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FOR NOON RELEASE, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1974

ALUMNI LUNCHEON  
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY  
JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI



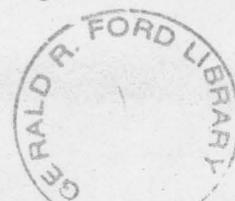
BY:

STANLEY S. SCOTT  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT  
TO THE PRESIDENT  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DR. FRANK, MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF CURATORS, OFFICERS  
OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, FELLOW LINCOLNITES:

LET ME SAY FIRST WHAT A GREAT PLEASURE IT IS FOR ME  
TO BE BACK AMONG SO MANY OLD FRIENDS, AND WHAT AN  
HONOR IT IS TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH YOU  
FOR A FEW MOMENTS.

EVERY EDITORIAL WRITER AND SOCIAL COMMENTATOR IN  
THE COUNTRY HAS, AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER, EXPRESSED HIMSELF--  
OR HERSELF -- ON THE VIEW THAT WASHINGTON, D. C. IS NOT VERY  
MUCH IN TOUCH WITH THE REST OF THE COUNTRY. WE IN WASHINGTON  
ARE NOT THOUGHT TO HAVE MUCH OF A "FEEL" FOR WHAT THE BULK  
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE THINKING OR DOING -- WHAT THEY  
ARE WANTING OR HOPING. THIS MAY BE TRUE TO A DEGREE.  
HOWEVER, IT DOESN'T SEEM AS PROFOUND TO ME AS IT DOES TO  
MOST OF THOSE WHO WRITE ABOUT THE PROBLEM. WHAT IS  
CERTAINLY TRUE IS THAT PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON TEND TO HAVE



A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE ON MANY OF THE ISSUES THAT SHAPE OUR TIME -- AND AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE THESE ISSUES ON A BROADER SCALE AND IN GREATER SCOPE.

ONE OF THOSE ISSUES THAT COMES TO MIND TODAY IS THE ECONOMY. BARBARA WARD COINED THE TERM "TAKE-OFF POINT" TO CHARACTERIZE THE LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT A NATION MUST ACHIEVE IN ORDER TO BECOME ECONOMICALLY SELF-SUSTAINING. TODAY, AS WE LOOK AT THE UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS OF THE WORLD, WE SEE THAT TIME AND EVENTS BEYOND THE CONTROL OF MEN HAVE CONSPIRED TO PLAY A DIRTY TRICK ON THOSE NATIONS. SINCE MISS WARD WROTE HER BOOK, THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY, POLITICAL CHANGES, EVEN THE WEATHER HAVE ACTED TO KEEP MOVING THAT "TAKE-OFF POINT" BACK ANDBACK, ALWAYS JUST BEYOND THE GRASP OF MANY OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED AND LESSER DEVELOPED NATIONS.

NOW THAT IS A WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE. TO SUGGEST THAT IT HAS NO RELEVANCE TO WHAT IS GOING ON IN AMERICA IS TO BE VERY BLIND INDEED. BECAUSE IN MANY WAYS, THOUGH FOR



DIFFERENT REASONS, THE SAME THING IS HAPPENING HERE WITH THIS NATION'S MINORITY GROUPS -- FOR THE SAKE OF SUSTAINING THE ANALOGY, WE CAN EVEN CALL THEM OUR UNDER-DEVELOPED OR LESSER DEVELOPED PEOPLE.

ECONOMIC CHANGES, SHIFTS IN POLITICAL PURPOSE, AND THE CLIMATE OF PUBLIC CONCERN NOW ACT TO PUSH THE ADVANTAGES OF IMPROVED EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES ALWAYS JUST A LITTLE BEYOND THE GRASP OF BLACK, BROWN, AND POOR WHITE.

LET ME TAKE IT ALL A LITTLE FURTHER BY REFERRING BACK TO MY OPENING REMARKS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF PERSPECTIVE, AND THE CHARGE THAT THE PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON ARE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ELSE IN AMERICA. THE CONDITION IS NOT UNIQUE TO WASHINGTON AT ALL. IT IS COMMON TO EACH OF US, REGARDLESS OF WHERE WE LIVE. THE DISTANCE IN MILES AND IN RESPONSIBILITIES BETWEEN JEFFERSON CITY AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IS NO MORE DAMAGING TO A SENSE OF



AWARENESS AT ONE END ABOUT CONDITIONS AT THE OTHER END THEN, SAY, IS THE DISTANCE THAT SEPARATES THE EDUCATED SUCCESSFUL BLACK MAN IN THE ESTABLISHMENT BOARD ROOM FROM HIS UNEDUCATED UNSUCCESSFUL BROTHER BACK ON THE BLOCK.

NOW, I KNOW WE'VE HEARD ALL THIS BEFORE. I SUSPECT WE HAVE HEARD IT SO MANY TIMES, AND CONSIDERED ITS IMPLICATIONS SO MANY TIMES THAT IT MAY HAVE LOST ITS ABILITY TO CUT INTO OUR SENSIBILITIES AT THAT POINT WHERE AWARENESS IS TRANSLATED INTO ACTION. AND THIS IS WHY I RAISE IT AGAIN. IT IS NO SECRET THAT WE ARE IN VERY DANGEROUS CIRCUMSTANCES ECONOMICALLY -- BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND AROUND THE WORLD. IN ORDER TO CORRECT THIS SITUATION, SOME VERY SEVERE DISCIPLINES ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE IMPOSED ON THE AMERICAN ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. AND WHEN THESE KINDS OF STEPS ARE TAKEN, IT IS ALWAYS THOSE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ECONOMIC PILE WHO SUFFER FIRST, AND WHO SUFFER LONGEST. THERE IS A POTENTIAL NOW FOR THE MOST



SIGNIFICANT GAIN WHICH MINORITIES HAVE MADE IN THE PAST TWO DECADES TO BE LOST -- AND THAT GAIN IS NOT MORE EDUCATION, BETTER JOBS, AND THE OTHER OBVIOUS BAROMETERS OF PROGRESS. THAT GAIN IS HOPE.

IF, BECAUSE OF OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, THE SELF-CONFIDENCE, THE TRUST, THE AMBITION, AND THE WILL OF THOSE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE LADDER ARE SHAKEN OR DESTROYED, THEN WE ARE GOING TO FIND OURSELVES RELIVING THE EVENTS OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS ALL OVER AGAIN.

WE MUST NOT LET THAT HAPPEN. WE ALL HAVE AN OBLIGATION NOT TO LET IT HAPPEN. BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO HAVE ATTENDED A SCHOOL LIKE LINCOLN, TO HAVE HAD THE ADVANTAGES OF NOT SIMPLY AN EXCELLENT EDUCATION, BUT THE HUMAN CONTACTS THAT HAVE COME WITH GETTING THIS EDUCATION -- BECAUSE WE HAVE ALL THIS, WE HAVE ALSO A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REACH OUT, TO LIFT UP -- TO ASSURE THAT THE MOMENTUM OF PROGRESS IS MAINTAINED IN THE DIFFICULT DAYS AHEAD, TO ASSURE THAT THE LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED, THE LAST



REWARDED, FIRST DISAPPOINTED, THE LAST RAISED UP AND THE FIRST CAST DOWN ARE NOT RETURNED TO THAT ROLE AND CONSIGNED TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASHCAN EITHER BY VIRTUE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY OR AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THEIR OWN PERCEPTION OF THE NECESSITIES OF PUBLIC POLICY.

WHAT I AM TALKING ABOUT IS CITIZENSHIP---WHICH REALLY MEANS BEING RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALS---AFTER HAVING HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SOAK UP THE KNOWLEDGE AND GUIDANCE RECEIVED AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY. WITH EACH OPPORTUNITY GOES AN EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

WE MUST ALL BE INVOLVED CITIZENS. WHATEVER THE INFLATIONARY PROBLEMS, WE CAN RESOLVE THEM IF WE WORK TOGETHER AS RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS. WHATEVER THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MIGHT BE ON ANY GIVEN DAY OR MONTH AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, WE SHOULD BE IN THERE PITCHING, WHEREVER WE ARE, TO HELP SUPPORT PRESIDENT FRANK, HIS FINE FACULTY AND THIS UNIVERSITY.



AS A MATTER OF FACT, I THINK THAT WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A SMALL RECORD IN LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE CALLS IN RECENT MONTHS BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND PRESIDENT FRANK. HE KNOWS HE HAS OUR SUPPORT WHENEVER HE CALLS. WE OWE HIM OUR SUPPORT. HE'S EARNED IT.

I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER REASON TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF JIM FRANK AND LINCOLN UNIVERSITY THAN TO LOOK OUT INTO THIS AUDIENCE AND LOOK BACK TO THOSE INSTRUCTORS WHO ARE NO LONGER WITH US---THOSE FINE PEOPLE WHO SAW SOMETHING IN STAN SCOTT DURING HIS YEARS AT LINCOLN THAT HE POSSIBLY DID NOT SEE IN HIMSELF ( AS HE MADE THE ROUNDS TO THE BLUE TIGER, THE GIRL'S DORM AND THE FOOT.....SOMETIMES AT THE EXPENSE OF STUDYING FOR THAT EXAM THE NEXT DAY).

I HAVE A CONFESSION TO MAKE. AFTER DEPARTING JEFFERSON CITY WITH THE KNOWLEDGE PROVIDED BY LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, I WAS DETERMINED TO GO OUT AND CONQUER THE WORLD AND MAKE A FORTUNE IN THE PROCESS. SO I EVENTUALLY



REACHED THE MIDDLE CLASS BAG.... BIG JOB IN NEW YORK  
MAKING MORE MONEY THAN I THOUGHT EXISTED, BUILT A BIG  
ESTATE ON LONG ISLAND, AND CURLED UP COMFORTABLY INTO  
MY OWN LITTLE WORLD.

BUT ONE IMPORTANT THING WAS MISSING IN MY LIFE. I  
HAD FAILED TO REACH OUT FOR OTHERS. IN FACT, AFTER HAVING  
GRASPED THE OPPORTUNITY, I WAS NOT BEING A VERY RESPONSIBLE  
CITIZEN. THERE WAS A VOID IN MY LIFE. EVEN AFTER BEING  
APPROACHED BY HERBERT KLEIN, THEN THE WHITE HOUSE  
COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR, ABOUT JOINING HIS STAFF. I  
RESPONDED BY SAYING, "HERB, THANKS..... BUT I CAN'T AFFORD  
TO ACCEPT YOUR OFFER..... I WOULD HAVE TO GIVE UP TOO MUCH."

TO MY CREDIT, HERB APPROACHED ME SEVERAL MONTHS  
LATER AND I HAD DECIDED THAT IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO JUST STAND  
BEHIND A NEWS MICROPHONE AND BE CRITICAL OF GOVERNMENT,  
BUT GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY, I MUST BECOME A PARTICIPANT.  
IT'S NO LONGER ENOUGH TO JUST STAND ON THE SIDELINE FILLED

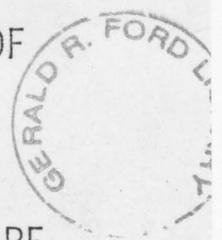


WITH ANGER AND A CLINCHED FIST.... WE MUST ALL BECOME RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANTS WHEREVER WE RESIDE AND IN WHATEVER AREA OF ENDEAVOR WE ARE INVOLVED. WE CAN'T ALL BE CONGRESSMEN, BUT WE CAN ALL WORK TO ELECT CONGRESSMEN. WE CAN'T ALL BE COLLEGE PRESIDENTS, BUT WE CAN ALL SUPPORT OUR OWN PRESIDENT FRANK. WE CAN'T ALL BE ENTREPRENEURS, BUT WE CAN BECOME INVOLVED IN OUR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES WITH CONSUMER GROUPS TO ASSURE THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS

*IN Business do not rip you off at the Checkout Counter.*

I AM FREQUENTLY ASKED AROUND THE COUNTRY, "IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEAD?" MY CONSISTENT AND PERSISTENT ANSWER IS A LOUD NO. THE EMPHASIS OF CAREFUL PLANNING IN AND EXECUTION OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THE ERA OF CONFRONTATION IN THE 60'S HAS BEEN REPLACED WITH A FAR LESS DRAMATIC, BUT I BELIEVE A MORE DIFFICULT BUT PRODUCTIVE IMMEDIATE AND LONG RANGE PROGRAM.

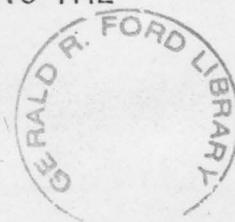
MINORITIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THE POLITICAL APPROACH. GREATER EMPHASIS ON REGISTRATION PROGRAMS, DEFINING POLITICAL ISSUES AND APPROACHING THE VOTING BOOTH IN LARGER NUMBER.



THE SIXTIES CONSTITUTED AN EXAMINATION OF THE  
WRONGS: THE SEVENTIES AN APPLICATION OF THE REMEDIES.  
DEALING WITH THESE QUESTIONS REQUIRES SCALPEL AND  
SUTURES, NOT THE BOILING CAULDRON OF A FEW YEARS AGO.

THIS IS THE WORK THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY. IT IS THE  
WORK THAT LOGICALLY FOLLOWS THE SYMBOLIC AND LEGISLATIVE  
GAINS MADE BEFORE. IT IS THE PAYOFF ON THOSE GAINS. WHILE  
I THINK WE MUST AGREE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, I WOULD  
ADD THAT THERE CAN NEVER BE ENOUGH PROGRESS UNTIL ALL  
AMERICANS ARE ASSURED OF PARITY ACROSS THE BOARD.

SOMETIMES IT'S EVEN HARD FOR STUDENTS OF RACE  
RELATIONS TO UNDERSTAND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BECAUSE  
WE ARE TALKING ABOUT NEW TACTICS IN THE 70's TO RESOLVE  
ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS CREATED BY PROGRESS MADE DURING  
THE PAST DECADE. MOST OF THE SYMBOLIC, EARLY GAINS  
STEMMING FROM CIVIL CONFRONTATION ARE BEHIND US. WHAT  
REMAINS IS THE LESS SPECTACULAR TASK OF RESOLVING THE



MORE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT ISSUES AHEAD IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL AS MINORITY RIGHTS. IT IS, IN MY VIEW, INDEED A SIGN OF MATURITY THAT IN TEN YEARS CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT HAS BECOME A PART OF THE BASIC FABRIC OF AMERICAN LIFE.

IN THE 60's WE WERE ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF FREEING OURSELVES FROM THE MENTAL CHAINS OF SLAVERY AND SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP. THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS WE PRESSED OUR BILL OF PARTICULARS BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH SIT-INS, JAIL-INS AND COUNTLESS OTHER FORMS OF MASS PROTEST.

NOW THE TACTICS HAVE CHANGED. MOST OF THE LAWS ARE NOW ON THE BOOKS. WE HAVE PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS AND VOTING RIGHTS LAWS. WE REALIZED IN THE 60's THAT IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE ACCESS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN LESS DRAMATIC INVOLVEMENT. WE WANT TO OWN SOME OF THOSE LUNCH COUNTERS, HOTELS AND GAIN SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT



AND PRIVATE SECTOR CONTRACTS. WE ARE FINALLY TALKING ABOUT BECOMING PRODUCERS AS OPPOSED TO AGE-OLD CONSUMERS IN THIS GREAT CAPITALISTIC DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GAINING A REAL PIECE OF THE AMERICAN PIE. NOW THAT WE HAVE MADE IT INSIDE THE FACILITY, WE NOW WANT A PIECE OF THE ACTION...AND RIGHTLY SO -- THIS IS WHAT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS ALL ABOUT.

THE MOMENTUM OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS CONTINUING, EXPANDING, AND ACHIEVING GREATER CONCRETE SUCCESSES IN BOTH OLD AND NEW AREAS OF ENDEAVOR.

SO WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE TO MAKE EQUALITY A REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS? FIRST, I THINK, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE CERTAIN TRUTHS.

THE BLACK VOTE TODAY IS THE LEAST EFFECTIVE VOTE IN AMERICA. WE HAVE EARNED THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA -- THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS -- IN THE SIXTIES, BUT WE HAVE NOT LEARNED TO PARTICIPATE TOO WISELY.



HERE'S THE SITUATION TODAY -- IN SEPTEMBER OF 1974.

A CANDIDATE CAN ANNOUNCE FOR OFFICE AND BEFORE HE MAKES HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN SPEECH -- IF HE HAPPENS TO BE A DEMOCRAT -- HE KNOWS THAT HE HAS FROM 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF THE BLACK VOTE IN HIS HIP POCKET. HOW CAN AN INDIVIDUAL OR A GROUP OF PEOPLE GAIN COMMITMENTS FROM POLITICIANS KNOW THAT THEY HAVE THAT INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP'S VOTES AT THE OUTSET?

WE, AS A RACIAL MINORITY, HAVE GOT TO STOP ALLOWING OURSELVES TO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED -- BY THE DEMOCRATS, AND THOSE OF US WHO COUNT OURSELVES REPUBLICANS -- MUST FIGHT TO MAKE THE GOP LIVE UP TO ITS PROMISE OF BEING THE "PARTY OF THE OPEN DOOR."

AN INDICATION OF HOW STRONGLY I FEEL ABOUT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS SIMPLY THIS: IF 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF BLACK AMERICANS WERE VOTING THE REPUBLICAN LINE TODAY, I WOULD SWITCH TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.



WE WILL NEVER, IN MY VIEW, LIVE UP TO OUR POLITICAL POTENTIAL AND REAP THE BENEFITS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM UNTIL WE INSIST THAT BOTH MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES ACTIVELY SEEK OUT OUR VOTE.

IN OTHER WORDS, NO ONE POLITICAL PARTY HAS EVER DELIVERED ALL OF ITS PROMISES, AND NO ONE POLITICAL PARTY WILL DELIVER ALL OF OUR NEEDS IN THE FUTURE UNTIL WE INCREASE THE SOPHISTICATED USE OF OUR BALLOT -- JUST AS OTHER INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS HAVE DONE SO EFFECTIVELY.

AND FINALLY, I WOULD URGE UNITY OF PURPOSE, UNITY OF GOALS, NOT UNIFORMITY. BUT WE MUST LEARN TO WORK TOGETHER FOR COMMON GOALS.

THE FRANCHISE HAS BEEN WON. NOW WE MUST USE IT. AN ESTIMATED 145 MILLION PERSONS WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN THE NOVEMBER CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. IF PAST PATTERNS HOLD, FEWER BLACKS PERCENTAGE-WISE AS COMPARED WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, WILL EVEN BOTHER TO VOTE.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT FREEDOM IS NOT FREE. WE MUST MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITY AT THE BALLOT BOX; WE MUST MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN SUPPORTING EACH OTHER. THE CHALLENGE IS OURS.

