuss it. I mean, let's not just go on. You see, because you have a wonderful knack-- and I congratulate you on the skill with which you use it -- of making a point and proceeding as though you have just triumphantly rebutted everything. (Mixed voices)

MR. DELLUMS: May I state a case...

MR. BUCKLEY: Now you see, we have--let's discuss oil depletion allowance. Now that -- okay...

MR. DELLUMS: ...let's state a proposition so that we really, clearly understand each other. I did not come...

MR. BUCKLEY: ...You're talking about socialism for the wealthy now. We're going to explore this?

MR. DELLUMS: Yeah, all right. Just one quick aside so that we establish some rules...

MR. BUCKLEY: We can't come back to socialism for the wealthy?

MR. DELLUMS: Be very happy to. (Laughter from audience)

MR. BUCKLEY: Okay. Go ahead.

MR. DELLUMS: You see, I came here not because I think it's important at all for Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr., or freshman Congressman Ron Dellums to best each other. I think that's totally absurd.

MR. BUCKLEY: I don't understand you.

MR. DELLUMS: Okay; I think that's patently absurd. What we ought to be here doing is trying to find out if there is a basis upon which we can deal with the human equipment.

MR. BUCKLEY: Exactly. Exactly.

MR. DELLUMS: And, so, I'm not here in any combative role but I'm here to explore...

MR. BUCKLEY: If I didn't have a respect for your formulations, I wouldn't bother to ask you to examine them. Otherwise, I would just say, "Well, you know, it's just that much crap that he uses." That's why I want you to discuss the term 'socialism for the wealthy.' Now, you mentioned oil depletion allowances. May I analyze that for a second?

MR. DELLUMS: Certainly.

MR. BUCKLEY: You've got a situation in which President Franklin Delano Roosevelt asked a commission to suggest a rate by which depletion would be permitted on somebody who discovered oil on the basic principle that when you discover an oil field, everytime you pump a barrel out, there's that much less. Unlike, say, a Coca-Cola bottling plant. They have different kind of depletion tables. Now, somebody comes along and he consults the tables. It was 27 percent a couple of years ago. Now it's down to 22 percent or whatever it is. He decides whether or not he wants to drill a hole in a particular place, and he tries to get some money from as many people as he can. Now, he either decides to drill it or not to drill it, based on what the return is going to be, just the way you and I might decide to bet on this horse

if he's paying 10 to 1, but we won't bet on him if he's only paying 5 to 1, cause it's a considerable long shot. Now, I don't see the social implications to this, so that when people say to me, "What about the oil depletion allowances?", I have to ask myself the question, "Well, hell, abolish them. Put it down to zero if you want. Just don't do it retroactively, because that's not fair. You don't change the odds after you set them in the first instance. That's dishonest. If you want to change the oil depletion rate to zero, it wouldn't upset me at all. It would only upset me if you made it retroactive.

Meanwhile, if you do turn it down to zero, and awful lot of people aren't going to be digging for that oil and, therefore, presumably, it's going to become more expensive for everybody. And maybe it should be more expensive. That's a perfectly good argument, but I don't see why you call this socialism for the wealthy.

MR. DELLUMS: Well, because what it, in fact, ends up being is a subsidy for people who make a substantial amount of money.

MR. BUCKLEY: But only if they hit. Suppose -- is it right to say that a race track is a subsidy for the wealthy because some people go and bet a hundred to one and win?

MR. DELLUMS: The point is, is it the federal government's role to subsidize the wealthy and tax the working class?

MR. BUCKLEY: Oh, no, no, no. Who said they're doing that? Who says they're subsidizing the wealthy? The federal government has to set a tax rate. Now, at the same time they set those tax rates, they set rates of 75 percent income tax for the wealthy and about 20 percent for the poor and nothing for others. So, the federal government has to set rates. In fact, they have to determine, don't they, the depreciation schedule. If you've got a factory, somebody has got to say how much depreciation you can take on that factory. That's a matter of law. You people decide--I don't decide--you people decide. Now, having decided, it's up to me to say, on the

basis of whether Mr. Dellum's Congress has done, I will/will not engage in this particular activity. But if I decide to go ahead and engage in this activity, and I'm lucky enough to win, why is it right for me to say that you have subsidized me as a wealthy man?

MR. DELLUMS: Sure. But the point is there is no equity there. You see, because the same options are not open to the person earning between five and ...

MR. BUCKLEY: Sure there are. 'Buy oil stock.

MR. DELLUMS: Please, let me--please, let me finish.

MR. BUCKLEY: For \$25 you can buy a share of oil stock. And get the same privileges.

MR. DELLUMS: A typical number of family of four people in this country, earning between five and ten thousand dollars a year -- that's where 40 percent of the labor market in America is --and, depending on where they are in this country, they are, in fact, members of the working poor. Take San Francisco, for example, in terms of its price index. If a family of four is not receiving a total gross income of at least \$9600 a year, anything below that means that they begin to purchase below the poverty level. All right? That happens in this country. Now you take that family of four earning \$9600 a year. They don't have the option to go out and purchase stocks; they don't have the option to delete another company that they could buy for tax losses; they don't have the option --

MR. BUCKLEY: Yes, they do.

MR. DELLUMS: --They don't have the option to purchase tax shelter...

MR. BUCKLEY: (Interrupting) Excuse me, sir, but the answer is, they do.

MR. DELLUMS: (Interrupting)...four children.

MR. BUCKLEY: (Interrupting) The answer is, they do.

MR. DELLUMS: Oh, this is patently absurd.

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, look, it's obviously not patently absurd. You may prove to me that it's absurd, but it's not patently absurd, because Mr. Rockefeller's great-grandfather was earning a hell of a lot less than five thousand dollars a year. (Groans from audience) So, therefore, it's not patently absurd, right?

MR. DELLUMS: I don't know the...

MR. BUCKLEY: Okay, thanks. (Laughter from audience)

MR. DELLUMS: I don't know the statistics, but maybe you can help me.

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, I'll give you any statistic that I have.

MR. DELLUMS: Two hundred million people--we have approximately two hundred million people in America. How many of them own stock? How many of them own other tax shelter buildings?

MR. BUCKLEY: About 55 million. Go ahead, next question.

MR. DELLUMS: Are they working class people?

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, you don't think there are 55 million people sitting in Park Avenue, do you? (Laughter from audience) If so, you've done a better job of this country than I thought so. We...

MR. DELLUMS: Your 55 million is a figure, somebody may own one stock. That has nothing to do with dealing with the reality of the taxes.

MR. BUCKLEY: The point is, Mr. Dellums, that America has the highest general...

MR. DELLUMS: Why are the rich not paying taxes? Why does Governor Reagan, for example, campaign on taxes hurting, not paying back?

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, that's a little demagogic, isn't it? That's a little demagogic to bring that up.

MR. DELLUMS: The point is, it's an example--and it's a very dramatic example to think a public official, who campaigned saying taxes should hurt and that California people should pay them, and, suddenly, a multi-millionaire is not paying taxes. I'm saying that the average American...

MR. BUCKLEY: I'm disappointed in you.

MR. DELLUMS: ...should have the opportunity of understanding the dynamics of how that happened.

MR. BUCKLEY: Are you suggesting that somebody should pay taxes irrespective of whether the law says that he owes them?

MR. DELLUMS: I'm saying taxes should not be regressive; taxes should not be prejudicial; taxes should not be laid to one class of people who...

(Mixed voices, both talking at once)

MR. BUCKLEY: Suppose I lifted your income taxes and said this, "Well, Mr. Dellums has spent a hell of a lot more time than Governor Reagan talking about redistributing the wealth, but I mean a hell of a lot longer time." And then I say, "Now, Mr. Dellums' salary, in fact, puts him at the top three per cent of the American people, and I see on his tax return he has only paid \$3,800 in taxes. Well, I think that's a bloody bit of hypocrisy, Mr. Dellums. Why don't you pay another two or three thousand dollars and share some of that loot you got with the people that you are weeping about?"

MR. DELLUMS: (Interrupting -- comment not clear.)

MR. BUCKLEY: I'd be awfully despicable--I'd be awfully despicable if I said that, because that would be a sheer act of demagoguery, and it's an act of demagoguery for you to say that anybody should pay more taxes than the law says you ought to pay.

MR. DELLUMS: Do you agree that taxes should be progressive? Would you agree that the people who are best able to pay should pay the most?

MR. BUCKLEY: May I say that... are you retreating from the point about Mr. Reagan? Or, are you still saying he should pay taxes irrespective of whether he owes them?

MR. DELLUMS: I'm saying that there should not be institutional factors that permit wealthy people to not pay taxes, while people in less significant economic categories do pay taxes. If I make ten thousand dollars a year and pay a thousand dollars in taxes, and you make one million and don't pay one dime, I would suggest that one doesn't have to be a great mathematician to understand that I'm paying a disproportionate amount of taxes. (Laughter from audience)

MR. BUCKLEY: All right. All right. Now,

we will examine that statement. You made ten thousand dollars and paid one thousand. And, I made one million and paid nothing. All right. Now, suppose I made one million, and the first thing I did was give \$300,000 to the Red Cross. That's permitted under the law. So, that's not taxable income. I am now down to \$700,000 --. And, suppose, with that \$700,000, I decided to commit the whole \$700,000 -- let's say to the construction of a child-training center in the ghetto. (Talking and noises from audience) And, suppose, in the course of doing so, I went bankrupt. At the end of that year, should I pay a tax or not?

MR. DELLUMS: (Hesitating) Well....the fact of the matter is -- (Laughingly to audience)

MR. BUCKLEY: You all have been so noisy before. Why aren't you -- why stop now? (Laughter and voices from audience) Now, my answer is if you want to change the law...

MR. DELLUMS: I desperately want to change the law.

MR. BUCKLEY: Okay, then, expose the law, expose the law. But don't say, please, that a law--that, in fact, right now taxes 72 percent to people in certain brackets, plus the state taxes, plus other taxes--is a law that is necessarily created for the benefit of rich people. An awful lot of people who are opposed to the rich believe that this is precisely the kind of thing that's going to kill the Golden Egg. It was John F. Kennedy, who was never thought of as an enemy of the poor people, who stood up shortly before he died and begged the Congress of the United States to reduce taxes on the rich people because there was a shortage of capital. The same people who are complaining about that are going to start complaining, as you have, about unemployment. Why is there unemployment? Because there isn't sufficient capital. Why isn't there sufficient capital? Because there isn't sufficient savings. Why isn't there sufficient savings? Because there is too much taxation. Even the socialists in Great Britain came to a point where they had to reduce taxes. Now, there are not demagogic arguments out there. These are arguments...

MR. DELLUMS: I wouldn't suggest that they are not necessarily demagogic, but I'm

not saying that I'm in total agreement with you. You see...

MR. BUCKLEY: What country runs things in the way that you consider to be ideal of all that are available?

MR. DELLUMS: I don't think there is any country in the world, at this point, that has reached any kind of Utopia. I think that this country was born out of a dream that has the potential of greatness. But the fact of the matter is that racism still exists in this great democracy.

MR. BUCKLEY: I agree. I agree.

MR. DELLUMS: Prejudice and discrimination still exist. We still treat women as if they're second-class citizens in many instances.

MR. BUCKLEY: Just which women?

MR. DELLUMS: Well, all right, we can discuss that as we move along. You still have hunger, and poverty and disease. I'm not arguing with you, for example, that we don't have a few blacks on television, that we're not in commercials, that we haven't received a few jobs that pay over \$20,000 a year. But the point...

MR. BUCKLEY: That's so condescending. Why do you make it sound so condescending? I said, why do you make it sound so condescending? Really?

MR. DELLUMS: I make it sound condescending because there are still millions and millions of people who lead real desperate lives in America.

MR. BUCKLEY: I know that. The question is what to do about it.

MR. DELLUMS: Our job is to stop the grandstanding, to stop the, you know, the spook by the door routine, and to start dealing with the human questions that are affecting peoples lives, that millions of people out there...

MR. BUCKLEY: All right. Let me give you one datum, and see if you consider this tokenism. Ten years ago, ten percent of the Negro population of America was making in excess of \$8,000. (To audience: Please be quiet.) Today, ten years later, 32 percent of that population is making in excess of

\$8,000 measured in cents and dollars. Now, this is something concerning which I am genuinely enthusiastic. You are, too, aren't you? That's not in the category of, of course, the few people appearing on television, is it? To go from 10 to 32 percent, making that kind of increase, that should make you proud. It does, doesn't it?

(Groans from audience)

MR. DELLUMS: Well, you see, you are dealing with that as if it exists in a vacuum, and I really would like for us to come to some kind of real understanding about why I'm here and why you are interested in talking to me. See, cause I'm coming from a particular perspective. And my perspective says that one of the absurdities of the politics of this country today is, number one, we are dealing with issues as if they exist in a vacuum. I'm saying, issues do not exist in a vacuum.

MR. BUCKLEY: Quite right.

MR. DELLUMS: I'm saying that the role of the elected official is to understand that, to see the need to comprehensively approach problems; perhaps, if the elected officials 25 years ago had taken heed of what scientists and other people were saying 25 years ago, maybe we wouldn't be in the kind of problem areas that we are right now. And, I see the United States Congress, I see the present administration, I see politicians all over the country making the same historic mistake over and over again. You said, we don't have employment because we don't have capital. In one way, you are right, because maybe we are building too many bombs. Maybe we're sending too many people to Vietnam...

MR. BUCKLEY: But we had less unemployment when we had the Vietnam war at its highest.

MR. DELLUMS: Please, let me finish my point.

MR. BUCKLEY: This is really a paradox, isn't it?

MR. DELLUMS: No.

MR. BUCKLEY: Do you want us to have more wars so we can have less unemployment?

MR. DELLUMS: I understand the particular

approach you have, but let me finish my point; then, I would like for you to battle me anyway you choose.

MR. BUCKLEY: Sure.

MR. DELLUMS: You've raised the question of, do we have to employ people by going into war, by having an economy built on militarism? I don't think so.

MR. BUCKLEY: I don't think so, either. No.

MR. DELLUMS: I'm saying if you rebuild the cities, if you build the homes that are necessary in America. We have 70 million housing units in America with over 200 million people. We replace one million housing units per year and we tear down one million.

MR. BUCKLEY: Mr. Dellums, you are completely right. The public housing system has been a complete fiasco. But if...

MR. DELLUMS: ..Now I know why people get wiped out on your program. They never get a chance to finish their thoughts. (Applause from audience)

MR. BUCKLEY: Oh, come on now. That's unfair. But, remember, I mean, if you really want to experience a housing shortage go, say, to Moscow, where two or three families will share a couple of rooms...

MR. DELLUMS: Why are we always dealing in relative terms. I'm saying, why can't we make this the ideal country.

MR. BUCKLEY: In Moscow--In Moscow, they decided, 40 years ago, that they would wipe out private housing because there was a shortage then. So, therefore, they were just all saying, "My God, we're going to eliminate this curse of capitalism, and we're going to have housing." Now, there's no housing in Moscow. Much, much less than there was fifty years ago. Now, I'm saying if they couldn't do it by sheer act of will without a constitution to worry about, with plenty of people to send to Siberia when there is really a population problem, what is it that you have come up with that shows, that by sensualist, socialist measures, you can do something that they didn't know... You have a respect for the rights of individuals so, you wouldn't handle them the way they do in the Soviet Union but,

even they, without respecting those human rights, have failed. What would make you succeed?

MR. DELLUMS: You see, that's why I have to respect you, because you are very subtle and, at one level, not very subtle. Because you come into this left thing, you've come into the Russia, the socialism, but you never asked me once, what are my politics.

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, you said...

MR. DELLUMS: You have made certain assumptions...

MR. BUCKLEY: You said you didn't want to...

MR. DELLUMS: ...and, based on that assumption, there are millions of people on the other end of this camera who listen to you very carefully, and I'm saying that you owe them sitting on this platform, the right to be honest. (Applause) And, I'm saying...and on that basis, you owe me the opportunity to state my case very clearly.

MR. BUCKLEY: Sure.

MR. DELLUMS: Now, number one. With respect to employment, would you agree that if we dealt with the educational needs of human beings in this country, the child care needs of human beings in this country--we build mass transits so I wouldn't have to be an hour and a half late coming to your program--we're not choking people, including the air and including the water.

If we dealt with building adequate numbers of houses for people to live in, if we rebuild the cities so that they wouldn't be monuments to mankind's madness, but monuments to people, would you suggest, then, that we'd have employment for human beings? Enough employment for millions of people to go to work? And, if, in fact, full employment would not be seen as a viable concept, then, wouldn't it make sense to find some way to get into people's hands who cannot work. Guaranteed annual income, then, doesn't become some extraordinary, revolutionary conspiracy; it becomes a program that is desperately needed to get money into the hands of people who are not able to work by virtue of the economics of this country. Now, if you add guaranteed annual income and some comprehensive approach to human problems, I'm saying, (1) you'll go far in

dealing with the employment problem; (2) you'll take a giant step toward some more equitable distribution of wealth in this country, which I think is one of the important domestic issues of the day.

MR. BUCKLEY: And the question was, would I agree, right?

MR. DELLUMS: Please, let me finish. If you, then, have to change institutions in order for that to come about, then let those institutions be changed. Let education be a right and not a privilege. Let our taxing structure be an equitable one for all human beings. Let us not discriminate against a person on the basis of the color of their skin, their culture or their sex. And, let us start to deal with the fact that there are some human questions in America that need to be dealt with. Scientists are stating all over the world, that the curtain is falling on the last act of the big show, namely, the world. We are polluting our oceans, we're killing off our oxygen supply, we're killing off animals and green. Scientists are telling us that, right at this moment. And, so, inside the giant theatre, the curtain is coming down on act three, and we're still calling each other honkies and niggers. Doesn't that become absurd? We're still shooting each other in Vietnam; doesn't that become absurd? I'm saying that we've got to deal with the human condition in this country so that we don't get into the black, white, brown, red, yellow bag, and start dealing with the fact that human beings desperately need to come together, or we are going to lose this entire planet; and that's the ultimate issue that need to be dealt with. So, you and I don't have to parry with each other. What we do have to do is come together to agree that your self-interest and mine is at stake in seeing to it that it is a survival of mankind. I think that that's the kind of politics that we've got to revive in this country. So, we don't have time to play divisive and fear politics, Republican and Democratic party games over whose going to become the President; but we've got to solve the problems of millions of people in America who are leading desperate lives. We get past that; we deal with the issue of peace in the world; and, I think we have to run like hell to deal with the fact that we are destroying ourselves on this planet. That's all my politics are all about. Vice President Agnew calls them radical; you may call them leftist. I call it some kind of humanitarian concern for human beings in this country that too

many politicians are not talking about. (Applause from audience)

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, you started off by saying did I agree. And I accept your invitation to comment on what you said. When you mentioned Mr. Agnew, and when you mentioned the necessity for a civilized discourse, I agree with you, which makes it perplexing why, in the course of your campaign, you referred to Mr. Agnew as a "nervous adder," spreading a "near Nazi ideology," and referred to his speeches as a "blueprint for genocide and political repression."

MR. DELLUMS: The fact of the matter is, I didn't make that statement.

MR. BUCKLEY: Oh, well, it was in your campaign literature. I mean, I take your word for it that you didn't. You were quoted as saying it.* Now, you say "Do I agree?" Here is what I would attempt to understand is your difficulty, (Laughter from audience) and I try to say this clinically. The difficulty is that you speak, sometimes and most often, as a moralist, and that is, of course, the highest achievement of man--to concern himself with what is right and what is wrong. But you also attempt to speak simultaneously as an activist, and in the course of doing the second thing, you get, I think, mixed up in the rhetoric of the first. As a result of which you tend to denounce at a practical level that which isn't achieving the kind of Utopia in which, I think, both of us would like to live. Now, if it follows...

MR. DELLUMS: You suggested earlier that it is a legitimate proposition to say that it is not working fast enough for enough people.

MR. BUCKLEY: Sure. Sure. No, I said it could surely work faster. I said, I was sure it could work faster. Now, if one wants to say,

*Mr. Buckley took the quote from *The Daily Californian*, October 12, 1970: "Berkeley Councilman, Ronald V. Dellums, Democratic candidate for Congress here, charged at a news conference Friday that Vice President Spiro Agnew was a 'nervous adder' spreading a 'near Nazi ideology.' Dellums termed Agnew's recent campaign speeches a 'blueprint for genocide and political repression,' (that) 'may be decided by the President of the United States.'"

"In order to condemn this society, or any society, all I have to do is point out that there is racism and hunger and misery and torment and the scarcity of housing and the pollution of food and water," the answer is, all societies stand condemned. The intelligent question to ask, especially since you invited us to get out of the vacuum, is to ask "How are we doing on our various fronts? How are we doing on the matter of racism? How are we doing on the matter of housing? How are we doing on the matter of the allocation of resources?" We are spending, this year, less of a percentage of the gross national product on the military, than we have in any year since 1951.

MR. DELLUMS: I'm sorry, would you repeat that...

MR. BUCKLEY: I say, we are spending, this year, less of a percentage of the gross national product on the military than any year since 1951. I think we're not spending enough, by the way. But, nevertheless, this ought to show you that on that particular front, we are moving in the direction that you desire. Now, but for us simply to say, "Everything is so awful; therefore, let us reject the system," is really an invitation in aid of despair.

MR. DELLUMS: I don't think--it's clearly not mine. What I'm saying is that there is something wrong in the country. Constitutionally, we have the right to redress our government. And, as a elected official, I have the right to advocate legitimate change, and I'm talking about that legitimate change. I'm saying we have got to write new rights for human beings. One new right is that people are not required to live below a level in a nation that has a gross national product of one trillion dollars...

MR. BUCKLEY: Wait a minute. You can't announce the right of a human being without a complementary duty of another one, right? Let's say that everybody has the right to a minimum income of \$10,000. This is an obligation of somebody to give somebody who only has \$9,000 an extra \$1,000. Right? All right, suppose there aren't enough people. What do you do?

MR. DELLUMS: What do you mean? I don't understand.

MR. BUCKLEY: I mean suppose there aren't enough people to bring the floor of a

family income up to \$10,000. Where do you get the money?

MR. DELLUMS: All right. I see your assumption, you know. But in the real world--in 1971, in the United States--I think (Laughter from audience) that there are some clear examples. And, in the real world, I am saying, end the absurd, insane and illegal war in Indochina now. Stop spending billions of dollars...

MR. BUCKLEY: That's two percent, right there. That's two percent of GNP...

MR. DELLUMS: But that's billions of dollars; that's billions of dollars. Tie up all the loopholes in the tax...

MR. BUCKLEY: ...between five and eight billion.

MR. DELLUMS: I would suggest that there is much more than that. Because if you go pas the immediacy of the Vietnam war and you deal with a mentality of militarism in this country that says we must play the role of world police officer. We must cram democracy down other peoples throats when it's still not a reality for millions of people in this country. I suggest we're talking about more than a few billion dollars. We must stop the absurdity of building ABM's and MERV systems and all the other psychotic war games...

MR. BUCKLEY: Now, wait a minute. Watch your language, watch your language. What do you mean psychotic? Are you calling me psychotic?

MR. DELLUMS: My point is...no, no.

MR. BUCKLEY: I'm for it. I'm for it. Why is it psychotic? (Laughter from audience)

MR. DELLUMS: Please, let me explain. I think this whole mechanism is an elaborate, delusional system that has gone so far out of hand that now we believe it. We're running around the world...

MR. BUCKLEY: Why is it only 7.3 percent of it?

MR. DELLUMS: We're running around the world on 1950 rhetoric that can't stand the test of scrutiny in 1970.

MR. BUCKLEY: Like what?

MR. DELLUMS: And I think that that's an insanity.

MR. BUCKLEY: Like the fact that the Russians are unfriendly neighbors?

MR. DELLUMS: I think there are some people who have a legitimate right to say that the United States are unfriendly neighbors.

MR. BUCKLEY: Who? Mexico? Canada? (Laughter from audience)

MR. DELLUMS: A whole range of countries. Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam--we've bombed them back to the Stone Age.

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, pretty good...

MR. DELLUMS: We've killed their people...

MR. BUCKLEY: If we've bombed them back to the Stone Age, why haven't we won the war, then? Why haven't we won the war if we've bombed them back to the Stone Age.

You exaggerate. You've got to watch that exaggeration. (Audience groans)

MR. DELLUMS: There is tremendous documentation on the notion that we have bombed in Laos for four or five years; that we've bombed in Cambodia...

MR. BUCKLEY: Back to the Stone Age. Right?

MR. DELLUMS: Let's don't play games...

MR. BUCKLEY: You mentioned the Stone Age.

MR. DELLUMS: I'm not here to be theatrical. If you...

MR. BUCKLEY: Then why do you use terms like "Stone Age," if you're not here to be theatrical?

MR. DELLUMS: Because, one of our Presidents said, "we will bomb them back into the Stone Age," and if he hasn't done it, he's come very close.

MR. BUCKLEY: He said we could. We certainly have the power to--no question

about it.

MR. DELLUMS: We've come very close. We've killed hundreds of thousands of people. We've killed innocent women and children...

MR. BUCKLEY: The population of North Vietnam is bigger now than it was six years ago.

MR. DELLUMS: Yeah, it is.

MR. BUCKLEY: However, we have some distinguished panelists, and I'd better not...

MR. DELLUMS: I'm not sure you've come to grips with the points I was trying to deal with...

MR. BUCKLEY: This is Mr. Lowell.

PANEL PARTICIPATION:

MR. LOWELL: Congressman Dellums, after listening to all the generalities that you have uttered during this program, I have come to the unfortunate conclusion that I think you are essentially irrelevant, and you will be proven later on to be historically irrelevant, for the following reasons (Groans from audience): On the one hand...

MR. BUCKLEY: Question, question.

MR. LOWELL: On the one hand, you seem to reject the theories of those who want immediate and total change and on the other, you seek lack of commitment to the system. My question is, do you really feel that you are speaking for anyone--for black people? If so, why isn't Senator Brooke, for example, of Massachusetts, in your caucus? Do the Black Panthers, do the NAACP support you? Who are you speaking for besides yourself?

MR. DELLUMS: All right. Well, (1) obviously people listen selectively and I think you have demonstrated an extraordinary ability to listen prejudicially. (Applause from audience)

MR. LOWELL: Give me an example.

MR. DELLUMS: Let me finish my question. I'm not interested in an absurd give and take with you. I will try to deal with your question.

MR. LOWELL: Thank you.

MR. DELLUMS: Number one, you have listened any way you wanted to listen. I believe that this country has to change, now. I think the country has the ability to change if we evolve a strategy. You see, the country will not change unless the majority of American people give overt or tacit approval for that change. The reason why we maintain the status quo in this country, today, is because the majority of American people give tacit or overt approval for the status quo.

MR. LOWELL: (Trying to interrupt) You said...

MR. DELLUMS: Please, be quiet for a moment while I answer your question. Because the people who have the podiums, who are influential, for the most part, are saying--just as Mr. Buckley is saying--the system does work, and it is in the best interest of the majority of the American people to continue to go its present direction. Please, let me finish. Number one, I'm saying that we have to change in this country. And, I'm saying that we're not bringing about that change in any real way right now. We're passing expedient, liberal legislation like OEO and model cities. When we are talking about 35 to 50 million poor people in America, we appropriate 2.7 billion dollars to wage a skirmish on poverty. Who's kidding whom? We start talking about Department of Labor statistics that say \$6500 a year is adequate income for a family of four. Yet, the present administration preserved \$1600, plus \$864, for food stamps, and the United States Congress is about to pass \$2400 guaranteed annual income which I consider an insult to humanity in this country.

MR. LOWELL: What, specifically, are the institutional changes which you propose to remedy in this list of evils?

MR. DELLUMS: Oh, you don't want me to finish answering the first question?

MR. LOWELL: You're not answering my question.

MR. BUCKLEY: That's a fair question, Mr. Dellums. That's a fair question. This is a part devoted to questions asked of you.

MR. DELLUMS: Number one, let's look at

the nature of our economics in this country. I'm saying that we need to have a more equitable distribution of wealth, not solely for the poor but for working poor and other human beings in America. As I said before, 40 percent of America's labor force earns between five and ten thousand dollars a year. They're members of the working poor. You know, they've bought the Madison Avenue concept all the way; their state's in debt; their children choose to go to school; they don't have the resources to do it, etc. I'm saying that they need to be an inherent part of the economic wealth of this country. What about the 15 to 20 percent of America who are leading desperate lives steeped in poverty in this country.

MR. BUCKLEY: The question is what to do about it.

MR. DELLUMS: One, we need guaranteed annual income that starts at the minimum level of \$6500 a year...

MR. LOWELL: The money coming from where?

MR. DELLUMS: The money coming out of taxes when we stop building bombs and we start taxing corporations.

MR. BUCKLEY: What if there isn't enough money?

MR. DELLUMS: I think there is enough money. Fifty billion dollars a year, by virtue of some reports that I've seen, and I'm sure you've seen in the newspaper, etc., and articles--50 billion dollars not going to the federal coffers because of special provisions and loopholes in the tax structure. I'm saying that that has to be closed up.

MR. BUCKLEY: Excuse me. Do you know what the biggest item on that loophole is? Do you know what it is? It's the right to deduct interest payments on your mortgage. Now, a lot of people you just finished describing are paying maybe 30 year mortgage payments. And, maybe, they pay to get \$200 of interest payment per year--they can deduct that. That's the single largest loophole in that figure. Would you eliminate that?

MR. DELLUMS: You know, I can't argue that point. I'm not sure I agree with you, but I don't have my statistics with me, so, I'll just be casting in the dark on that.

MR. BUCKLEY: Are you in favor of eliminating the deductibility of interest payments?

MR. DELLUMS: In certain areas, you know -- on housing, for example, that cuts across all lines, and it does hit people with fixed incomes, etc., and I understand, I think, we ought to look at the tax--I'm not a tax expert.

MR. BUCKLEY: So, you're in favor of that loophole?

MR. DELLUMS: No. I'm saying that I think we have to look at every loophole...

MR. BUCKLEY: What about that loophole? Do you, or do you not, believe in having interest payments deductible?

MR. DELLUMS: We're over here playing games in one little area. I'm saying, you've got to deal with the whole structural question. Because you are presenting the questions as if I'm a tax expert, and I would say to you right away that I'm not. I concede that point clearly. Now, to go beyond that seems to me to serve no useful purpose.

MR. BUCKLEY: All right. Miss Kramer.

MISS KRAMER: At the beginning of the program, I claimed to support black separatism as George Wallace (Groans from audience)...he did; yes he did-- he claimed that if you couldn't work constructively through the administration--the Nixon administration--you would use certain means to further a cause. Separatism. And, then, he went on to certain evolutionary things. (Talking among audience) I'm wondering if you're in any position of community control. If you would support it in a community like Harlem? Which is why--what would be your reasons for supporting or not supporting it in a wealthy community like Scarsdale. Why should we treat one group if you--how--if you are to treat groups equally, then why would you think...

MR. DELLUMS: It's extraordinarily incredible, you know. Because you are a person, and I am a person. We're all sitting here trying to make some sense out of what's happening in the country. And, rather than you attempting to listen to me very clearly, you then state, not only in opposition to my point -- you question my

integrity -- I did not question yours... (Mixed voices) because I said I didn't make the statement. You should have dropped it there.

MR. BUCKLEY: The point may have been misunderstood. (All talking at once)

MR. DELLUMS: I have to deal with those presumptive statements, you know, because I think you were extremely presumptuous in your initial remarks. Because I'm not talking about that. I stated my position, if you want to recall. I named out separatism, orderly reform, fundamental institution of change--which is the position that I advocate. Now, if you can grind your memory back to that point, I think you will recall that I made that statement. We do have to talk about institutional change in this country, and I said how those institutions relate to people, and how people have impacts on those institutions. Community control of certain institutions are very important. I was an advocate of community control of the police in Berkeley, because I think that being an advocate of community control of the police is consistent, frankly, with the Democratic process and constitutional powers. I'm saying that somewhere, written on pages now stained yellow with age, we said, people, the governed, shall participate in their government. Now, I don't define that as necessarily going to the ballot box to elect a person. I think it means, also, having some impact on the policies of an institution. The direction of an institution. You know, if you ask me, and if you want to know am I an advocate of community control of certain institutions, I think the educational data and research has demonstrated that when people have community control of their educational institutions, education goes up. When students have identification and parents have input and teachers have input, education goes up. Community control of education is very important. Community control of the police is very important. Community control of certain institutions is very important, and I would support it, depending on what institution you were talking about.

MR. BUCKLEY: Mr. Watts.

MR. WATTS: I sat here and listened, and I was a little disappointed in you, Mr. Buckley, in the way you would take certain things out of anything he said, rather than addressing--really getting to what he was

talking about. This was my impression. I think you are a much better man than I feel you have come across in this. And I hate saying that, cause I have a great deal of respect for you. I have never met you before, Mr. Dellums, but I am very impressed, and good luck.

MR. DELLUMS: Thank you.

MR. WATTS: I have no questions.

(Applause from audience)

MR. LOWELL: I would like to get back to some of the things we were talking about before. You seem to think I have listened selectively, and you didn't answer any of my questions, and I think it should be pointed out right now that I don't consider a list of facts, which are considered to be facts in answer to the question. It's sort of more like a rally. This isn't a rally, this is a discussion. Let me start over again. Who do you plan to represent?

MR. DELLUMS: Pardon?

MR. LOWELL: Who do you plan to represent other than your district.

MR. DELLUMS: I plan to represent Ronald V. Dellums. Not my family, because my wife has her own independence. Not my children, because they do. When people elected me to office, I wasn't presumptuous enough to say that I represent all of you. What I said...

MR. LOWELL: You did say at the beginning of this program that you felt that you represented a great many black people in the country. (Voices from audience)

MR. DELLUMS: We have a responsibility to represent those persons. We have a responsibility to articulate the concerns of the black people. We have a responsibility to articulate the interest and the dreams and the aspirations of people who are leading desperate lives in a country where they realize that they, along with others, are on the bottom of the...

MR. LOWELL: Why isn't Senator Brooke of Massachusetts in your caucus.

MR. DELLUMS: Because, frankly, Senator Brooke is on the Senate. We are about the business of organizing the caucus in the House.

MR. LOWELL: If he applied, could he get in?

MR. DELLUMS: Pardon?

MR. LOWELL: You wouldn't have any objection for him sitting on that caucus, correct?

MR. DELLUMS: I have no objection whatsoever. Anybody black who is an elected official of the United State Congress who wants to come to the black--I wouldn't have any kind of rules. We don't blackjack people. Anyone who wants to come in can come in who's black. That's how I got invited in. (Laughter from audience)

MR. BUCKLEY: Miss Kramer.

MISS KRAMER: I would like...

MR. DELLUMS: The question of Senator Brooke is absurd. Because Senator Brooke is not--I'll tell you why it is absurd. Because Senator Brooke is not in the position of repressing millions of people. He's not in the power position to turn the country around at any given moment. So, why are we talking about Senator Brooke. He's a decent human being. I like him as a man. He happens to be in one party; I happen to be in another. We both happen to be black, and on that basis you can come together.

MR. BUCKLEY: Mr. Dellums, may I interject this. That...

MR. DELLUMS: Whether he's in or out of the caucus has nothing to do with...

MR. BUCKLEY: Well, he does in a sense because you--the organization to which you belong isn't called "A" Black Caucus, it's called "The" Black Caucus.

MR. DELLUMS: ...of the House of Representatives.

MR. BUCKLEY: And if there were, let's say, The Catholic Caucus, then one would suppose that it attempted to speak for all Catholics. And I think that Mr. Lowell is making a very observant point when he says, isn't it really a little bit presumptuous, speaking such thoughts as you do, automatically to attempt to co-opt the whole of the black community as though it were automatically on your side when even Senator Brooke...

MR. DELLUMS: No, no, I'm not so presumptuous. I don't think--I think any black person in America, who has his eyes open at all in 1971, is clearly aware of the fact that not only does he not believe it, but nobody else believes when some one man stands up and says, "I represent all the people." That day is over. Black people have come to a level of sophistication that clearly realizes that we have different viewpoints, different vantage points, and there are a whole range of us. But it has been, in some instances, whites, who have said, "I want to find who the tribal leader of black people is." And it's very interesting--a few years ago, everyone wanted to find out who the leader was, and now they want to find out who the leader isn't. But you see, the same mentality of the system is trying to discredit on both ends of the ticket. I'm not willing to play your games...

MR. BUCKLEY: Thank you very much, Mr. Dellums; thank you, ladies and gentlemen and members of the panel. (Applause from audience)