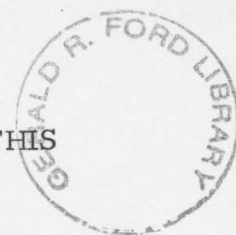


**The original documents are located in Box 25, folder “Undated Speeches by Robert J. Brown” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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IT IS INDEED A PLEASURE TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU THIS  
AFTERNOON. I ALWAYS WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN  
"HOME" TO NORTH CAROLINA AND TO TALK WITH "HOME" FOLKS.  
I DO SO THIS AFTERNOON WITH A TWO-FOLD PLEASURE: ONE IS  
BEING ABLE TO SHARE THIS DAY WITH YOU IN RECOGNITION OF YOUR  
PAST YEAR'S EFFORTS IN THE COMMUNITY, WHICH I KNOW TO BE  
COMMENDABLE AND DESERVING OF RECOGNITION; THE OTHER IS  
HAVING THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH YOU SOME OF THE  
THINKING WHICH IS CURRENT AMONG AN INCREASING NUMBER OF  
BLACKS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

I LABORED OVER THE CONTENT OF MY REMARKS TODAY BECUASE  
IN AN AGE WHERE RHETORIC TOO OFTEN ESTABLISHES CREDIBILITY,  
I DIDN'T WANT TO BE GUILTY OF THE CRIME OF "SAYING MUCH, WHILE  
SAYING NOTHING." I ALSO LABORED OVER THEM BECAUSE I WANTED

TO CONVEY TO YOU, NOT ONLY MY OWN SINCERITY, BUT ALSO THE SIGNIFICANCE WITH WHICH I VIEW YOUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY AS AGENTS OF CHANGE FOR BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.



A LOT OF PRESSURE FACES BLACK LEADERSHIP TODAY. NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE TO CONTEND WITH THE OBVIOUS BY-PRODUCTS OF RACISM, BUT WE ALSO HAVE TO CONTEND WITH THAT UNIQUE KIND OF PRESSURE WHICH COMES FROM OUR OWN BLACK PEER GROUP. AND, BELIEVE ME, THIS CAN SOMETIMES BE THE WORST KIND -- SOME OF IT CONSTRUCTIVE -- BUT, TOO OFTEN, A LOT OF IT IS DESTRUCTIVE.

TAKE A MOMENT TO LOOK AT THE KIND OF PRESSURE THAT THE "BROTHERS" PUT ON EACH OTHER. I WANT TO CALL THIS TO YOUR ATTENTION BECAUSE, WHILE WE ALL KNOW THE KIND OF CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE "MAN," WE SOMEHOW SEEM TO SKIRT THE ISSUE OF

CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY OUR OWN. AND I MAINTAIN THAT UNTIL WE BEGIN "HELPING" RATHER THAN "HINDERING" EACH OTHER, WE MAY STILL BE A LONG WAY FROM ADDRESSING THE CRUCIAL ISSUES BEFORE US AS A MINORITY PEOPLE WHO ARE STILL WITHOUT ANY REAL POWER, WHATEVER WAY YOU LOOK AT IT.

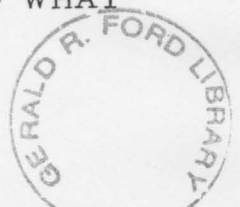


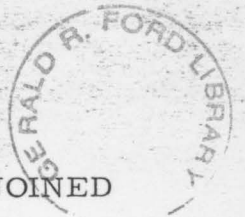
LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT I MEAN. LOOK AT THIS ADMINISTRATION. THE BLACKS IN KEY POSITIONS, INCLUDING MYSELF, HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO THE HARSHTEST OF CRITICISM FROM OUR PEOPLE. MUCH OF THIS CRITICISM HAS BEEN LEVELED NOT OUT OF AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT OUR EFFORTS HAVE BEEN IN THESE POSITIONS, BUT RATHER OUT OF AN ARBITRARY EMOTIONAL DISLIKE FOR THIS ADMINISTRATION. AND THE LOUDER THE CRITICISM, THE MORE "RELEVANT" THE CRITIC BECOMES FOR THE "BLACK CAUSE" AND HIS DEFINITION OF WHAT THAT "CAUSE" SHOULD BE. IT IS THIS KIND OF EMOTIONAL AND UNSOPHISTICATED APPEAL WITH WHICH I, AND OTHER BLACKS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, ARE TAKING ISSUE.



WE CAN AND MUST MAKE DEMANDS FOR OUR RIGHT TO MOVE INTO THE AMERICAN "MAINSTREAM." HOWEVER, WE MUST ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL IN A TWO PARTY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT MEANS THAT WE, AS A MINORITY GROUP, CANNOT AFFORD THE LUXURY OF IGNORING ANY PARTY AND ANY OPPORTUNITIES WHICH MOVE US CLOSER TO THE CORE OF BEING A PART OF WHAT THE "AMERICAN MAINSTREAM" IS ALL ABOUT.

WHEN WE BEGIN TO BASE OUR POLITICAL DECISIONS ON THINKING THAT IS RATIONAL AND STRATEGIC RATHER THAN EMOTIONAL AND SPORATIC, THEN I BELIEVE WE WILL BE ON OUR WAY TO ACHIEVING A REAL POWER BASE IN THIS COUNTRY. AMERICAN HISTORY TELLS US PRETTY CLEARLY THAT "POWER" IN THIS COUNTRY STEMS FROM TWO ADVANTAGES -- EITHER POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OR ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE. AND, IN REALITY, ONE ADVANTAGE BEGETS THE OTHER,





SO YOU WILL PROBABLY ALWAYS FIND POWER AND MONEY JOINED  
TOGETHER IN SOME FASHION. KNOWING THIS REALITY ABOUT OUR  
SOCIAL SYSTEM, HOW THEN, MAY I ASK, DO WE AS BLACKS EVER  
INTEND TO GET A REAL PIECE OF THE ACTION IF ALL WE DO IS  
STAND OUTSIDE OF THE SYSTEM WITH OUR HANDS OUT FOR WHATEVER  
MEASURE OF GOOD WILL AND SERVICES THAT CAN BE DISPENSED  
THROUGH PRESSURE OR OTHER MEANS? THERE IS TALK IN SOME  
CIRCLES OF "REVOLUTION" AND OVERTURNING THE SYSTEM. FOR  
THOSE WHO BELIEVE AND SUBSCRIBE TO THIS KIND OF SOLUTION,  
THAT IS THEIR CHOICE -- IT IS CERTAINLY NOT MINE NOR THAT OF  
A GREAT NUMBER OF OTHER BLACKS AND MINORITIES. MY CHOICE  
IS TO WORK WITHIN THE SYSTEM FOR CHANGE, AND I BELIEVE IT CAN  
BE DONE, FOR I SEE IT OCCURING IN MANY WAYS WITHIN THIS VERY  
ADMINISTRATION. I BELIEVE IT CAN BE DONE BY SEIZING EVERY

OPPORTUNITY WHICH WILL OPEN INROADS INTO THE POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC ARENAS. FOR IN SO DOING, PRECEDENTS AND  
SUBSEQUENT OPPORTUNITIES CAN BE INHERITED BY THE YOUNG  
PEOPLE WHO WILL FOLLOW US INTO THE LEADERSHIP ROLES OF  
THE DECADES AHEAD.

IN OUR IGNORANCE OF YESTERYEAR, WE MAY HAVE BEEN  
CONTENT WITH THE MYOPIC VIEW THAT THE AMERICAN "MAINSTREAM"  
MEANT A SHINY NEW CAR, A COUPLE OF TV'S, BROOKS BROTHERS  
SUITS, ETC. TODAY, THAT IMAGE IS NOT SUFFICIENT. TODAY, THE  
"MAINSTREAM" HAS TO INCLUDE THE CAPACITY TO MANUFACTURE  
AND DISTRIBUTE THOSE SHINY NEW CARS, THOSE TV'S, THOSE  
BROOKS BROTHERS SUITS. WE HAVE TO MOVE FROM BEING CONSUMERS  
OF GOODS AND SERVICES TO THE PRODUCERS OF GOODS AND SERVICES.



LET ME REITERATE THE POINT I MADE EARLIER. BLACK  
PEER GROUP PRESSURE ON BLACK LEADERSHIP ABOUNDS. I WOULD  
LIKE TO CAUTION THAT WHATEVER THE CRITICISM, LET IT BE  
FOUNDED ON OBJECTIVITY, NOT EMOTION. BLACKS HAVE LOST TOO  
MANY BATTLES UNDER THE BANNER OF BEAUTIFUL, BUT ILL FOUNDED,  
RHETORIC. ON THE OTHER HAND WE CAN WIN MANY MORE BATTLES  
BECAUSE OF STRATEGIC PLANNING AND A REALISTIC APPROACH TO  
SOLVING THOSE PROBLEMS WHICH OBSTRUCT OUR TOTAL INTEGRATION  
INTO THE AMERICAN MAINSTREAM.

THE ISSUE AT STAKE FOR BLACKS IS HOW TO GET SOMETHING  
DONE YESTERDAY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY. TO DO  
THIS, WE HAVE GOT TO KNOW THE RULES OF THE GAME. EACH OF  
US SHOULD MAKE SURE THAT, IF WE DON'T KNOW WHAT THE RULES







ARE, WE LEARN THEM IN A HURRY AND PLAY THE GAME WITH  
THE AGILITY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PLAYING IT FOR HUNDREDS  
OF YEARS.

WHAT I AM CONCERNED ABOUT TODAY IS OUR NEED AS A PEOPLE  
TO NURTURE THE KINDS OF HABITS AND ATTITUDES THAT WILL  
PRODUCE THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THIS DECADE AND THOSE TO  
FOLLOW WILL REQUIRE. AS INCREASED TECHNOLOGY AND  
SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES CONTINUE TO PRESENT THIS NATION AND THE  
WORLD WITH "FUTURE SHOCK" SITUATIONS, THE NEED WILL ALWAYS  
BE PRESENT FOR LEADERS, COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO TAKE ACTIONS  
WHICH WILL ASSURE THAT OUR SOCIETY WILL PRESERVE ITS HUMAN-  
ITARIAN VALUES. THE ISSUES OF UNEMPLOYMENT, OVER POPULATION,  
ECOLOGY, AND RACE PRESENT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS A WORLD



OF UNENDING AND FRIGHTFUL PROBLEMS. LEADERSHIP IS ALWAYS A PART OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY AND SIGNIFICANT BLACK LEADERSHIP MUST TAKE ITS PLACE ALONGSIDE THAT OF ALL OTHER SIGNIFICANT AMERICAN LEADERS.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR DOING SOMETHING MOMENTOUS, AS FAR AS OUR PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED, MAY COME ONLY TO A HANDFUL OF PEOPLE. BUT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUAL, PERHAPS PERSONAL, INITIATIVES WILL PROBABLY COME AT SOMETIME TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU. I HOPE THAT THE COURAGE YOU NEED WILL BE THERE, TO TAKE THESE ACTS WHEN THESE MOMENTS ARRIVE AND TO COME TO THE SUPPORT OF OTHERS WHO ALSO DO SO.

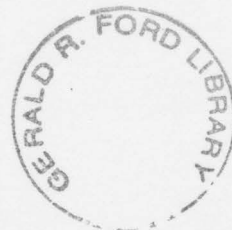
I COULD USE MY TIME THIS AFTERNOON TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE MOVES THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE TO MOVE MINORITIES



INTO THE "MAINSTREAM." I KNOW THAT MANY OF YOU ARE NOT AWARE OF ALL THAT HAS BEEN DONE. IT IS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT WHEN, UNDER THE ADVERSE CRITICISM IT IS RECEIVING, YOU UNDERSTAND THAT IT HAS MADE FAR MORE STRIDES IN THE AREAS OF APPOINTMENTS OF BLACKS TO KEY POSITIONS, MINORITY ENTERPRISE, DID TO BLACK COLLEGES THAN COMPARABLE EFFORTS IN ANY PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. WHILE I THINK THESE ACTIONS ARE SIGNIFICANT, I AGREE THAT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH. MORE HAS TO BE DONE -- NOT ONLY BY THOSE IN POWER POSITIONS, BUT ALSO BY EACH OF US. LET IT BE SO THAT WHEN OPPORTUNITY IS WITHIN REACH, WE ARE READY TO TAKE IT.

AS ONE AUTHOR POINTS OUT:

"IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, BLACK CHILDREN WILL BE ABLE TO CLIMB OUT OF THEIR SLUMS EN MASSE ONLY IF THEY SEE





THEIR PARENTS DOING THE SAME -- ONLY IF THE ADULTS OF THE COMMUNITY ARE INVOLVED IN ACTION ON THEIR OWN BEHALF. FOR IT IS THE DISORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE -- THE EVIDENCE OF ALL SIDES THAT THEIR PARENTS ARE UNABLE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN BEHAVIOR, UNABLE TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON PEOPLE WHO THREATEN THE COMMUNITY'S WELL BEING -- THAT PERSUADES THE YOUNG THAT THE CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST THEM, THAT THE OMNIPRESENT 'THEY' WILL NOT PERMIT THEM TO 'MAKE IT' IN ANY LEGITIMATE FORM, AND SO LEADS THEM INTO APATHY, WITHDRAWAL, OR REBELLION."

IT IS MY HOPE THAT IN EFFORTS LIKE YOURS AND MINE THAT THIS KIND OF DRAMA WILL BECOME THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE. TO BRING ABOUT THIS CHANGE, WE MUST NOT BE SHORTSIGHTED OR SIDETRACKED FROM THE REAL ISSUES BY AN EMOTIONAL CALL TO ARMS WHICH DOES NOTHING BUT WARMS THE SPIRIT WHILE IT KEEPS

YOU POWERLESS. JOIN WITH ME IN SEEKING REAL POWER FOR  
OUR PEOPLE THROUGH THE SYSTEM BY REQUESTING AND ACCEPTING  
MORE RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS IN ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND  
BY PREPARING OUR YOUNG TO ASSUME THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP  
ROLES FOR OUR PEOPLE AND THIS NATION WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED  
BY THIS COUNTRY TO MAINTAIN ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE AMONG THE  
OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD.





~~super results & involvement~~ <sup>Action & Leadership</sup> In the 70's

personal power

no longer faceless people

name changes

light & dark

courage of convictions

freedom of speech

Man cannot deny the humanity of his fellow man

without destroying his own

victims of our own rhetoric - reacting rather than acting

capitalizing on frustrations & =

~~raising~~ expectations without fulfillment - defeat

attack without any hope of success builds apathy hopelessness

Kamukazi-Demagogue

Obstacles will not fall because we want them to - we

must have some victories - <sup>in order to have</sup> victories we must have

power & <sup>achieving</sup> power in this system <sup>by a minority</sup> derived from

having leverage in both political parties.

We need more than foul abusive language = anger

control our destiny - we must cease being a by-product

We must be where we can influence decisions that affect our lives

If we are to negotiate & bargain, we must have power not emotional speeches & name calling. In the past we have been holding conversations not bargaining. No longer fighting for scraps & crumbs but a piece of the action whatever the action is; jobs, contracts

therapy - <sup>get respect we</sup> ~~so respect~~ must show it to each other.

New breed - back biting is out - what little power we have had has too often been neutralized by ~~easy~~ infighting & downright hate. Not listening anymore (blacks) new team playing the game for effect. We are not shooting at each other.

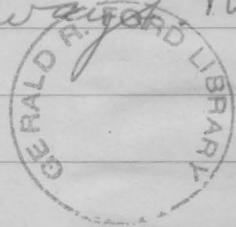




tactics - strategy — The question no longer  
will we be free but by  
what course

We must be responsive, but responsive how?  
w/ words or deed?

We must face the stark reality of life. If we  
as a people want to enter the mainstream & be a  
part of & help make the decisions that run our  
schools, our businesses, our governments, indeed  
every facet of our lives then we must realize  
that we cannot have it both ways. No one  
is



Faith w/out works is dead 2:20 Epistle of James  
The truth shall make you free 8:32 St. John  
If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch  
15:14 St. Matt.

After a speech, someone remarked that the speaker was all right, "but I don't think he put enough fire into his speech."

"I think," said another, "that his trouble was that he did not put enough of his speech into the fire."

---

The speaker raised his voice in annoyance and said, "There have been so many unseemly interruptions that I can hardly hear myself speak."

"You aint missing much," cried a voice from the audience.



Mr. Adams  
Rev. Godfrey



Pleasure & privilege to speak at the 19th St. Bapt. Church. One of the finest men I have had the opportunity to work with is your pastor Rev. Jerry A. Moore. This is a very busy time for me personally, ~~but~~ It is also a crucial time for our people & for our nation. So in thinking of what I would say today, I thought it might be appropriate to address myself to the question of "<sup>Super Action - Super Pride - Super</sup> ~~Providing Super Action~~ & Leadership in this Crucial Decade of the 70's".

Presently, there is a great deal of talk about everything being super; <sup>T.G.F.</sup> Superblack - super ~~money~~ Money - Super star - Super man - Super fly. If we as a people make the kind of <sup>super</sup> progress the times we live in demand then we ~~are going~~ must have, above all, some Super Action & some Super Leadership. Dr. M. L. King, Jr. once wrote that

Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable. Even a superficial look at history reveals that no social advance rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals. Without persistent effort, time itself becomes an ally of the insurgent and primitive forces of irrational emotionalism and social destruction. This is no time for apathy or complacency. This is a time for vigorous and positive action. /





For too long we have, too often, been victims of our own rhetoric. We have been re-acting rather than acting - Capitalizing on frustrations & emotionalism instead of instilling reason & hope - Raising expectations without any plan to fulfill our many needs. In the 2nd chapter of the Epistle of James it says that 'Faith without works is dead.' In short, whatever else we do we must always remember that the only game in town is getting results. In this decade of the 70's,

Our people  
have had enough  
of  
irrelevant  
emotional  
speeches

I HOPE IT WILL BE THE DECADE WHEN WE ALL LEARN AMERICA  
IS NOT ALL BLACK AND NOT ALL WHITE -- THE DECADE WHEN WE  
LEARN THAT WE CAN HAVE UNITY WITHOUT CONFORMITY, THAT WE  
DO NOT ALL HAVE TO LOOK ALIKE, TALK ALIKE, THINK ALIKE OR  
EVEN SMELL ALIKE. THIS SHOULD BE THE DECADE OF THE CENTURY.  
AND IT WILL BE, IF PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL DEVELOP THE KIND OF  
LEADERSHIP WHICH IS BENT ON BUILDING RATHER THAN DESTROYING --  
THINKING RATHER THAN SHOUTING -- STANDING UP FOR WHAT IS  
RIGHT AND DENOUNCING WHAT IS WRONG -- PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

INSTEAD OF TAKING IT ALL APART. ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WITH SOME OF US IS THAT WE HAVE HAD JUST ENOUGH INJECTIONS OF LEADERSHIP TO KEEP US FROM CATCHING THE REAL THING. TOO MANY TIMES WE FORGET ABOUT SERVING AND GIVING.

AS W.C. HANDY ONCE SAID LIFE IS SOMETHING LIKE THIS TRUMPET -- IF YOU DON'T PUT ANYTHING IN IT YOU DON'T GET ANYTHING OUT.

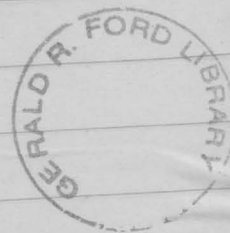
There are many of us who believe that black and white leadership must present the kind of courage to praise as well as criticize. This leadership must also present the kind of courage to stand up for what is right and denounce what is wrong. America is searching for this kind of leadership.

THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WE ARE TALKING ABOUT REQUIRES BRAINS AND HARD, UNGLAMOROUS WORK. IT REQUIRES UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN NATURE. THIS KIND OF LEADERSHIP REQUIRES MUCH MORE THAN ORATORICAL EXCELLENCE.






CONTRARY TO THE CONTENTIONS OF SOME, AFRO-AMERICANS  
AREN'T MANUFACTURED ON ASSEMBLY LINES, LIKE AUTOMOBILES.  
THEY, LIKE ALL OTHER PEOPLE, ARE PRODUCTS OF VARYING  
BACKGROUNDS (SOME RURAL, SOME URBAN, SOME WELL-TO-DO,  
SOME POOR), HARBOR DIFFERING AMBITIONS, POSSESS VARYING  
CAPACITIES.



THE COMMON DENOMINATOR IS RACE. BUT THERE ARE THOSE  
AMONG US WHO FEEL COMPELLED TO SHATTER EVEN THAT WITH  
RACIAL NAME-CHANGES, PHONY FADS AND REPREHENSIBLE ATTEMPTS  
TO "PROVE" THAT ONE GROUP-YOUNG VS. OLDER, BLACK VS. NEGRO,  
BEARDED VS. CLEAN-SHAVEN -- IS SUPERIOR TO ANOTHER, POSSESSING  
ALL THE COURAGE, INTELLIGENCE AND THE MAGIC WANDS TO  
SUCCESS.



NOT SO. NOT SO AT ALL. NEVER WAS; NEVER WILL BE. WE  
MUST UNDERSTAND THAT ALL OF US HAVE A CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE.

IT IS ONE THING TO EXPLOIT THE EMOTIONS OF PEOPLE. IT IS  
ANOTHER TO TRANSFORM EMOTIONS INTO THE BUILDING OF SOMETHING  
CONCRETE AND LASTING.

BLACK PRIDE IS ONE OF THOSE THINGS WE MUST CONTINUE TO  
BUILD. AND WE DON'T BUILD BLACK PRIDE BY BURNING DOWN

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

TO BUILD BLACK PRIDE WE MUST FIRST LEARN THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SELF-RESPECT. WE MUST LEARN TO ASCERTAIN THOSE ACTIONS WHICH ARE WORTHY OF US AS HUMAN BEINGS, THEN WE MUST GO ON TO DETERMINE WHICH TYPES OF ACTIONS ARE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TO US AS A PEOPLE.

WE MUST DECIDE THAT CERTAIN THINGS ARE BENEATH US AND REFRAIN FROM THEM. A PROUD MAN MUST ALWAYS BE ABLE TO SAY, TO HIMSELF AND OTHERS, THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN CONDITIONS HE WILL NOT TOLERATE AND CERTAIN ACTIONS HE WILL NOT TAKE.

AFTER SELF-RESPECT WE MUST LEARN RESPECT FOR OTHERS. A PERSON WHO IS SURE OF HIS OWN IDENTITY WILL SCRUPULOUSLY GUARD THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS. BLACK PEOPLE AND ALL AMERICANS MUST LEARN TO RESPECT THE IDENTITY AND RIGHTS OF EACH OTHER.

WE SHOULD NOT LOOK AT OUR BROTHER AS BEING BENEATH US BECAUSE HE LACKS OUR ADVANTAGES OR EDUCATION. HE HAS A WORTH OF HIS OWN. WE MUST SEEK IT OUT.

FOR THE MOST PART, THE BLACK BROTHER IN THE GHETTO IS NOT THERE OF HIS OWN CHOOSING. WE MUST UNDERSTAND HIS FRUSTRATION AND WORK HARD AND ENDLESSLY TO EASE HIS PAIN.

EDUCATION IS AN IMPORTANT KEY TO PRIDE. KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY, AND THE ABILITY TO FIGHT THE BONDAGE WE HAVE SHARED COME FROM EDUCATION. INCREASED MATERIAL ADVANTAGE, USED PROPERLY, IS A POWERFUL WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE. THIS CAN ONLY BE GAINED THROUGH EDUCATION.

BLACK PRIDE IS MORE THAN WEARING A NATURAL OR A DASHHIKI. IT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL COURAGE THAT REFUSES TO ALLOW YOU TO BOW YOUR HEAD IN APOLOGY FOR EXISTING.

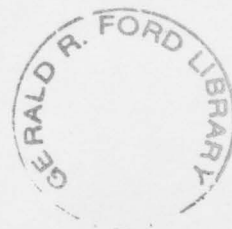




IT IS THE COMPASSION AND EMPATHY THAT ALLOWS YOU TO  
LOOK AT YOUR BROTHER IN THE DARKEST GHETTO, NOT WITH  
DISGUST, BUT WITH UNDERSTANDING OF HIS TRIALS, AND HIS  
DIMMING HOPE.

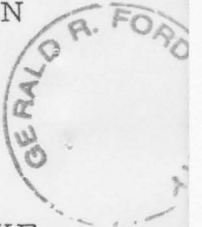
BLACK PRIDE IS KNOWING YOURSELF, AND NOT BEING AFRAID  
TO BE YOURSELF. OUR PAST AND OUR PRESENT ARE FULL OF  
BRIGHT WONDERFUL THINGS. WE MUST BAND TOGETHER TO BRING  
TO ALL AMERICA AND TO THE WORLD THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GOOD  
THINGS IN OUR PAST. WHILE WE NEVER SHOULD FORGET THE SOUND  
OF THE CLINKING CHAINS OF SLAVERY WE SHOULD NOT USE THIS  
SOUND AS A MEANS OF BUILDING HATE. HATE DESTROYS.

AS A LAST STEP TO PRIDE WE MUST BECOME MINDFUL OF OUR  
POWER. WE HAVE POWER BOTH ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY.





IF WE AS PEOPLE USED THIS POWER TO OUR BEST ADVANTAGE  
WE COULD OVERCOME THE HATREDS THAT SURROUND US WITHIN  
30 DAYS.



NONETHELESS, WE MUST TELL OUR PEOPLE THE TRUTH. WE  
MUST TELL THEM THAT TO HAVE OUR VOTES COUNTED BY ONE GROUP  
BEFORE WE GET IN THE VOTING BOOTH IS NOT ONLY POLITICALLY  
UNSOUND AND UNSENSIBLE BUT DAMAGING TO THE HOPES AND  
ASPIRATIONS OF BLACKS EVERYWHERE. WE MUST TELL THEM  
THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO SUPPORT OUR INSTITUTIONS WITH  
MORE THAN NICKELS, DIMES AND QUARTERS. WE MUST TELL THEM  
THAT NO MATTER HOW DISTASTEFUL LAW AND ORDER WITH JUSTICE  
SOUNDS TO SOME BLACKS WE MUST ASSIST IN THE EFFORTS TO REDUCE  
CRIME SINCE WE ALMOST ALWAYS END UP ON THE CASUALTY LIST.  
THEY MUST BE TOLD THAT THE OLD LABELS OF LIBERAL, MODERATE

*Everyman has right to  
vote + support who he chooses -  
protect this st.  
w/ our  
lines  
if  
necessary*

AND CONSERVATIVES HAVE LITTLE OR NO MEANING TO US ANYMORE.

MAINLY BECAUSE WE ARE NOW THINKING FOR OURSELVES AND NO

MATTER HOW LIBERAL A PERSON OF THE OPPOSITE RACE IS HE

CANNOT BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND OUR PROBLEMS THE WAY WE WHO

LIVE THROUGH THEM CAN. WE MUST IMPRESS UPON OUR PEOPLE

THAT THE ONE THING THAT MATTERS MOST IS NOT WHAT SOMEONE

SAID OR HOW EMOTIONAL HE WAS IN SAYING IT, BUT WHAT HE DID --

WHAT ACTION HE TOOK AND WHAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS HE

PRODUCED.

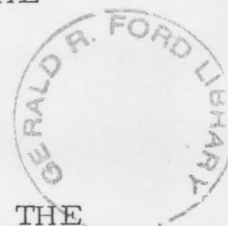
WE MUST TELL THE SLUMLORD, THE DRUG PEDDLERS, THE

THUGS, MUGGERS AND THIEVES THAT THEY MUST SHIP OUT AND

SHIP OUT NOW. WE WILL NO LONGER TOLERATE OUR HOMES BEING

ROBBED, OUR DAUGHTERS AND WIVES RAPED AND OUR CHILDREN PUT

INTO THE NEVER RETURN LAND OF DRUGS. IT CAN BE STOPPED. IT



SHOULD BE STOPPED. BUT IT CAN ONLY HAPPEN IF WE MAKE A  
LAST DITCH STAND INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY AND LET OUR  
VOICES AND VOTES BE HEARD.

THIS IS A NEW ERA -- NO MORE DRAMA -- NO MORE RHETORIC.  
THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR POLITICANS TO SEE HOW MANY BLACK OR  
WHITE BABIES THEY CAN KISS -- OR TAKE OFF THEIR COAT AND TIE  
AND WALK THRU THE GHETTO. AND YOU KNOW WE HAVE BEEN  
STUDIED TO DEATH.

THIS IS A TIME WHEN WE MUST ASK THE HARD PROBING QUESTIONS  
ABOUT THEIR NOW PLAN TO IMPROVE OUR QUALITY OF LIFE. NOT  
NEXT YEAR OR THE YEAR AFTER BUT NOW.

I AM SURE THAT MANY OF YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT SOME OF THE  
POSITIVE STEPS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. INCREASED FUNDING FOR  
BLACK COLLEGES; MORE BLACKS IN TOP POSITIONS THAN EVER



BEFORE; 8 TIMES MORE MONEY TO ENFORCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS (602 MILLION 1973).

FIFTY TIMES MORE BLACKS AT THE WHITE HOUSE ITSELF THAN ALL OTHER ADMINISTRATIONS PUT TOGETHER.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, MAJOR MONEY FOR FIGHTING SICKLE CELL ANEMIA; A COMMITMENT TO ELIMINATE HUNGER IN AMERICA BACKED UP BY MORE THAN 4 BILLION DOLLARS.

I AM NOT HERE TO TELL YOU WE HAVE DONE ENOUGH IN THESE OR OTHER AREAS. BUT WE HAVE DONE MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE AND WE INTEND TO KEEP BUILDING ON THE UNKEPT PROMISES OF THE PAST TO BLACKS AND OTHER DISADVANTAGE IN OUR COUNTRY. IT WILL BE DONE WITH DEEDS AND ACTION -- NOT SPEECHES.





## HIS OWN EULOGY

*At the request of his widow, the recorded words of Dr. Martin Luther King's last sermon were played at his funeral. They told what he wanted for a eulogy on his death. The emotional sermon said in parts.*

Every now and then I guess we all think realistically about that day when we will be victimized with what is life's final common denominator—that something we call death.

We all think about it and every now and then I think about my own death and I think about my own funeral. And I don't think about it in a morbid sense. And every now and then I ask myself what it is that I would want said and I leave the word to you this morning.

If any of you are around when I have to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral.

And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy tell him not to talk too long.

And every now and then I wonder what I want him to say.

Tell him not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize—that isn't important.

Tell him not to mention that I have 300 or 400 other awards—that's not important. Tell him not to mention where I went to school.

I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others.

I'd like for somebody to say that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody.

I want you to say that day that I tried to be right and to walk with them. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe the naked. I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. And I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity.

Yes, if you want to, say that I was a drum major. Say

that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness.

And all of the other shallow things will not matter. I won't have any money to leave behind. But I just want to leave a committed life behind.

And that is all I want to say. If I can help somebody as I pass along, if I can cheer somebody with a well song, if I can show somebody he's traveling wrong, then my living will not be in vain.

If I can do my duty as a Christian ought. If I can bring salvation to a world once wrought.

If I can spread the message as the master taught.

Then my living will not be in vain.

Atlanta

February, 1968

Don't let your living be in vain. Let's reach out (fortunate) ones to our brothers. Don't be afraid to tell it like it is. Don't let black pride get mixed up with black hate. Don't let praising God & being a good Christian be a just Sunday morning ritual.

Let's keep on pushing & working. God is still on the side of right. Stay on the Battle Field - some of us have strayed away - let's get back on it. Let's move into the mainstream. The hour is late & the time is yesterday.

I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE WITH THIS THOUGHT FROM PRESIDENT  
NIXON WHEN HE SAID NOT TOO LONG AGO, "IT IS NO LONGER ENOUGH  
TO LIVE AND LET LIVE. NOW WE MUST LIVE AND HELP LIVE."

ABOVE ALL, LET US INSPIRE YOUNG AMERICANS WITH A SENSE  
OF EXCITEMENT, A SENSE OF DESTINY, A SENSE OF INVOLVEMENT  
IN MEETING THE CHALLENGES WE FACE IN THIS GREAT PERIOD OF  
OUR HISTORY. ONLY THEN ARE THEY GOING TO HAVE ANY SENSE



OF SATISFACTION IN THEIR LIVES. THE GREATEST PRIVILEGE  
AN INDIVIDUAL CAN HAVE IS TO SERVE IN A CAUSE BIGGER THAN  
HIMSELF. WE HAVE SUCH A CAUSE.

