1 movement is based on the premise that white people are
2 bad people and they did bad things in the past. And they
3 need to make it up to us. You would never get them to
4 buy that.
5 The average person will say, "I've never owned
6 a slave. I've never discriminated against anybody."
7 Because in their mind, "I have never gotten unfair
8 advantage over anyone", and in their mind, they have not.
9 So it is -- as long as we attempt to base the idea of
10 inclusion on it is the morally right thing to do, we're
11 destined for failure.
12 The whole premise in South Africa is if you
13 don't do this, you're country is going down the toilet
14 economically. They listen to that. They understood
15 that. If the unemployment rate in South Africa for the
16 white folks in the year 2005 was zero, every white
17 persons has a job, they can only fill 30 percent of the
18 management jobs to run the country. So it was pointed
19 out to them, if you want this country to survive, you
20 have to find more source of brain power and of manpower.
21 And the only thing you can do is to include the black

1 people who are 85 percent of the population in the brain
2 trust and give them some real meaningful jobs and
3 opportunities.
4 And they have enough sense to understand it
5 could not be political. It had to be economic. So along
6 with the idea that black folks could not vote, the first
7 time they could and the elections were held and Mandela
8 was elected, and along with the idea that black folks
9 should have a right to have a job, the idea that black
10 folks have to own a piece of the pie, not necessarily the
11 85 percent share, but because initially it is going to be
12 much much smaller than that. No deals with South Africa
13 unless there is a black empowerment with the deal. And
14 that is a mandate for the South African government.
15 Now it is going to be a long time before we
16 get to the point that no deal is done unless there is
17 parity, but we do have economic rights and we need to
18 understand and learn we have to utilize our economic
19 clout and make these people hurt in their pocketbooks
20 because that is the only thing they react to.

1 CONGRESSMAN ENGEL: Thank you. I want to
2 thank all the panelists. I know I have learned a great
3 deal this afternoon. It is my great pleasure to
4 introduce our final speaker. And I know him personally
5 and I can tell you it is going to be a real treat. I'm
6 taking my glasses off so I don't get his title wrong.
7 Larry Irving is the Assistant Secretary of
8 Commerce and is the Administrator of the National
9 Telecommunications and Information Administration.
10 Anybody who has ever dealt with Larry knows that not only
11 does he have intelligence, but he's got energy. He's
12 very, very dynamic and is always looking to change things
13 and to shake things up for the better. And it is my
14 great pleasure to introduce Larry Irving.
15 (APPLAUSE)
16 LARRY IRVING: I know it has been a long day.
17 And most of you all have worked an eight hour day
18 already. Most of us got here at 9 o'clock this morning
19 and heard some great speeches.
20 I want to thank the Reverend for inviting me
21 here. I went to school right up the road, so it is kind

1 of a homecoming for me. I met my wife here. We have
2 been together 22 years, married ten, so I'm a little
3 slow, but forgive me for that. This week end has been
4 important. Stanford, unlike Princeton, did demonstrate
5 that you can be a reasonably good school academically and
6 have a reasonably good basketball team. I watched Arthur
7 Lee on Thursday night. We're going to the Final Four
8 this year.
9 I got off the plane yesterday and the wind hit
10 me and then the snow hit me and I remembered why we moved
11 to Washington, D.C.. I love Chicago, but I love Chicago
12 much more in May, June and July than I do in January,
13 February and March.
14 And I also want to thank Reverend Jackson,
15 because a lot of you all know my title, but a lot of you
16 don't know where I'm from, how I got to where I am. I'm
17 here really today because President Clinton appointed me,
18 but really I'm here because of two men, two visionaries,
19 two leaders. Two men who stood for everything that this
20 conference is about.

1 When I was 27 years old, before I turned gray
2 and before I had some hair to turn gray, I went to work
3 for a young man, a young dynamic man named Mickey Leland.
4 Mickey Leland was my boss for four years. I don't think
5 there has been anyone in this history of this nation that
6 understood telecommunications the way Mickey did from a
7 15 year vantage point.
8 When I started talking to Mickey, he said,
9 "Larry, I want you to do four things. I want you to
10 focus on image, access, employment and ownership. We're
11 talking about exactly those things today, Reverend
12 Jackson. And Mickey was a great and good friend of the
13 Reverend. And the Reverend was one of his beacons. When
14 he needed to know what is happening in the communities,
15 he would talk to Reverend Jackson.
16 And my other mentor who is responsible for me
17 being here today was Ron Brown. If I had from the entire
18 world to choose from, he gave me the opportunity to serve
19 my country in this position. I know having talked to Ron
20 many, many times, that there was nothing more important
21 than his relationship with the Reverend. I know that one

1 of the proudest moments of his life was the time they
2 spent together in 1988 working toward the presidential
3 nomination for the Reverend.
4 So when I look back at my history and places I
5 have been, I have been there because of Mickey and Ron.
6 And their visions and their values were formed and shaped
7 in large part because of their relationship with the
8 Reverend. And I want to thank him for today, and thank
9 him for 15 years of my life.
10 (APPLAUSE)
11 MR. IRVING: When I look at who has been here
12 today, I'm going to mention some Congressmen. We have
13 two members from my authorizing committee and Congressman
14 Engel and Congressman Rush are here today and Congressman
15 Conyers, the Dean of the Black Caucus. It is important
16 that three members of Congress came to be here today to
17 talk to us about issues that are important to your
18 community. Nothing can be more important than we figure
19 out how to grapple with this new technology. This is the
20 largest economic force in the country. It is the driver
21 of our democracy.

1 I'm a little late. A lot of people left, but
2 I forgot a couple of things, Reverend. I forgot that
3 after eight hours most people don't want to sit anymore.
4 And I forgot that you don't ever want to speak at 4
5 o'clock, the night before Tuesday's primary in Chicago.
6 There are a whole bunch of folks going out to get us
7 elected a Governor. And that's important. That is the
8 thing, but the airwaves control our democracy.
9 The Internet is going to control our
10 democracy. The fuel of this democracy is the empowerment
11 part of this message. If you don't get your message out
12 there, if you don't have a way to get your voice heard,
13 you can't win an election anywhere in this country. And
14 as we look over what has happened in the last ten years
15 in this country, and you think about what media
16 concentration would do to further induce the political
17 power of people of color, you've got to be a little
18 frightened.
19 You are seeing mass consolidation. The Act is
20 two years old. It was two years old last month. I have
21 been doing this for 15 years and I have never seen

1 anything quite like it. The opportunities are huge, but
2 the downside is just as large.
3 I promised to keep this short, but think about
4 what we have out here. We have audio, we have real
5 video, we have digital, we have cable, we have satellite.
6 And at the same time, we're seeing minorities
7 marginalized. And all this new, exciting, exhilarating
8 technology, aand we are not really playing in that game.
9 We can take a look at telephone penetration,
10 two states have 96 and 97 percent telephone penetration
11 right now. Nebraska and Pennsylvania, 97 percent of
12 people in those states have telephones. Across this
13 nation, 96 percent.
14 When I started doing this stuff with Mickey
15 Leland we were about 92 percent. When the Act passed,
16 it was 94 percent. But you know what, 10 percent of
17 African-Americans have never had a telephone in this
18 country. We have always had at least 10 percent of
19 Afro-Americans without a phone. And that is the same for
20 Hispanic Americans.

1 You want to talk about a real atrocity? Half
2 the Native Americans living on reservations in this
3 country do not have basic telephone service. Let me
4 repeat that. Half of the Native Americans living on
5 reservations in this country don't have a telephone,
6 right here in this country right now. We have all these
7 wonderful technologies and there we are.
8 We're in a country where all kinds of millions
9 of dollars are being spent on mobile paging services.
10 Fifty million people plus with some type of -- I mean 70
11 million plus with pagers or cell phones. And minorities
12 are almost making no money on the cells. We're using
13 them. There's a whole bunch of folks in this room with
14 cell phones, but very few of us engage in business that
15 allows us to make money off of those phones.
16 Competition hasn't come to our neighborhoods
17 yet. You have a cable company, you have one choice. If
18 you have a telephone company, you have one choice. This
19 President, President Clinton is committed to giving you
20 some choice in terms of video and telephone options, and
21 we have to do that. We need competition to Ameritech.

1 We need competition to Media One. We need competition to
2 GCI, because prices come down when there is competition.
3 If you bought a cell phone in D.C., like I did five years
4 ago, you know you paid too high a price and your monthly
5 charges were too low. You have six cell telephone
6 companies doing business in D.C. right now. They're
7 trying to cut the price to a phone for free and give me
8 $15 bucks a month, because that is what competition does.
9 We've got to do some things on universal
10 service. The Reverend talked about that this morning.
11 It's got to be in our schools. It's got to be in our
12 libraries. If we don't put it in schools and libraries,
13 what is going to happen to our next generation?
14 Bill Kennard is fighting a huge political
15 battle. The President is supporting him. The Vice
16 President is supporting him. Secretary Daley, who I work
17 directly, for is supporting him. We've got to make sure
18 that that $2.2 million goes to our schools. We've got to
19 make sure that our kids are committed.
20 Bill has been a friend of mine for 20 years.
21 He's doing this as an easy political out for the him,

1 probably. He's doing what he's doing and fighting,
2 because that is the right thing for our children. We
3 have to continue to focus on our children.
4 Media concentration. I've never seen anything
5 like this. We are driving prices up and driving out
6 minorities. In a democracy, there is nothing more
7 important than who owns the airwaves, radio and TV. When
8 you make your choices of who you are going to vote in any
9 city in this country, you turn on the radio, what you see
10 on television. Newspapers are far behind. Soon the
11 Internet will be an increasing part of the equation, but
12 right now it is radio and TV.
13 Reverend Jackson, this is something that is so
14 important, because last Thursday, last Thursday the FCC
15 launched a broadcast ownership proceeding mandated by the
16 Telecom Act. Right now we should be looking at all
17 broadcast ownership rules.
18 Let me show you what is happening in radio.
19 The last couple of years in radio, we now see 1,134 radio
20 stations controlled by just ten owners. The 1,134
21 stations are owned by ten owners. Fifteen years ago, the

1 largest ten owners owned a maximum of 140 stations. We
2 have had an almost ten fold increase in concentration
3 among the top ten owners. The dramatic increase is
4 reflected in the prices. The average price for a radio
5 station in '96 was $6.3 million, 200 percent greater than
6 in 1995. The average price in 1997 was $5.3 million, or
7 150 percent greater in 1995. They bought everything in
8 '96. AM radio stations in 1996 were $838,000 or 53
9 percent of 1995.
10 The problem is minorities are having a hard
11 time getting stations because they just don't have the
12 money. The entry barrier is dollars and that is going to
13 continue to be a problem.
14 We have found a 10 percent drop. NTIA did
15 this survey every year. We, as a community, had a high
16 of 3.1 percent ownership of all broadcast stations. We
17 are now down 2.8 percent in one year, 2.8 percent. We
18 lost ten percent of all the broadcasters out there. You
19 want to know something, that number is going to go down
20 this year.

1 I just talked to one of the largest black-
2 owned TV station owners. He is going out of business.
3 He can't afford it. And I have talked to a few radio
4 station guys and gals here, who said "I would sell at the
5 right price. I would be gone. Just give me the money.
6 I've got to go, because I can't afford to compete."
7 Stevie Wonder came back to Washington last
8 week, as Commissioner Powell mentioned. He's having a
9 hard time. How many brothers and sisters have
10 capitalization that Stevie Wonder has. He's having a
11 hard time. What is going to happen to the rest of us?
12 We've got to find ways to get access to capital for
13 minorities. And that is why the work that the Reverend
14 is doing is so vitally important to this community.
15 Let me talk a little bit about new technology.
16 That can either make us stronger or it is going to make
17 us even weaker. In new technology, there are entry
18 pieces all over. There are 1,000 radio stations on the
19 Internet right now. Let me repeat that, 1,000 radio
20 stations are on the Internet right now, broadcasting

1 24/7/365. Every day of the week they are out there
2 broadcasting.
3 The price of doing that -- you don't have to
4 go to FCC for a license, just $5 million. All you need
5 is a smart kid and a server and you can be on real audio
6 or video right now. You know what, there are 100 TV
7 stations on the air using real video. This conference
8 could be broadcast real time using real video to anybody
9 in the country who wanted to see it, who had a sound card
10 and a computer in their home or their office with a 28.8
11 modem.
12 There are hundreds of TV stations right now.
13 You want to bypass the gateway, get on the net. We've
14 got to go out to Silicon Valley. We've got to go to
15 Washington. We've got to go to Virginia. We've got to
16 go the Austin, Texas and North Carolina and understand
17 these technologies.
18 We've got to do what the Third World is doing.
19 They're not going to build the information infrastructure
20 from scratch, starting with big wires and fiber optics.
21 They are going to go wireless and use the Internet.

1 China has 1.6 billion people. 1.4 billion of
2 them have never used the telephone. They are not going
3 to start with the old twisted pair. They are going to
4 leap frog and use the new technologies.
5 We, as minorities, need to think about how we
6 are going to leap frog and use the new technology. Where
7 are the opportunities? It is going to change every facet
8 of our economy, and it is changing democracy.
9 When I worked for Mickey Leland, we said every
10 letter represented 10,000 constituents. Right now, there
11 are sophisticated lobbying grass roots groups using it to
12 spam members of Congress. The unfortunate reality is
13 that blacks in America are not on the net. We don't know
14 how to spam, because so too few of us are using it.
15 Say you've got a crucial political issue with
16 a swing member of Congress or the Senate who is getting
17 10,000 letters of an orchestrated campaign from folks on
18 the net and we are not sending them, because we don't use
19 the net. We've got to become net proficient.
20 It is also, you know, when I was a young kid,
21 I remember Barrett Strong had "Money, That's What I

1 Want." And as I got a little older the O'Jays had "For
2 The Love Of Money", and right now Puff Daddy is talking
3 about "It's All About The Benjamins". It is all the same
4 thing. It is about dollars being empowered.
5 The Internet, according to John Door, who
6 probably is one of the well known venture capitalists,
7 "The Internet is the single largest and great wealth
8 producing machine in the history of this planet." If you
9 want a legal way to make money, the Internet surpasses
10 anything. Silicon Valley every day creates 62 new
11 millionaires. Silicon Valley every day creates 62 new
12 millionaires.
13 I went out to the United Center, I was
14 watching the basketball game, while I was at the house
15 that Michael Jordan built. I have been a lot of places
16 where Brothers have said, "I want to be the next Michael
17 Jordan." I've never heard a Brother say "I want to be
18 the next Bill Gates."
19 Michael Jordan makes $33 million a year. Bill
20 Gates' net worth probably went up $33 million today. He

1 is worth $45 billion. He is worth $45 billion. On a
2 day, his net worth goes up Michael Jordan's salary.
3 Now let me give you another statistic. Sports
4 Illustrated had an article about the loss of the white
5 athlete. Once you go inside that article it says 57
6 percent of African- American boys 12 to 18 didn't want
7 to, but expected to play pro sports. 57 percent of
8 African-American boys expected to play pro sports. There
9 are 2400 jobs in baseball, basketball and football. I'm
10 not counting hockey, because I watched that and I didn't
11 see a whole lot of Brothers out there on skates. I'm
12 just taking basketball, baseball and football, 2400 jobs.
13 Most basketball players are taller than I, and
14 I'm taller than the average, I am 6 foot 3. Most
15 football players are over 200 pounds. I tried playing
16 football at Northwestern. I couldn't play there. 2400
17 pro sports jobs.
18 Microsoft has 25,000 employees. 22,000 of
19 them have stock options worth $1 million. All right.
20 You've got 2400 jobs. You've got to be a giant to play.
21 And Bill Gates has 22,000 jobs and all you got to do is

1 study and work hard and $1 million in stock options.
2 What should we be doing. This is not nuclear science.
3 Well it is. It is physics, but not nuclear science.
4 I can't find a young brother that says he
5 wants to be Paul Allen. He don't know Paul Allen. Paul
6 Allen owns the Portland Trailblazers, but he can tell you
7 everything about David Stoudamir who plays for Paul
8 Allen. Paul Allen is worth $12 billion, as a partner to
9 Bill Gates.
10 amazon.com, not a very tough concept. Let's
11 sell books over the Internet. Jeff Bezel came up with
12 that idea four years ago. Jeff Bezel is worth $600
13 million today, four years later, four years later,
14 because he had an idea of selling books over the
15 Internet. Black books, brown books, science books, but
16 he had a simple idea.
17 Let me give you the contrast of Black America.
18 There was a Brother in my office, a few years ago because
19 of Ron Brown. I won't give his name. He's a Detroit
20 owner of an automobile dealership. I said come down to
21 my office and I'll show you the Internet. GM, Ford and

1 Chrysler will be on-line within a decade. "I don't have
2 time for that, Brother. I've got a profitable business.
3 I don't have time to learn about that. You go on."
4 Last year, 14 percent of Americans did their
5 research over the Internet. Four percent bought their
6 car over the Internet without ever going to a dealer.
7 Now, I'm going to be right. You're going to be wrong.
8 Now, the Brother, if he loses 25 percent of
9 his market to the Internet, where is his business going
10 to be in ten years. He didn't have time to look. This
11 is free. It ain't going to cost you nothing. I don't
12 want nothing from you, Brother, except give you some
13 information. He wouldn't come downstairs 55 yards to see
14 what the Internet is all about.
15 You've got to get out of that mind set. And
16 we've got to give our kids some ideas of where they can
17 -- you've got to hook up schools.
18 Let's start concluding. I want to talk about
19 something that I talked a little bit about with Jonathan.
20 And that is about where jobs are. You know, we're
21 talking about a lot of jobs.

1 This is a report that came out last year
2 between 1990 and 1997. Three Com increased his job by
3 254 percent. American On Line by 5000 percent. CISCO by
4 3300 percent. Oracle by 300 percent, Reed Wright by 2000
5 percent. There were 445,000 jobs created. 1.3 million
6 more are going to be created. In the communication
7 industry 27,000 jobs were created.
8 We're seeing consolidation trends in
9 communication. We're seeing growth and expansion in
10 telecommunication. Who is going to get those jobs? If
11 you go to the University of North Carolina this year, if
12 you go to Stanford this year or go to Northwestern this
13 year, then we'll tell you come with your laptop and PC.
14 Do not come with it, it is essential as a pen was.
15 You've got to have it.
16 We don't have those same requirement at HBCUs
17 and a lot of other schools where young African-Americans
18 are going.
19 D.C. Cable said no one gets a job with D.C.
20 cable unless they can use a computer. Is kid at North
21 Carolina A&T, a kid at Johnson C. Smith, wanting to run

1 track, getting as prepared as the kid who is using a
2 computer at the University of North Carolina all four
3 years? Just hard working. Who is D.C. Cable going to
4 hire?
5 Do you know there are one million jobs that
6 only list on the Internet? These are the kinds of things
7 that our folk have got to know.
8 I want to talk about other things. We've got
9 to get some access centers. We've got to get community
10 centers where our kids really go. I'll tell you, most
11 schools where I grew up at 3 or 4 o'clock are either in
12 double session or at 3 or 4 o'clock they are closing up
13 because of security reasons. The library is open one
14 night a week.
15 When I was 16, 17, I used to like to read, but
16 I didn't want my partners to know that. I thought I was
17 supposed to be from the neighborhood and real hard, so I
18 didn't want the Brothers to know I was going to library.
19 That was not cool.
20 There was a Sister there named Virginia. She
21 was fine. Would tell the Brothers that I went to the

1 library to hit on Virginia. Now Virginia never knew that
2 I was lying or what I was in there doing, but it got me
3 the grades to get into some colleges to do what I wanted
4 to do.
5 They still won't go to the library, but they
6 will go to Boys Clubs and go to the churches. And we've
7 got to connect those community institutions for our
8 people. Make sure that these kids understand it. It
9 ain't that hard and it ain't that difficult.
10 Two weeks ago my grandmother celebrated her
11 85th birthday. She invited down her entire family. She
12 invited me. She likes me sometimes and invited my wife
13 and all my siblings, my cousins, all her great
14 grandchildren came as well. You know how she did that?
15 She did it over the Internet. Why did she do that,
16 because last year they bought Web TV, $300. She had
17 Internet access to all of her grandchildren. They
18 chipped in and got $300 Web TVs for them. Everybody in
19 the family has an e-mail address so we can stay in touch
20 about Grandma's 85th birthday celebration.

1 What I tell Brothers is if your TV went down
2 this weekend so you couldn't watch the Final Four, you
3 would go buy a TV. Well, think about your child. Take
4 that $1,000 you would find to watch the Final Four put it
5 -- $300 into Web TV for your job. You can buy used
6 Pentiums on the street 8 or $900 with monitors. They are
7 used.
8 Let me wrap this up. Let me give you a couple
9 of presents that I think we need to do as a community.
10 One, we need to learn the new technologies
11 now. No one understands it better. The average web site
12 is less than two years old. The average web site is less
13 than two years old, only because it is still new. Get in
14 it while it is still new.
15 Second, get to know your State Commissioners.
16 They have a lot of very good men and a lot of good
17 Brothers. I know them very well. You know Julia
18 Johnson, Chairman of the Public Service Commission in
19 Florida? You all need to know this Sister. She is very,
20 very bright.

1 You need to know [unintelligible] who is about
2 to be the next Chairman at the PSC in Maryland. You need
3 to know Harold Crumpton in Missouri, who has been a
4 Commissioner down there. You need to know the state
5 representatives because they control billions of dollars
6 of activity in this sector.
7 What happened in radio was foreseen, was
8 discussed, was understood and was ignored. I testified
9 at least four times before Congress about what has
10 happened and will happen. I went to members of Congress,
11 individually in their offices, I did everything I could
12 to try to stop it on behalf of the President. The
13 President hated what happened in radio. He couldn't veto
14 it on the basis of radio. It was understood.
15 Let me tell you right now, if it happens in
16 TV, it will be worse. You don't own nothing in TV. And
17 what's really scary is TV, newspaper, cable, satellite
18 cross ownership is all being discussed right now. We're
19 talking about letting people own all of these different
20 things in one company. Understand the consequences for
21 the minority community if that happens.

1 Make sure members understood and our
2 constituents on connecting our schools and libraries and
3 having the fees to make sure our kids can stay on it.
4 Think out of the box. I was glad to see
5 Brothers and Sisters, you know -- you know there are
6 millionaires right now dredging streets right now with
7 fiber optics. Several years ago I was working for a
8 Congressman from Massachusetts and I said, "Why don't you
9 guys think about putting up wireless cell sites? People
10 would make a lot of money doing cell sites. They wanted
11 to talk to me about my radio station. People are going
12 to make millions of dollars in Chicago, New York,
13 Detroit, Washington putting up cell sites.
14 Be the subcontractor. You will make lots of
15 money. Those six companies in D.C. had to hire someone
16 to put those cell sites up. Why weren't they people of
17 color? One reason is people of color didn't think about
18 that opportunity. And, you know what else, what goes
19 with not thinking outside of the box, a person that is
20 thinking outside of the box. Quincy Jones was in the New
21 York Times today for having a radio station that is world

1 music on the Internet. He is thinking outside of the
2 box. Maceo Sloan is thinking outside of the box. Think
3 globally.
4 Let me give you a statistic, a couple of them.
5 Half the people of the world has never used a telephone.
6 Half of the world has had to travel two or more miles to
7 the nearest telephone. 80 percent of the world's
8 households don't have a telephone. There are more
9 telephone lines on the island of Manhattan, a city where
10 I grew up, than in all of Africa, south of the Sahara and
11 North and South Africa. The skills ou learn here,
12 telecommunications are sales. It is where the money is
13 going to be. Think globally as you think out of the box.
14 How can I learn this skill and make billions of dollars.
15 And finally, remember it is all about the
16 Benjamins. In a capitalistic society that is what it is
17 really all about.
18 Mickey Leland, as much as he was a
19 philanthropist, he was a humorist, but was about making
20 capitalists. Ron Brown was the Secretary of Commerce.
21 It means you've got to be thinking about what we're going

1 to do to empower our community. We can't do this on the
2 cheap. It is not cheap. Telecommunications is
3 expensive. The Wall Street Project is the direct
4 connection of what we do right here. We have a
5 tremendous opportunity. We have an opportunity of a
6 lifetime. It is going to come this way exactly one time.
7 And if we think in the old math, we're going to lose.
8 We've got to think out of the box and we'll do all right.
9 Thank you very much.
10 REVEREND JACKSON: Boy, that Negro is
11 literate. Why aren't you a millionaire?
12 MR. IRVING: I'm too dumb.
13 REVEREND JACKSON: He has the entrepreneurial
14 spirit. Let me make this appeal. First give him a big
15 hand.
16 (APPLAUSE)
17 REVEREND JACKSON: I want to express my thanks
18 to you, Congressman, for coming here and staying with us.
19 Give him a hand. I want to say to you, who are here
20 listening to the Brother speak is that in Chicago we have
21 a championship basketball team, Michael Jordan, Pippen

1 and Rodman and so forth. But if Pippen lived in Chicago
2 and Rodman lived in Chicago and Michael lived in Chicago
3 and Luke Longley lived in Chicago, and they just lived in
4 Chicago and never met and coordinated their skills, they
5 would be great schoolyard champions and legends, but they
6 would not have a NBA ring.
7 It is not enough for us to have all this
8 intelligence and all-star appeal, unless we build an
9 infrastructure to turn all of this into an orchestrated
10 activity. We do not have a shortage of black people
11 smart enough to make white people rich. We do have a
12 shortage of us coming together building a structure that
13 can engage in a long struggle.
14 When God gave Noah a call one day and said he
15 was going to let it rain 40 days and 40 nights, he didn't
16 tell Noah to learn how to swim skillfully. He said build
17 an ark. Because even skillful swimmers can't swim 40
18 days and 40 nights. So those who could not swim in the
19 ark survived. Those who could swim on the outside
20 drowned. I hope that didn't pass you all.

1 Those who could swim on the outside drowned.
2 Those who couldn't swim, who built the ark survived. We
3 have to build an ark on infrastructure to fight this
4 fight. Even building the wildest website is a political
5 question. All that we're talking about requires the
6 power to get there. And you're going to get power based
7 upon people who know you, like you, or got to deal with
8 you. That is how people bring folks in. That is who
9 Gates calls, people he knows, likes, or got to deal with
10 him.
11 All we're saying is when we buy stocks in
12 corporations is that you may not know us, you may not
13 like us, but you've got to deal with us. But once you
14 get to know us, you'll also like us. Because we want
15 what you want. We want to create, produce and be a part
16 of America's wealth.
17 We are not running around with a perpetual
18 permanent chip on our shoulders of anger. We do know
19 right now that no matter how much skills we got or,
20 Larry, even how much vision we've got, that unless we

1 have the leverage to get in, it will just be
2 underutilized skills.
3 We could play baseball before 1947. We were
4 prepared before opportunity came. We could use the
5 downtown toilet before 1964 well. We could vote before
6 1965. We had preparation. We did not have opportunity.
7 That is a power question. That is not just I am brighter
8 than my classmate at Harvard question. I'm not that I am
9 as bright as my present classmate, but your present
10 classmate inherits what you can't buy. You should get in
11 through luck or through power, mostly through power. If
12 you don't have power, you are an embittered graduate. I
13 went to school with him. I remember back when we used to
14 drink beer together.
15 Now having said all that, you are on the
16 outside with your degree. Now, my point is we must build
17 an infrastructure so when MCI and WorldCom meet, they
18 know to cut us in or cut us out. It is a power question.
19 If we don't have the power to disrupt the game, we can't
20 play in it, unless we're invited. We tend not to be
21 invited.

1 That is why the idea out there about race
2 neutral is confusing to me, because racism ain't neutral.
3 It's aggressive and violent.
4 Sexism is not neutral. It is violent. You
5 must have some anti virus for that virus. You must have
6 something called "equal protection under the law". And
7 unenforced laws don't protect you from the violence.
8 That is why you have these monopolies. That is what the
9 March from Selma to Montgomery was all about this week.
10 We have to fight our government to let us have the right
11 to vote. That fight is not over.
12 Roland Burris got all the stuff on paper,
13 Governor Walker's cabinet, went to the right schools.
14 You know, shaved his mustache off. I don't want to be
15 offensive to white people, three times the top vote
16 getter in the state. You know, did all the right things.
17 Nagle, who was against NAFTA, supported a guy
18 who was for NAFTA. There is a race factor in this thing.
19 You will only offset with the power. Am I making sense
20 to you all?

1 We are not here because we read the Sun-Times.
2 We are not here today because we read the New York Times.
3 We are here because we meant to organize to fight. And
4 with that power, we got FCC commissioners here and
5 congresspeople here and with that power we hope to close
6 the doors.
7 [A discussion of RAINBOW/PUSH business
8 followed.]
9 REVEREND JACKSON: Let us stand.
10 I want to thank all of you who are present and
11 especially Congressman Rush who stuck with us all of the
12 day and who is now at the "Get out the Vote Rally for
13 Roland Burris. And one of us had to stay here and one
14 had to go to the rally. And I'm still here. Congressman
15 Engel, who came here from New York and Congressman
16 Conyers who has been with us today, and the commissioners
17 who did come, to you, and to the business leaders who did
18 come and to all the panelists.
19 I want to thank David in a very special way
20 for his very excellent work and staff that gave David the
21 support. You did a great job, and I thank you.

1 [A discussion of RAINBOW/PUSH business
2 followed.]
3 (PRAYER)
4 (WHEREUPON the conference was adjourned at 5
5 o'clock p.m.)
6 * * * * *

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2
3 STATE OF ILLINOIS)
4) SS:
5 COUNTY OF C O O K)
6
7
8 JULIUS CARTER AND GWENDOLYN BEDFORD, being
9 first duly sworn on oath say that they are Certified
10 Shorthand Reporters;
11
12 That they reported in shorthand the
13 proceedings given at the taking of said hearing, and that
14 the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of their
15 shorthand notes so taken as aforesaid, and contains all
16 the proceedings given at said hearing.
17
18 IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set and
19 affixed a seal of office at Chicago, Illinois on this
20 29th day of March, A.D., 1998.
21
22
23 JULIUS CARTER
24 084-000842
25
26 GWENDOLYN BEDFORD C.S.R.
27 84-003700

1
2
3 I declare under penalty of perjury under the
4 laws of the United States that I undertook the final
5 editing of the proceedings of this hearing for
6 presentation to the Federal Communications Commission. I
7 have attempted to provide an accurate transcription of
8 the relevant events at the hearing.
9
10
11 Executed _____.
12
13 /ss/
14 _____
15 David Earl Honig
16 3636 16th Street N.W. #B-366
17 Washington, D.C. 20010
18 (202) 332-7005
19
20 Counsel for the
21 RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION
22