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The Rhetoric of Louis E. Martin, "Godfather of Black Politics"

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THE RHETORIC OF LOUIS E. MARTIN, “GODFATHER OF BLACK POLITICS”

by

KRISTINA E. CURRY

Under the Direction of Dr. Mary E. Stuckey

ABSTRACT

Louis Emanuel Martin, trained as a journalist, worked on behalf of four Democratic presidents: Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson, and Jimmy Carter. As reporter and editor of two African American newspapers, Martin was uniquely qualified to work with these presidents as a “publicity aide” turned rhetorical liaison for African American communities around the nation. His written and spoken works span from the 1930s to the 1990s—sixty plus years of historical interpretation—and include journals, memoirs, newspaper articles, interviews, and over fifty addresses to various audiences. Martin’s public address is key to this rhetorical biography, for his speeches tell stories of race relations in the United States from a largely unexplored perspective. In each epoch, Martin’s voice clearly articulated the concerns of African American communities, including housing, employment, poverty, and

lingering discrimination far into the post-civil rights era. Martin believed in the power of the political process, the foundation of which was each person's obligation to vote. Beyond the voting booth, Martin encouraged his audiences composed of African American government officials, academics, business people, fraternity members, civic groups, and local opinion leaders to become involved in the system to begin to address issues most important to them. Martin's goal of a genuine "politics of inclusion" was gradually realized with the appointment of Blacks to government and judicial positions they had never before held. Martin chose to remain largely in the background facilitating other people's rise to power. While there is Poinsett's superb biography on his history, Martin's work has otherwise been sporadically recognized in texts about civil rights, African American politics, and the black press. To my knowledge, there is no sustained study of his speeches, which have been safely archived for rediscovery by a twenty-first century audience. This project is an act of rhetorical recovery.

INDEX WORDS: Louis E. Martin, "Godfather of Black Politics," African American politics, Black politics, Agitative rhetoric, Pragmatic argument, Critical localism

THE RHETORIC OF LOUIS E. MARTIN, 'GODFATHER OF BLACK POLITICS'

by

KRISTINA E. CURRY

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Larry and Lois Curry, and my husband, Adam Gilleland. Thank you, dear people, for your relentless encouragement and support.

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First, I would like to thank my entire committee for their input on this project. I have been working with three of my committee members for a decade now. Dr. Mary E. Stuckey, my adviser and committee chair, provided tireless review of the text and insight into the period I write about as well as her unique brand of moral support. I am also grateful to Dr. James Darsey and Dr. Michael Bruner for their willingness to continue to work with me on this project even after my having numerous classes with them over the years. Thank you all for your sustained presence throughout my MA and PhD programs at GSU. I have learned a tremendous amount from each of you.

Though we have not worked together in the past, Dr. Patricia Davis agreed to lend her expertise to my project, and I am thankful for her input. Dr. Mary Hocks, of the GSU English Department, was also a welcome presence and perspective on my committee and I thank her for her insight as well. At my defense, each one of my committee members provided me with critical commentary I plan to use in future iterations of this project, and I am grateful for their expertise.

Since I started this project in 2009, there have been countless fabulous librarians who have helped me locate often obscure materials. First, I would like to thank the staff in the Manuscript Room in the Madison Building of the Library of Congress in Washington DC for helping me access Martin's files in the fall of 2010, particularly Bruce Kirby. I would also like to thank Albert Nason at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library for his assistance with Martin's files at that location. Charis E. Shafer of the Columbia University Oral History Research Office provided me with contact information for Martin's family so that I could get permission to read his ten interviews held there. The content of those interviews was critical for my analysis. Also, I would like to thank the Reference Staff at the Harvard University archives for a copy of Martin's

1970 speech there. Of course, I must thank all the amazing people at the Georgia State University Library for their support with voluminous interlibrary loan, microfiche, and book requests, and cheerful dispositions despite all those requests.

Finally, my profuse thanks Louis Martin's wife, Gertrude Martin, and one of his daughters, Dr. Toni Martin, for allowing me to read his interviews held by Columbia University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
1 RE-INTRODUCING LOUIS E. MARTIN	1
1.1 The Life and Times of Louis Martin	8
<i>1.1.1 Formative Years</i>	8
<i>1.1.2 A Great American Rhetor</i>	9
<i>1.1.3 Martin in Context</i>	14
<i>1.1.3.1 Louis Martin, Mentioned Only In Passing</i>	16
<i>1.1.3.2 African American Politics</i>	23
<i>1.1.3.3 The Presidency and Civil Rights Intersect</i>	25
1.2 Sources for This Study	27
<i>1.2.1 Written Words</i>	27
<i>1.2.2 Spoken Words</i>	28
<i>1.2.3 About Louis Martin</i>	29
1.3 Accessing and Assessing Martin’s Texts, or Methodology	30
<i>1.3.1 Chronological Organization</i>	31
<i>1.3.2 Historical-Critical Method</i>	32
<i>1.3.3 Critical Localism</i>	38

1.4	The Structure of the Dissertation	40
1.5	Conclusion	42
2	EARLY OPTIMISM	44
2.1	From Student to Journalist to Orator	47
2.2	Democratic National Committee as Context and Launching Pad	53
2.3	Audience Analysis: Critical Communication with the Locals.....	58
2.4	Martin’s Rhetorical Wares: Propaganda and Agitation	78
2.5	Building His Case, Speech by Speech, or Themes in Martin’s Rhetoric	88
	<i>2.5.1 The Political Process: Participation Is A Must.....</i>	<i>89</i>
	<i>2.5.2 Emphasis on Newness and Change.....</i>	<i>95</i>
	<i>2.5.3 Recasting African American Identity</i>	<i>100</i>
	<i>2.5.3.1 Myth Versus Fact</i>	<i>101</i>
	<i>2.5.3.2 Calling the Roll.....</i>	<i>112</i>
	<i>2.5.4 Reliable Tools in the Pursuit of Progress.....</i>	<i>118</i>
	<i>2.5.4.1 The Dollar.....</i>	<i>120</i>
	<i>2.5.4.2 One Person, One Vote.....</i>	<i>123</i>
	<i>2.5.4.3 Political Appointments, Not Posturing</i>	<i>126</i>
	<i>2.5.5 Shift of Perception.....</i>	<i>131</i>
2.6	Conclusion and Prelude to the Carter Years	133
3	THE CARTER YEARS	134

3.1	Prelude to the Carter Years.....	137
3.1.1	<i>Back to the News Desk.....</i>	140
3.1.2	<i>Still Agitating: Calling Dr. Onabanjo.....</i>	143
3.1.2.1	<i>American Civil Rights In the International Arena.....</i>	144
3.1.2.2	<i>Economy and Minorities.....</i>	146
3.2.2.3	<i>Editorial Agitation for Involvement in the Political Process.....</i>	147
3.1.3	<i>“Whites Need to Know”.....</i>	149
3.2	Jimmy and Louis.....	156
3.2.1	<i>Louis Martin, Rhetorical Surrogate.....</i>	161
3.3	Identifying the Audiences: Critical Localism and the Politics of Inclusion.....	168
3.4	Second Verse, Same as the First, or Continuing Themes.....	190
3.4.1	<i>The Political Process.....</i>	191
3.4.2	<i>Time-Tested Tools: the Vote and the Dollar.....</i>	197
3.4.2.1	<i>Cast Your Vote Here.....</i>	197
3.4.2.2	<i>A Penny Saved... ..</i>	200
3.4.2.3	<i>Economic Opportunity, Still Elusive.....</i>	201
3.4.3	<i>Need for Organization.....</i>	205
3.4.3.1	<i>Emphasis on the Local “Movers & Shakers”.....</i>	208
3.4.4	<i>African Americans As Leaders, Not Tokens.....</i>	210
3.4.4.1	<i>Calling the Roll.....</i>	218

3.4.5	<i>“Pessimism and Defeatism”</i>	221
3.5	New Emphases	225
3.5.1	<i>Unemployment</i>	225
3.5.2	<i>Producers and Consumers</i>	227
3.5.3	<i>Unfinished Business</i>	231
3.5.4	<i>Black Americans, All Americans</i>	233
3.6	Martin’s Launch Into Academia	235
4	PARTING THOUGHTS	236
4.1	Losing Ground, or the Reagan/Bush Years (1981-1990)	239
4.2	Martin’s Late Era Audiences	247
4.3	Recurring Themes	258
4.3.1	<i>The Political Process in the 1980s</i>	258
4.3.2	<i>The Persistent Importance of the Vote (and the Dollar)</i>	268
4.3.3	<i>Organization and Communication</i>	273
4.3.4	<i>Leaders, Movers, and Shakers</i>	278
4.3.4.1	<i>Stereotypes Persist</i>	281
4.3.4.2	<i>Members on the Roll - 1980s Edition</i>	285
4.3.5	<i>Optimism, Still Intact</i>	288
4.4	New Emphases	290
4.4.1	<i>Just a Pinch of Pessimism</i>	291

4.4.2	<i>The Promise of Jesse Jackson</i>	295
4.4.3	<i>Education</i>	298
4.4.4	<i>The Politics of Inclusion, Expanded</i>	302
4.5	After the Last Speech... ..	306
5	LOUIS E. MARTIN IN PERSPECTIVE	309
5.1	Locating Louis Martin	317
5.2	Rhetorical Features	319
5.3	Directions for Future Study	322
5.4	Martin's Vision...Still Worth Seeking.....	323
	WORKS CITED	326
	APPENDICES.....	369
Appendix A	Speeches By Louis E. Martin	369
Appendix A.1	1960s.....	369
Appendix A.2	1970s.....	370
Appendix A.3	1980s.....	373
Appendix A.4	1990s.....	377
Appendix B	Writings by Louis E. Martin.....	378
Appendix B.1	1930s.....	378
Appendix B.2	1940s.....	379
Appendix B.3	1950s.....	382

<i>Appendix B.4</i> 1960s.....	404
<i>Appendix B.5</i> 1970s.....	412
<i>Appendix B.6</i> 1980s.....	445
<i>Appendix B.7</i> 1990s.....	452
Appendix C Interviews with Louis E. Martin.....	462
Appendix D Index of Individuals, or Onomasticon.....	464

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 1977 Press Photo of Louis E. Martin2

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANP – Associated Negro Press

ASNE – American Society of Newspaper Editors

ANVL – Atlanta Negro Voters League

CBC – Congressional Black Caucus

CETA – Comprehensive Employment and Training Act

DAAHP – Detroit African-American History Project

DNC – Democratic National Committee

EEOC – Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation

FDIC – Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

FDR – Franklin Delano Roosevelt

HBCU – Historically Black Colleges and Universities

HEW – Health, Education, and Welfare

HUD – Housing and Urban Development

JFK – John Fitzgerald Kennedy

LBJ – Lyndon Baines Johnson

NAACP – National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NABJ – National Association of Black Journalists

NABM – National Association of Black Manufacturers

NAFEO – National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education

NAIRO – National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

NAMD – National Association of Market Developers

NASP – National Association for Southern Poor

NASPAA – National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration

NNPA – Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association

OIC – Opportunities Industrialization Centers

PUSH – People United to Save Humanity

RFK – Robert Francis Kennedy

SNCC – Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

UAW – United Auto Workers

UN – United Nations

1 RE-INTRODUCING LOUIS E. MARTIN

Born in 1912, Louis¹ Emanuel Martin (pictured in Figure 1, following page), the revered “Godfather of Black politics,”² was a prolific and highly regarded journalist from the 1930s until his death in 1997. He honed his communicative ability through his work as a reporter, editor, and publisher for newspapers widely read by African American communities, including the *Chicago Defender* and the *Michigan Chronicle*.³ Martin was described as “the fighting editor”⁴ because of his pointed editorials, which dealt with problems and concerns of communities of color primarily in the U.S., but also abroad.

Martin first entered the political arena in a three-month stint working as an “assistant publicity director of the Democratic National Committee” (DNC).⁵ He acted as a press liaison for Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s campaign in 1944. After the election, Martin continued his work as a journalist cum Editor-In-Chief for the *Chicago Defender* until 1959, when he went to

¹ Alex Poinsett writes that Martin’s first name is “(pronounced ‘Louie’).” Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1997) xiii. Hereafter cited as Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*.

² Louis Martin is commonly called the “Godfather of Black Politics” due to his influence in seating African Americans in various positions of government as well as the judiciary. See Anonymous, “Louis Martin: From *Chronicle* Editor to Presidential Advisor”; Larry Aubry, “Urban Perspective: Journalist Louis Martin: Multifaceted Legacy”; Bart Barnes, “Louis E. Martin Dies at 84; A Leader in Black Politics”; “Black Think Tank Honors a Founder”; “Book Signing Set for Louis Martin Bio”; Joseph A. Califano, Jr., *The Triumph & Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson: The White House Years*; Theodore Cross, *The Black Power Imperative: Racial Inequality and the Politics of Nonviolence*; Wayne Dawkins, “Our History: A Crusader Behind the Scenes”; “Deaths Last Week”; “Democratic National Committee Honors Louie Martin, ‘Godfather of Black Politics’”; Ofield Dukes, “A Tribute To Louis Martin”; Kitty Garber, “He Walked With Presidents”; Dorothy Gilliam, “Advisers,” and “We’ll Be Hearing More Of a Man Named Brown”; “‘Godfather of Black Politics’ Louis Martin Dies”; Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart, “The Reliable Source: Remembering Louis Martin”; “In Memoriam, Louis E. Martin, 1912-1997”; “Louie Martin: ‘Godfather of Black Politics’ Saluted”; Louis Martin interview by Glen Ford for America’s Black Forum; “Opinions on Current Reading: Review: Remembering the Godfather of Black Politics”; David C. Ruffin, “Louis Martin, the Godfather”; and Trescott, “What We Think Martin, Sheffield Tributes Deserved.”

³ Martin also wrote for *The Savannah Journal* during the summer of 1935. See Louis Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 1, Howard University, 17 April 1981, 20. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1.

⁴ See Frances Culver, Reggie Adams, and Ben Burns, “Louis Emanuel Martin: The Fighting Editor,” *Michigan Chronicle* 03 Feb. 1999: A4.

⁵ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 44.

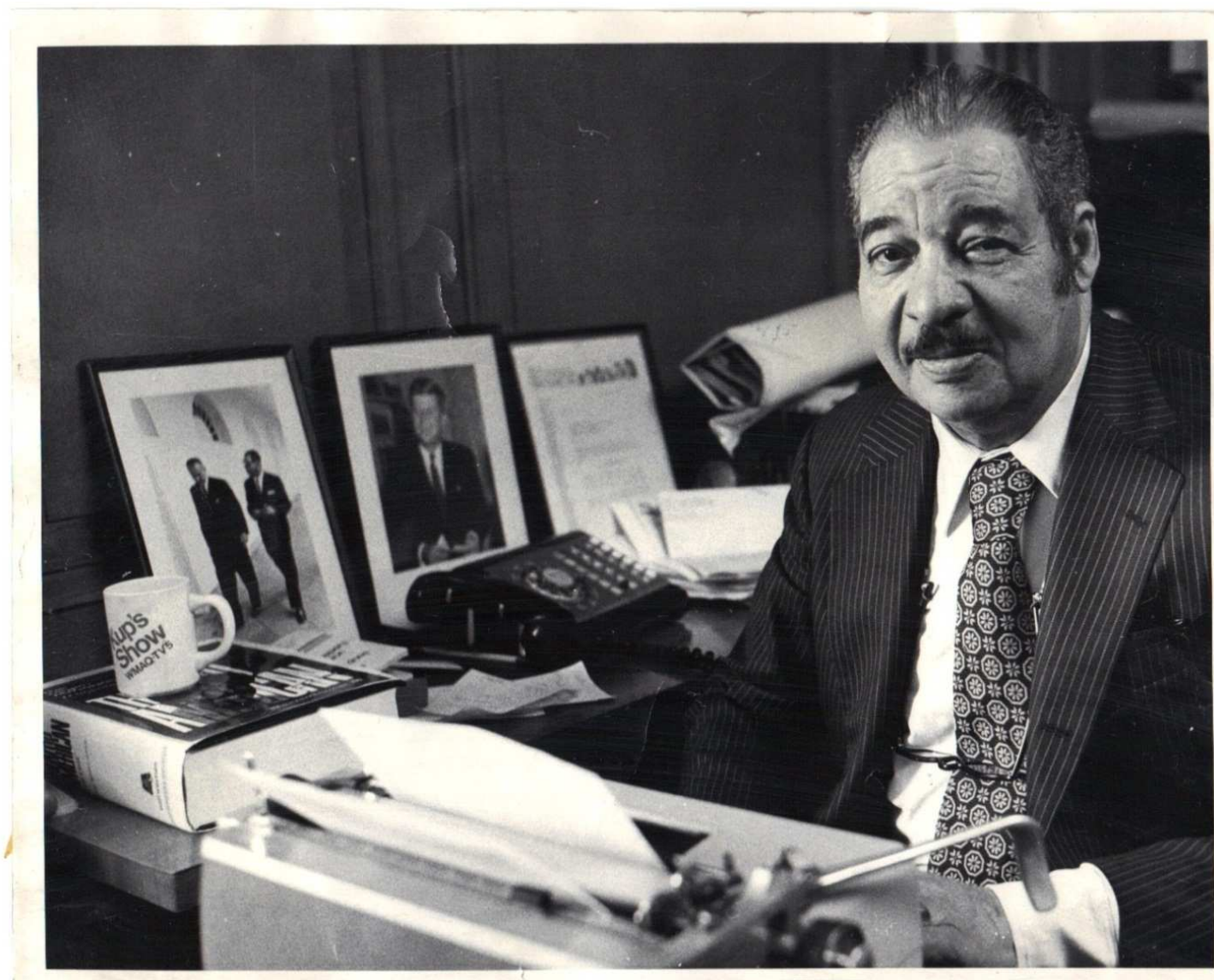


Figure 1.1 1977 Press Photo of Louis E. Martin

Nigeria to advise the Amalgamated Press of Nigeria for a year.⁶ From there he went on to serve as the Deputy Chair for the DNC from 1960 to 1969. His earliest documented speeches fall in this timespan, when he was working as a consultant to John F. Kennedy.

Martin's work with the DNC during Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1944 campaign led him to work directly with three other Democratic presidents (Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter⁷) as a liaison between the White House and varying African American communities around the nation. Simeon Booker asserts that Martin was "one of the few men able to bring warring Negro factions together and to consistently keep communications open with major leaders."⁸ While Martin was active on the journalistic and political scenes, from the 1930s to the 1990s, there were different coalitions involved in the ongoing civil rights struggle. We can see who the major players were in Martin's speeches—and by extension, who was getting more press than he or she deserved. He explained it this way: "I'm still struggling to get the black leadership and the militants and the radicals, I talk to them all the time, talk to them now...."⁹ Martin's skill was to provide clear, concise and consistent information to opinion leaders; he did so via whatever medium he could—from in-person meetings, phone calls, and written texts, to the focus of this project: his spoken rhetoric, or public address. Martin's success rested largely in his ability to cultivate communication between various groups as a starting point for purposeful actions, such as voting registration drives. He states repeatedly in his interviews and journalistic articles that his job was to get as many noted African American leaders (without real regard to political party) as possible

⁶ See "Louis Martin To Head Nigerian Press Project," *Jet* 19 Feb. 1959: 19.

⁷ In between his work with President Johnson and President Carter, Martin was the "Vice President and Editor of the Sengstacke Newspaper Chain," according to a copy of his vita in the Library of Congress files. In 1970 he helped found the Joint Center for Political Studies. Alex Poinsett says Martin served as Board Chairman of the Joint Center until 1978. See Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, xi.

⁸ See Simeon Booker, "New Negro Power Structure in D.C.; Rep. Dawson, Hobart Taylor, Jr. Share Limelight with Powell," *Jet* 04 Feb. 1965: 21.

⁹ Louis E. Martin, "Interview I," Interview by David M. McComb, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 14 May 1969, 24. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I.

included in discussions with government leaders, including the presidents with whom he worked.¹⁰ He would regularly get people from a few states at a time in to the White House where they could voice their concerns.¹¹ The access he afforded to important members of many groups cultivated his ultimate goal of a “politics of inclusion.”¹² There was not one, singular African American community in which he held sway, but many. Martin himself stated that, despite common convictions, Blacks¹³ were not “monolithic” in their thinking.¹⁴ By most accounts, Martin consistently and successfully did business in these different contextual communities.¹⁵ As a well-connected journalist, rhetorical surrogate for and advisor to presidents, Martin was in a position to recommend African Americans for various posts in government—in order to create a politics of inclusion where all Americans, especially underrepresented minorities, were welcome and integral participants in the political process. While the early and mid-twentieth century produced some limited success in the integration of African Americans into local and national

¹⁰ In his 1966 oral history interview for the Kennedy Library, for example, Martin explains, “I can recall some feeling that it was necessary to emphasize a need for total involvement of the Negro leadership.” This is illustrative of his “politics of inclusion” whereby he wanted to get as many of the key players as possible involved in policy and program discussions. Louis E. Martin, “Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin,” Interview by Ronald J. Grele, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program, 14 Mar. 1966, 6. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Grele Interview. Martin also said, “Well, I thought it was very important that every effort be made to enlist the active support of the high Negro leadership irrespective of past associations, party affiliations and whatnot.” Louis E. Martin, Grele Interview, 5.

¹¹ In his second interview with Ed Edwin, Martin explained his method: “I also moved in an organizational way, bringing in groups of people. I’d take four states at a time, and bring the top preachers in. I would have somebody talk to them.” Louis E. Martin, Interview with Ed Edwin, Session 2, 07 Dec. 1984, 7. Hereafter cited as Edwin Session #2.

¹² Louis E. Martin, “Sensible Politics,” *Chicago Defender* 15 Apr. 1989: 24. See also, “Louis Martin Honored by Democrats in D.C.,” *Jet* 19 Oct. 1992: 34.

¹³ In this document, I capitalize both the terms black and white only when they are used as “proper nouns.” See Robert S. Wachal, “The Capitalization of Black and Native American,” *American Speech* 75.4 (200): 364. When I cite text by Martin and others, I keep the both the word choice and capitalization as they appeared in the original documents.

¹⁴ In a 1990 editorial, Martin writes: “It must be clearly understood that Blacks are not monolithic. All of us do not think alike and never will.” Louis E. Martin, “Planning for the 21st Century,” *Chicago Defender* 28 July 1990: 24.

¹⁵ Nick Kotz states, for example, that “Martin was the most influential figure who commanded confidence and respect in both the civil rights movement and the Johnson White House.” Nick Kotz, *Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Laws that Changed America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005) 289.

power structures,¹⁶ there was still much work to be done, as Martin freely detailed in his numerous newspaper editorials.¹⁷ Martin explained that the civil rights efforts in the 1950s were “considered a half loaf. And a great many of the black publishers, including me, raised hell about it editorially at the time. But it was in some respects a forward step, without question. It wasn’t half enough. Half a step.”¹⁸ After the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 there were still obstacles to African Americans participating directly in local, state and national politics. It would take more than just laws to enforce integration and cooperation in the halls of government and society as a whole. Furthermore, it was up to the marginalized people to secure their own access to the posts of power and policy-making—starting with the vote.

Martin’s work is not limited to the time he had access to the White House, however. Martin also helped found the Joint Center for Political Studies in 1970 to engage in research designed to bring more African Americans to elected positions in national, state, and local government.¹⁹ Martin successfully navigated the power structure in Washington and in communities in places like Detroit and Chicago, even extending as far as Nigeria. Despite

¹⁶ See Martin’s 1967 speech to the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC where he details progress on the local and national level. Louis E. Martin, Speech to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities Division, (1967), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968. See also Martin’s address to the National Conference of Black Mayors where he explains: “I have long been aware of the importance of a local power base in national politics.” Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Conference of Black Mayors, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., (03 Nov. 1978), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 11, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978: 1.

¹⁷ See, for example, Martin’s article written in 1936 called “The National Negro Congress,” where he reports that “Hundreds of delegates from all sections of the country, were met to determine, discuss and debate the issues which seem to threaten the existence of colored people in America particularly, and in the world generally.” It was also in this article that Martin makes note of a new generation of leaders who were beginning to be involved in securing the rights of “every colored citizen.” See also Louis Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Tri-State Defender* 12 Nov. 1955: 7. The black press was key in communicating issues from local segments of the overall African American community to members of government.

¹⁸ Louis Martin, McComb Interview I, 7.

¹⁹ The Joint Center’s mission statement is “to: improve the socioeconomic status of black Americans and other minorities; expand their effective participation in the political and public policy arenas; and promote communications and relationships across racial and ethnic lines to strengthen the nation’s pluralistic society.” See Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, “About the Joint Center.” Note that the name changed from the Joint Center for Political Studies to include the economic emphasis in 1990. See Joyce Jones, “The Silent Force: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Is 25 Years Old,” *Black Enterprise* 25.9 (April 1995): 98.

Martin's far-ranging influence, there is limited scholarly attention to his abundant work, words, and unique perspective as witness to and participant in over sixty years of civil rights progress and problems.²⁰

Therefore, a sustained study of Louis Martin's public address is a worthwhile endeavor because of the inexplicable dearth of scholarly information about him and his many different kinds of writings. Louis Martin has only one biography written about him,²¹ and only one of Martin's many speeches has been published.²² While his plentiful newspaper articles and editorials are accessible through various mechanics of interlibrary loan and microfiche, his public address texts are languishing in archives. The speeches I have discovered are testaments to the ability of words to inspire people to action, for speeches are inherently "pragmatic."²³ Martin's speeches were designed to address issues and goals relevant to many segments of the African American community. My project aims to recover and evaluate these speeches. Through Martin's public address over decades, we can become better informed about the times in which he lived and worked.

I argue that Martin's optimistic brand of agitative rhetoric, which he sometimes called propaganda, was one of many tools he used to facilitate and actuate sustained progress in civil rights from Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (FDR) New Deal to Clinton's Third Way.²⁴ While the term propaganda is often used in a pejorative way, in Martin's case propaganda was an

²⁰ I do not mean to suggest that civil rights followed a straight trajectory to its ultimate fruition. In fact, Martin's journalistic accounts provide a history of both the positive and the negative events in the ongoing movement—both domestic and international.

²¹ See Alex Poinsett's award-winning book, *Walking with Presidents*.

²² See Roy L. Hill, *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope* ([S.I.: s.n.] Buffalo: University Press, 1976) 36, 127-133.

²³ Rhetoric is often practical in nature. Michael Calvin McGee says, "Rhetoric is 'object' because of its pragmatic *presence*, our inability safely to ignore it at the moment of its impact." (As cited in Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "Object and Method in Rhetorical Criticism: From Wichelns to Leff and McGee," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54.3 Summer 1990: 305.) For the original text see page 29 of Michael Calvin McGee, "A Materialist's Conception of Rhetoric," *Explorations in Rhetoric: Studies in Honor of Douglas Ehninger*, ed. Ray E. McKerrow (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1982) 23-48. See also, Donald C. Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Functions and Scope," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 39.4 (December 1953): 424.

²⁴ I end with the Clinton presidency because Martin died in 1997, when President Clinton was still in office.

expression of truth.²⁵ He reported on and evaluated the societal issues of the time—providing insights into African American experiences in a bid to create a more just society wherein Blacks would be afforded first-class citizenship. Konrad Kellen explains Jacque Ellul’s position that most people falsely believe that propaganda is categorically untrue—that “factual,” persuasive rhetoric cannot be reduced to mere propaganda.²⁶ Martin was clearly aware of this, stating “While people can be influenced by other things, imagery, etc., ultimately you have to get across solid factual data to sustain in the long haul these political approaches, speech making, propaganda stuff put out there and so forth.”²⁷ Propaganda “aims to intensify existing trends, to sharpen and focus them, and, above all, to lead men to *action*,”²⁸ and this was Martin’s aim in employing rhetoric, supplemented with empirical data, which he characterized early on as propaganda. Martin’s texts provide solid evidence for the claims and assertions he makes, such as Blacks were certainly capable of holding public offices as evidenced by those few who had successfully done so. Concrete facts bolster his calls for action in addressing social issues most relevant to African Americans. In fact, “No propaganda is possible unless psychological influence rests on reality.”²⁹ For more than sixty years, Martin presented reality from his unique perspective, one which was rooted in journalism, politics, and his personal experiences as a black man. Thus, Martin’s realistic yet optimistic take on the state of affairs among Blacks illuminated progress and setbacks—he documented both. Nevertheless, Martin radiated optimism for a politics of inclusion for African Americans and other minorities. He knew many key figures in

²⁵ Donald Bryant details “Baldwin’s equation of rhetoric to the art of prose whose end is giving effectiveness to truth—effectiveness considered in terms of what happens to an audience.” Donald C. Bryant, “Rhetoric: Its Functions and Scope,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 39.4 (December 1953): 406.

²⁶ See Konrad Kellen’s Introduction to Jacques Ellul’s *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1965) v.

²⁷ Louis Martin, “Exit Interview.” Interview with Emily Soapes. Oral History, Jimmy Carter Library, 10 Dec. 1980, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview.

²⁸ Konrad Kellen, “Introduction,” In Jacques Ellul’s *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*,” vi, emphasis original.

²⁹ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda*, 20.

the media, business, government, education, civic, and legal systems, and connected organizations' needs with individuals' talents in various appointments.

1.1 The Life and Times of Louis Martin

Louis Martin witnessed over eighty years of civil rights progress from varying perspectives—as a boy in his father's medical clinic, as a journalist and editor, as a presidential advisor, as an academic, and as a communication consultant. For over sixty of those years, he documented and analyzed that progress while simultaneously calling attention to social injustices. His writings, therefore, give us insight into various events from the 1930s to the 1990s. His speeches, in particular, show us both his motives and his impact on those times and shed considerable light on the nature of those times as well.

1.1.1 Formative Years

Louis Martin became an activist for civil rights at a young age, he explains, when he realized that Whites had a different social status than Blacks. Martin was aware of the racist language used to describe his father, a medical doctor, and was witness to racial segregation, degradation and heinous crimes against African Americans growing up in Savannah, Georgia.³⁰ This gave him a “lifelong passion for social justice,” which he worked diligently to put into words as a reporter since starting his high school newspaper.³¹ When Louis Martin went to the University of Michigan, he majored in English even though he was already certain he wanted to

³⁰ There is limited information about Martin's mother, Willa Martin. In an interview, Martin said: “My mother was very fair too by the way. My father was the darkest one and I was like he was.” Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1, 9. Her accidental death was recorded in print: “Louis Martin's Mother Killed,” *Chicago Defender* 04 Nov. 1975: 2.

³¹ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 3. Martin provides details about his experiences with the high school newspaper, the *Pearl High Voice*, in his first interview with Ed Edwin. Martin explains: “I guess we were going to save the race; we were ambitious—how to overcome some of the handicaps of segregation, etc.” See Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1, 2.

become a journalist.³² In any case, his admission to the university was dependent upon his ability to maintain good grades at the institution, for he did not actually apply to study at the university. Instead, not knowing the protocol of admissions, Martin simply showed up ready to learn and convinced the dean to allow him entry. In an interview for the Columbia University Oral History project, Martin explains that while he was in Michigan learning English, he was also taking another valuable subject: “I studied White people.”³³ He goes on to detail his experiences as an African American man in Ann Arbor. His ability to be friendly with everyone, regardless of race, served him well and that environment readied him for his future successes.³⁴ His experiences in Michigan bolstered his ability to put his experiences and observations into words. Martin’s journalistic, published writings date back to this time, the mid 1930s, and give us clues about race relations as the decades pass. Through his career as a journalist, Martin became a point of contact for many different people, communities, and causes. These connections led to his public address.

1.1.2 A Great American Rhetor

Because Martin was so well connected to various groups in the public, business, government, and educational sectors, he was uniquely able to communicate his message of political inclusion via his speeches, articles, editorials, and other writings.³⁵ While working for

³² Apparently, Martin was told that he was an excellent speaker, but that he could not write well. He was advised to major in English, so he did. Martin’s father wanted him to be a doctor, but Louis realized early on that the medical profession was not for him after witnessing events in his father’s clinic. Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 6, 8.

³³ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1, 14.

³⁴ Martin explains that when he went to school, he went about Ann Arbor without regard to which places were segregated – simply going where he chose to go. Martin states, “I was screwed up completely on the race thing. [...] I was really kind of stupid. I learned later that there was more racism than I was looking at.” See Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1, 12, 13.

³⁵ Martin’s abundant papers, both personal and published, are held in various locations. The primary location of Louis Martin’s papers is the Library of Congress, Madison Building, in Washington D.C. These papers are not digitized and on the internet; therefore, I went to D.C. in October of 2010 to obtain this information. I took over 2,500 pictures of source documents. From those pictures, I transcribed Martin’s speeches word-by-word into

Presidents, part of Martin's strategy, and job, was to act as a surrogate between presidential administrations and publics. He did so by bringing together White House officials and African American representatives from state and local governments and other prominent groups, often in the White House.³⁶ Bringing people together in the same locale was the first step in establishing communication between disparate groups. Another part of Martin's strategy was acting as an advocate for the collective, yet distinct African American community.

The curious part of his strategy was his abundant optimism paired with what he characterized as agitation, or agitative rhetoric.³⁷ To agitate is to move, and Martin sought to "move the mountain of racism."³⁸ To do so, Martin crafted what he readily called "propaganda," a term that reflected the realities he had been witness to, and referred to the content of his messages as what he was attempting to "sell" to certain audiences over the years.³⁹ Martin

separate searchable documents to facilitate my analysis. In addition, I went to the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, Georgia where I recovered some of the twenty-five speeches he gave during his two-year tenure with Carter. Martin's papers specific to his work with the DNC are located at the John F. Kennedy library in Boston, Massachusetts; however, archivist Stephen Plotkin informed me that: "We went to the boxes where the speeches were supposed to be filed and discovered that the series they had been in (NOT the Louis Martin subseries of the Civil Right series in the Democratic National Committee Files - I misunderstood the individual who had done the research) was redistributed elsewhere in the DNC Collection. Unfortunately, the exact place they were put was not recorded, so we can't find them without essentially going document by document through 60 boxes. The Press releases in the Louis Martin subseries are available and they do contain one or two speeches, but that is all." Therefore, I did not travel to Boston to secure those documents. Martin's journalistic writings may be accessed online through Georgia State University's interlibrary loan, at the Library of Congress, and at the Atlanta University Center's Woodruff Library, and other sources. Martin's family has allowed me to read his interviews for the Columbia University Oral History Project. Combined, these documents reveal Martin's candid style and provide rich entry points into understanding his ultimate goal of a genuine politics of inclusion.

³⁶ See Martin's editorial, "Magic of the White House," where he sings the praises of the social secretaries, namely Gretchen Poston, for their role in securing Blacks' invitations to the White House. Louis E. Martin, "Magic of the White House," *Chicago Defender* 10 Feb. 1992: 12.

³⁷ For more on the characteristics of agitative rhetoric, see Mary G. McEdwards, "Agitative Rhetoric: Its Nature and Effect," *Western Speech* 32.1 (1968): 36-43.

³⁸ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 3, Howard University, 02 May 1985, 18. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3.

³⁹ Martin often refers to what he "sells" as propaganda in the interviews. Agitative rhetoric (what Martin practices) partners with propaganda (the content of the message.) His ability to put this rhetoric into action in various settings perpetuated the spread of his message, and enabled progress in civil rights during various eras. For more, see Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda*, 20, 32.

reported on harsh realities of second-class citizenship, yet he simultaneously promoted his trademark optimism that social justice was ultimately possible. Martin believed that America could live up to the promise of guaranteeing equality and liberty for all her people. With hard work and participation in the political process, Martin believed that Blacks would finally be counted as valuable members of the American community as a whole. He consistently sold this viewpoint to his audiences.

My argument about the progression and nature of Martin’s rhetoric depends on my analysis of the many texts he produced over the years—particularly his speeches to various groups. These groups range from political delegations to professional journalists to college students to organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and beyond. These organizations were composed of many influential opinion leaders. By associating with these distinct and often local groups, Martin made connections that served him well throughout his career—both inside and outside of the White House.

As an “inside agitator”⁴⁰ for African Americans and rhetorical surrogate for presidents, a study of Martin’s addresses helps us understand the inner workings of sixty plus years of the civil rights movement from national, presidential, and local African American perspectives. David J. Garrow writes, “Martin saw his post as a platform from which he could rally black leaders to greater mutual dedication and commitment to community betterment and racial justice.”⁴¹ Martin’s ability to communicate in person and in print were essential to beginning to

⁴⁰ Martin’s editorials in the *Michigan Chronicle* during the 1943 race riots in Detroit earned him the “agitator” moniker, which he readily claimed. See Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 32, 33. See also David S. Broder, “Louis Martin, Inside Agitator,” *Washington Post News Feed* 20 April 1997: C7. Martin often refers to his work as “agitating” and “propaganda” in various interviews. See, for example Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 4 and 8 and Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 3, 10.

⁴¹ David J. Garrow, Introduction, in Alex Poinsett’s *Walking with Presidents*, xv.

address the societal conditions he viewed as untenable. His successful endeavors were certainly lauded by the African American press at the time. Yet despite his numerous accomplishments, Martin is relatively unknown today. His connection to United States presidents is one means of discovering his influence.

While there have been studies about the presidency and civil rights, these works often focus on the presidency as a catalyst for the successful advancement of civil rights.⁴² Comprehensive analyses of presidencies and the legislative and practical progression of civil rights within them reveal that the “monumental presidency”⁴³ is a myth. There were countless other people, government and civilian, working together on a daily basis to gain new opportunities for African Americans.⁴⁴ As Russell Riley explains, focusing on the president keeps us from giving attention and credit to “other actors, whose roles may have been less prominent yet no less instrumental.”⁴⁵ Louis Martin is such an actor. The president does not manage the institution of the presidency by himself. Rather, the president is but one actor in a large stock of players capable of influencing policy and advancing change.

Martin’s access to those players in the institution of the presidency provided another arena in which he could promote his ideas, or agitate. Martin “agitated” to effect movement, or change. Martin’s many spheres of influence enabled him to act as a facilitator between groups

⁴² Russell L. Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality: Nation-Keeping from 1831 to 1965* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 2.

⁴³ Riley explains that people often focus on the successes of a president, as evidenced in monuments and celebration to the exclusion of other people who were instrumental in forging progress in civil rights. Russell L. Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality: Nation-Keeping from 1831 to 1965* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 6.

⁴⁴ In a speech given in Atlanta, Martin says, “We must make use of the opportunities we already have and at the same time keep up the struggle to broaden those opportunities at every turn.” Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League, Atlanta, GA, (25 Jan. 1962), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 6.

⁴⁵ Russell L. Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*, 7.

(e.g., between the president and segments of the African American community).⁴⁶ Louis Martin was simultaneously the “consummate political insider,”⁴⁷ and an outsider: a trusted journalist as well as an opinion leader for the African American community. Due to his access to the leaders of the political power structure, he succeeded in his aims to get more African Americans involved in the political system by means of appointments and elections. Martin said that he was not interested in being a part of the power structure himself. Rather, he wanted access to those in power only to be able to employ other qualified African Americans. Martin used his access to and influence with presidents, vice presidents, lawyers, cabinet members, staff, and myriad other people who were part of the institution of the presidency to facilitate policy making as well as political participation among African Americans.⁴⁸

Louis Martin was an important advocate for civil rights. His work and words were directly responsible for the increased inclusion of African Americans in many facets of government and the judiciary. His ability to communicate with people from various publics and so-called counterpublics⁴⁹ was a means by which he realized his goal of more genuine political inclusion for Blacks in the United States. A rhetorical analysis of that communication, therefore, will show key themes, strategies, ideas, and verbal means he used to mobilize various audiences to action.

⁴⁶ For example, Martin spoke on behalf of Jimmy Carter at the NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner on 25 November 1978.

⁴⁷ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, xi. See also, Anonymous, “‘Walking with Presidents’ explores the political life of Louis Martin,” *Call & Post* 30 March 2000: SH14.

⁴⁸ Martin explains that his strategy was to never ask for perks for himself, he just wanted to be left to do his work: “I never asked for nothing. Never wanted anything. Never wanted to be on anybody’s anything. And I still don’t. That’s still the way I operate here. I don’t need any damned thing. Just leave me alone, but in the meantime I want you to take care of so-and-so.” Louis E. Martin, “Interview II,” Interview by Michael L. Gillette, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 12 June 1986, 48. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Gillette Interview II.

⁴⁹ See Robert Asen, “Seeking the ‘Counter’ in Counterpublics,” *Communication Theory* 10.4 (November 2000): 424-446.

1.1.3 *Martin in Context*

To guide me through the stages of Martin's life and writings, I rely on Alex Poinsett's award-winning book about the life of Louis Martin, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power*.⁵⁰ Poinsett details Martin's life in the newspaper business, as well as his service to Presidents Roosevelt, Kennedy, Johnson and Carter in the area of civil rights. This insightful text was published in 1997, the year Martin died. Poinsett makes his argument for the significance of his study by virtue of the fact that there simply was no biography of this "great American."⁵¹ Examples of Martin's rhetoric may be found in Poinsett's text; however, there is not a sustained rhetorical interpretation of his speeches. Nevertheless, I rely on Poinsett's book to help me construct the context in which Martin delivered his various speeches. My project builds on Poinsett's work by studying the speeches Martin delivered as he worked with various and key people, communities, organizations, and political groups to promote first-class citizenship and a politics of inclusion for African Americans. I supplement my assessment of his speeches with some attention to his journalistic writings throughout the years. This story is largely untold since only one of Martin's speeches is easily accessible, "The Emancipation Proclamation – 100 Years Thereafter."⁵² Martin's speeches, which have yet to inspire and challenge a twenty-first century audience, are plentiful yet unpublished and therefore difficult to access. They simultaneously provide us with Martin's insider and outsider perception

⁵⁰ For more information about and reviews of this book, see the following: Anonymous, "Alex Poinsett, ex-*Ebony* editor, receives U. of Michigan Book Award," *Jet* 29 Mar. 1999: 18.; "Louis Martin Served As Special Advisor to Three U.S. Presidents," *Chicago Independent Bulletin* 17 July 1997: 2.; Kevin Merida, "Opening Doors To the White House," *Emergence* 8.8 (June 1997): 81-82.; Edward C. Smith, "Guiding Hand in the Civil Rights Movement," *Washington Times* 20 Sep. 1997: C1.; Hanes Walton, Jr., Rev. of *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power*, by Alex Poinsett, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (June 1999): 509-511.; and Leroy Thomas, "Louis Martin Walked with Presidents," *Chicago Defender* 06 May 2000: 70.

⁵¹ Alex Poinsett explains that Martin's father instilled in young Louis that the greatest praise a person could receive was to be called a "great American." Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 2.

⁵² Louis E. Martin, "The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter," North Carolina College, Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers and the Annual Meeting of Sigma Rho Sigma Honorary Society, Durham, NC, (26 Apr. 1963), In Roy L. Hill *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope* ([S.I.: s.n.] Buffalo: University Press, 1976) 127-133 .

of the gradual inclusion of African Americans in all aspects of public life, including government, business, education and beyond. Martin called for increased political participation of African Americans and minorities in general during his long career. His call is still relevant today.

To supplement my study of Martin's public address, archival work is necessary as there are articles in the press detailing Martin's accomplishments while he was alive.⁵³ These secondary texts are required to gauge the breadth, depth and scope of Martin's influence. Moreover, these texts are fascinating—detailing Martin's many accomplishments, from his facilitating political and non-political appointments, to his orchestrating White House events,⁵⁴ to his working outside of America as an editorial consultant for a Nigerian newspaper, to his holding positions on boards of African American-owned businesses, to his receiving awards and honorary degrees.⁵⁵

While Poinsett's book is the only extended study of Louis Martin, many other chroniclers of the civil rights movement and the African American political movement have detailed Martin's involvement in critical moments in the ongoing process of involving African Americans in politics and the advancement of civil rights. These writers have mentioned Louis Martin, yet only in passing.

⁵³ See, for example, "Biggest Reception Ever"; "Black Think Tank Honors a Founder"; Broder, "Little-Known Party Official Pressed Gains for Negroes"; "Democratic National Committee Honors Louie Martin, 'Godfather of Black Politics'"; Dukes, "A Tribute to Louis Martin" and "Louis Martin Paved The Way for Present Black Leadership In The Democratic Party"; Gilliam; "Louis Martin Honored by Democrats in D.C."; Muhammad; Ruffin; Schulte; Sweeney; Jacqueline Trescott, "What We Think Martin, Sheffield Tributes Deserved"; and Louis Williams.

⁵⁴ See, in particular, "Biggest Reception Ever," which details the event coordinated by Martin in which "President Kennedy entertain[ed] 1,000 Negroes at the White House." This event was widely approved by the African American community at the time. Martin remarked that "the White House was Uncle Tom's cabin for that night." Louis E. Martin, Gillette Interview II, 18.

⁵⁵ See, for example, "Louis Martin Gets Honorary Degree," *Atlanta Daily World* 21 June 1951: 8.

1.1.3.1 *Louis Martin, Mentioned Only In Passing*

While Louis Martin's writing career spanned many decades, information about his actions is largely centered in the 1960s in texts detailing various aspects of the civil rights movement and the presidencies of Kennedy and Johnson, and later, Carter.⁵⁶ Furthermore, many of the people he came in contact with during that time went on to write memoirs in which Martin makes appearances.⁵⁷ Writings about Martin and his work into the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s are primarily journalistic accounts of various events, awards, and occasions.⁵⁸ In each case, Martin was characterized as a trusted aide with impressive credentials and ties to key people and groups in numerous African American communities, the White House, and beyond. He was credited with "mak[ing] the Democratic Party a true party of all the people."⁵⁹ By studying his speeches, we can see how Martin used language to impress that message of inclusion and involvement upon many audiences, thereby actuating civil rights progress from both inside and outside the political power structure.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Bernstein, *Promises Kept*; Branch, *Parting the Waters*; Berry, *And Justice for All: The United States Commission on Civil Rights and the Continuing Struggle for Freedom in America*; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*; Clark, "JFK and Civil Rights Sooner or Later"; Pauley, *The Modern Presidency and Civil Rights*; Miller, "The Negro in National Politics in 1968"; Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*; Rorabaugh, *The Real Making of the President*; Rosenberg and Karabell, *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Quest for Justice*; Shepard, "A 'New Order' Is Born"; and Sorensen, *Counselor and Kennedy*. Thomas Weko's PhD dissertation is also a source of information about Martin's work with Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter. However, since Weko's "respondents were promised anonymity," quotations likely from Martin cannot be easily confirmed. See Thomas Jonathan Weko, "A Good Man Is Hard To Find": Presidents and Their Political Executives," Diss. University of Minnesota, 1991: page 14, note 22. Just before I completed this project I also discovered a paper on Martin written by Seneca Vaught. See Seneca Vaught, "From Protest to Policy: Louis E. Martin and the Politics of Black Power," *The Fire Every Time: Reframing Black Power Across The Twentieth Century And Beyond*, College of Charleston, Avery Research Center, 21-22 Sep. 2012. 11 Jan. 2013 <<http://avery.cofc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Vaught-From-Protest-to-Policy-Rough-Louis-Martin-Conference-Paper.pdf>>.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Johnson, *A White House Diary*; McPherson, *A Political Education*; Morrow, *Black Man in the White House*; Rowan, *Breaking Barriers*; Roy Wilkins and Tom Mathews, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins*; and Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*.

⁵⁸ See, for example, David Broder, "Little-Known Party Official Pressed Gains for Negroes"; Broadus N. Butler, "Louis Emanuel Martin: A Great American"; John Carmody, "Now Here's The News"; Frances Culver, "Louis E. Martin, *Chronicle's* Fighting Editor, Inducted into Hall of Fame" (1999); "Democratic National Committee Honors Louie Martin, 'Godfather of Black Politics'"; "Louis Martin Honored by Democrats in D.C."; Jacqueline Trescott, "'The Godfather of Black Politics,' Pinch-Hitting at the White House" and "Legends of Louie: Honoring Louis Martin with Levity and Legends."

⁵⁹ See, for example, "Louie Martin: 'Godfather of Black Politics' Saluted."

When Martin began working for the Kennedy campaign, he warned the Kennedys that the race problem was mounting, writing: ““The accelerated tempo of Negro restiveness may create the most critical state of race relations since the Civil War.””⁶⁰ This was a dire prediction indeed, even in the midst of the Cold War, upon which Kennedy was largely focused. Because a candidate’s time is valuable and limited,⁶¹ part of Kennedy’s plan was to send out surrogates to the various voting communities. Carl M. Brauer writes that, “To supplement his personal campaigning, Kennedy employed a group of individuals to serve as assistants and surrogates in seeking the votes of black people.”⁶² Louis Martin is included in this list, and Brauer explains that Martin “stayed out of the limelight though he probably had greater access to and influence in the White House than any other black appointee.”⁶³ In fact, Martin’s obvious association with Kennedy bolstered Kennedy’s credibility among the Blacks who were voters.⁶⁴ While Kennedy’s main focus at the time was the international area, Martin made sure that he was also aware of domestic issues. This was particularly evident in the first Kennedy-Nixon debate.

Martin wrote a forthright section of Kennedy’s opening remarks in his first debate, also the first ever televised debate. While Kennedy’s concerns were primarily with international affairs, he nevertheless included some assessment of domestic affairs per his aides’ insistence. Martin wrote:

⁶⁰ Nick Bryant, *The Bystander: John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 2006) 3.

⁶¹ Judith S. Trent and Robert V. Friedenber, *Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices*, 6th ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008) 324.

⁶² Carl M. Brauer, *Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977) 44.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶⁴ Taylor Branch explains that Kennedy “seemed so much more comfortable in the presence of Negroes than had Eisenhower. Kennedy danced with Negro women on Inauguration night and included Louis Martin and his wife among the members of his political ‘family,’ as introduced on the platform of the inaugural gala.” Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 384.

‘The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the Nation in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospect of earning only half as much.’⁶⁵

This poignant passage points to the issues of the time which were most pressing from Martin’s perspective as a black man, journalist, and liaison between candidates and various African American communities. These figures told the truth about the U.S.: that some segments of the population were still struggling to realize equality. This sudden insertion of reality in the form of hard figures instead of nebulous patriotic platitudes helped to reinforce the perception that Kennedy was, in fact, at least cognizant of the plight of minorities in America.⁶⁶ While the transcript of Kennedy’s statement reveals some changes in the specific language Martin created, the overall impression was the same, and it was not entirely positive. It signaled that, for Kennedy, the issue of civil rights had definitively ceased to be a legal issue and was now a moral issue, as many scholars have attested.⁶⁷ Candidate Kennedy had to craft a message that would

⁶⁵ E. Culpepper Clark, “JFK and Civil Rights: Sooner or Later,” in *Civil Rights Rhetoric and the American Presidency*, eds. James Arnt Aune and Enrique D. Rigsby (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005) 125.

⁶⁶ Taylor Branch writes, “Shriver recognized instantly that Louis Martin understood the inner workings of the Negro world in a way that could be communicated effectively to Robert Kennedy, Lawrence O’Brien, Whizzer White, and the other insiders of the Kennedy campaign.” Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988) 342. Martin’s expertise was widely sought by Administration members.

⁶⁷ For more on the president and his moral authority with regard to civil rights, see Clark, 116; Giglio 175, 176, 194; Rossiter as cited in Pauley, 7; Pauley, 106-108; and Katagiri, 269.

resonate with both African American and white voters, and Martin strategically assisted in this rhetorical endeavor.⁶⁸

Once Kennedy was elected, Martin was equally effective in facilitating the relationship between the administration and the African American press—which was complicated by problems of lack of payment for newspaper coverage in the past. When Roosevelt was running for reelection, the DNC had amassed a fair amount of debt for advertisements run in the black press. To facilitate relations with the African American press during the Kennedy campaign, Martin insisted upon payment to the black press for past debts never paid by the DNC.⁶⁹ Martin’s years in and credentialed ties to the African American press were critical for Kennedy, so that as candidate and as president he could “tailor messages specifically for a black audience.”⁷⁰ This statement speaks to both Martin’s influence and to the critical importance of language in facilitating political relationships. Once Kennedy assumed the Oval Office, Martin was still consulted about how best to establish cordial relations with the African American community as a whole. Attorney General Robert Kennedy (RFK) also found Martin’s “judgment ...remarkably astute” and RFK consistently consulted Martin on civil rights matters.⁷¹ Martin’s various roles in the Kennedy campaign and administration are mentioned in many books detailing Martin’s attempts to get President Kennedy more engaged in domestic civil rights, as well as his work with Presidents Johnson and Carter, which is similarly sporadically accounted for in the

⁶⁸ Kennedy needed the African American vote to win the election. This was why the Kennedys “jumped on” Martin in the first place—because he had the influence in the black press, and they needed to secure African American votes. See Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 5. See also, Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum House, Inc., 1961).

⁶⁹ Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 60. Kathleen Hall Jamieson explains the total owed was \$49,000. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 144.

⁷⁰ Nick Bryant, *The Bystander*, 165. The administration wanted Louis Martin’s input precisely because he could discern the true status of affairs in African American communities. With that knowledge, Kennedy could then address those issues in particular.

⁷¹ Nick Bryant, *The Bystander*, 164.

literature.⁷² Presidential aides who worked with Martin in presidential circles have also detailed his accomplishments.

Harris Wofford was Kennedy's special assistant on the matter of civil rights both during and after the 1960 election. He explains that once Kennedy was in office, the administration enlisted Martin's help in appointing African Americans to various posts as Kennedy promised during the campaign. Wofford writes, "Before the search was over, Martin had compiled a list of 750 Negro prospects. 'I had a candidate for almost every job,' [Martin] recalled afterwards. 'I don't give a damn what the job was, I came up with a Negro. It got to be a joke'."⁷³ With this success, Wofford even recommended that Martin be appointed to a post in the cabinet, explaining, "the Negro community is a particularly complex, isolated and politically important one, [...] a sensitive Negro is able to hear and sense the mood of his community better than a white man."⁷⁴ Wofford's various mentions of the actions of Louis Martin demonstrate that Martin's influence was both consistent and characteristically low key in the Kennedy administration and the Second Reconstruction⁷⁵ which characterized the time. Martin's influence as part of the DNC and the Kennedy campaign is undisputed. Still, Louis Martin was only mentioned in passing.

⁷² See, for example, Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*; Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963-1965*; Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*; David S. Broder, *Changing of the Guard: Power and Leadership in America*; Joseph A. Califano, Jr., *The Triumph & Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson: The White House Years*; David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*; Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of the Presidential Campaign*; Hamilton Jordan, *Crisis: The Last Year of the Carter Presidency*; Robert Kennedy, *Robert Kennedy In His Own Words: The Unpublished Recollections of the Kennedy Years*; Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America*; Harry McPherson, *A Political Education*; Nancy J. Weiss, *Whitney M. Young, Jr., and the Struggle for Civil Rights*; Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1964: A Narrative History of American Politics in Action*; Roy Wilkins and Tom Mathews, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins*; Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*; and Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties*.

⁷³ Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 72.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁷⁵ Russell Riley describes the Second Reconstruction as being "the enactment of major civil and voting rights legislation in 1964 and 1965." Russell Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*, 201.

Martin and Lyndon Johnson met during the summer of 1960 when Johnson “made a great impression”⁷⁶ on Martin. Because Johnson was from Texas, Martin was aware that he may have some work to do in managing the press for the Kennedy/Johnson ticket with the African American voters. He was working with the “black publishers” when Martin stated: “I do not want Lyndon Johnson lynched in these newspapers simply because he’s from Texas’.”⁷⁷ Again, Martin was agitating on somebody else’s behalf. Martin’s relationship with President Johnson (LBJ) was based on actions, not rhetoric.⁷⁸ Martin stated: “I think one of Johnson’s greatest achievements was his willingness to make history in terms of these appointments that we have talked about.”⁷⁹ With Martin’s help, Johnson appointed a number of African Americans to various positions in government, such as Thurgood Marshall to the position of Solicitor General.⁸⁰

Whereas Kennedy was constrained in his ability to press the legislative branch to action in civil rights matters, Johnson was more able to produce results. Martin was especially pleased with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 because both he and Johnson felt that “once you gave that black vote to those millions in the South who had not been able to vote, you would give them a tool with which they could create a new era for themselves.”⁸¹ The access to the vote is a key theme Martin mentions time and again in his speeches in this early period until his last speech in

⁷⁶ Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 6. Martin goes on to explain in the second interview for the LBJ Oral History that “one area of [Johnson’s] career that was sort of cloudy was this relationship to blacks simply because of where he came from” Louis E. Martin, Gillette Interview II, 1. For another account of Martin’s “lynching” concerns, see Lawrence Allen Eldridge, *Chronicles of a Two-Front War: Civil Rights and Vietnam in the African American Press* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011) 129.

⁷⁸ Martin frequently told a story about his being accosted by Johnson after Martin criticized one of his speeches. Apparently, LBJ grabbed Martin by the lapels of his coat and said: “I know you’ve been around here arguing about my speeches. Now, what the hell do you want? Rhetoric or action? I’m giving you action!” Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 12.

⁷⁹ Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 22.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 17. See also, Robert Dallek, *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times 1961-1973* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 440.

⁸¹ Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 23

1990. During his time with Johnson, Martin addressed groups related to the DNC, including the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC and the Colorado State Young Democrats. At the end of his 1969 oral history interview for the Lyndon Baines Johnson Oral History Project, Martin stated: “I think historically [Johnson is] going to turn out [...] to have made the greatest impact on civil rights than any president in American history”⁸²... that is, until Jimmy Carter.

Louis Martin was called to the aid of the Carter administration in August of 1978, after Carter’s term began. Upon his arrival and introduction to the existing staff, Martin realized, while “there was a great deal that could be done [to facilitate relationships between the administration and the African American community] that [it] had not been done.”⁸³ Thus, Martin went about, among other things, assembling and distributing Fact Sheets largely for the African American leaders of community-based organizations and other groups, which detailed the administration’s progress in building a more inclusive government and steps taken to improve the life of Blacks in America.⁸⁴ While Martin worked with Carter, he delivered a number of speeches to an impressive array of audiences. By means of these speeches Martin advanced the Carter administration’s “general program [of] tightening the relationship [of] the shakers and movers in the black national community with the administration.”⁸⁵ Like he did with Johnson, Martin also praised Carter for the number of appointments he made, saying Carter “saw to it that there was minority, and specifically black, representation on [regulatory] bodies.”⁸⁶ It is interesting to note, through Martin’s speeches, the increasing number of African American government officials lending their skills to the problems the nation faced at different points in the

⁸² Ibid., 24.

⁸³ Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 2.

⁸⁴ These Fact Sheets, which I found both at the Library of Congress and at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, provide long, detailed lists of the names of African Americans appointed and elected to various government positions.

⁸⁵ Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 2.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 10.

nation's history. Martin counts heads and names names regularly throughout his speeches. Martin's service to Carter can best be summed up by a handwritten postscript to Martin wishing him and his wife, Gertrude, a merry Christmas. Carter wrote: "You've been good for all of us."⁸⁷

This brief catalog⁸⁸ of characterizations of Martin and his work shows that Martin was indeed critically important in both African American social and press circles as well as the then largely white political circles. Martin's style was to put qualified people of color in the forefront: to give them opportunities, to place them in the spotlight, and then to publish that information in print and vocally for a large, diverse audience as a means to encourage others. Given his connection to two powerful institutions, the press and the presidency, a study of his rhetoric is justified. Perhaps the fact that he worked behind the scenes has effectively kept his public address from modern audiences. His immediate audience, however, knew of many of his remarkable accomplishments through publications like *Jet* magazine and the newspapers he headed: the *Chicago Defender* and *Michigan Chronicle*. Such predominantly African American publications were naturally loci of discussions about Blacks' influence in politics.

1.1.3.2 African American Politics

Ronald Walters asserts that freedom from slavery alone was inadequate to secure African American's full citizenship.⁸⁹ Instead, he argues, citizenship must be "made meaningful" by enforcing African Americans' right to vote.⁹⁰ He writes that the vote, "forged in the heat of

⁸⁷ Jimmy Carter, "To Louis Martin," 22 December 1978, Letter, Library of Congress, Louis Martin Files, Box 2, Folder 6, Subject File, Carter Admin. Correspondence, Chronological, 1978-1979.

⁸⁸ In the Louis Martin files at the Library of Congress, I found a list of published works that mention Louis Martin. [Louis Martin Files, Box 13, Folder 4, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Miscellaneous, 1980, 1988, n.d.] Some of these texts have only brief anecdotes about Martin (e.g., Lady Bird Johnson's *White House Diary*), while others go on at length about his accomplishments (e.g., Meier and Rudwick's *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW*).

⁸⁹ Ronald W. Walters, *Freedom is NOT Enough: Black Voters, Black Candidates, and American Presidential Politics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005) 1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

previous civil rights struggles, has provided significant Black empowerment not only at the local level of government, but in the national political arena as well.”⁹¹ Martin consistently and insistently amplified the importance of the vote. In addition to regularly promoting the importance of the vote, he actively strove to put qualified African Americans in political positions—to further facilitate African American communities’ concerns being represented in the various halls of government. This could be accomplished by means of improving the political consciousness of African Americans, which Martin aimed to accomplish in his speeches as well as his journalistic accounts of events.

Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith detail African American political culture from its early beginnings when the founders were determining the setup of the government until the present day. One key concept they talk about is political consciousness, defined as “supporting of African American political candidates, organizing African American political parties, holding state and national political conventions, and forming political caucuses and leagues.”⁹² By making qualified Blacks known to various administrations, Martin was agitating to change the political consciousness not just of those in power, but also of those in his audiences. Martin’s speeches have many references to successful African Americans who had made great progress in government and other arenas thereby improving life for all citizens.⁹³ Again, he was a government insider given his association with powerful people in Washington, D.C. and other prominent cities, but he was also highly regarded in African American communities. He facilitated the movement of Blacks to policy-making positions in politics (and the judiciary),

⁹¹ Ibid., xi.

⁹² Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* (New York: Longman, 2000) 42. See also Dawson; Johnson; and Smith, *We Have No Leaders*.

⁹³ See Appendix D for a complete list of all individuals mentioned in Louis Martin’s speeches.

which then reinforced the political consciousness.⁹⁴ While the vote for these elected officials was critical, “the road to empowerment does not rest solely on supporting Black candidates.”⁹⁵

Martin echoed this sentiment: while it was critical for African Americans to elect people like them to positions in government, the other tool of choice was the dollar. While Martin consistently advocated the strategic application of votes and dollars, his access to the complex political power structure of the presidency gave him the means by which to use his own, most valuable tool in the pursuit of equality for African Americans—language.

1.1.3.3 *The Presidency and Civil Rights Intersect*

The tenuous relationship between civil rights and the presidency has been given much scholarly attention.⁹⁶ There are innumerable texts about the civil rights movement, Jim Crow, the Second Reconstruction, and beyond. Together, these texts provide historical background necessary to begin to analyze the rhetoric of Louis Martin as a presidential advisor and agitator for the collective African American community.

Carl Brauer asserts that “the various initiatives of the Kennedy administration constituted the critical *first stage* of a Second Reconstruction.”⁹⁷ This quotation demonstrates the fact that it was not through Kennedy alone that the Second Reconstruction⁹⁸ progressed; he merely orchestrated a “first stage.” This is evident in the various legislation and advances in civil rights

⁹⁴ For more information about black political officials, and the lack of studies about them, see Robert C. Smith, “Black Appointed Officials: A Neglected Area of Research in Black Political Participation,” *Journal of Black Studies* 14.3 (March 1984): 369-388.

⁹⁵ Walton and Smith, *American Politics*, 45.

⁹⁶ Studies dealing with civil rights and the presidency include those by, for example, Aune and Rigsby, Eds., *Civil Rights Rhetoric and the American Presidency*; Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*; Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*; Harold Fleming, “The Federal Executive and Civil Rights: 1961-1965”; Hugh Graham, *Civil Rights and the Presidency: Race and Gender in American Politics*; Garth Pauley, *The Modern Presidency & Civil Rights: Rhetoric on Race from Roosevelt to Nixon*; James Riddlesperger and Donald Jackson, *Presidential Leadership and Civil Rights Policy*; Russell Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*; and Allan Wolk, *The Presidency and Black Civil Rights*.

⁹⁷ Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, ix. Italics mine.

⁹⁸ Russell Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*, 201.

made when Kennedy was in office compared to the strides made when Johnson assumed office.⁹⁹ Civil rights was still “unfinished business”¹⁰⁰ when Martin went to work for Carter to facilitate relationships with the African American community half way through Carter’s term.

Riley further argues that a primary role of the president is that of “nation keeper.”¹⁰¹ That obligation has historically led presidents either to yield to the status quo of white hegemony or to challenge and change racial policy—whatever the situation calls for that will keep the union intact. The problem, in his estimation, is that “conspicuously absent are celebrations of the contribution of other prominent personages, especially those whose lives have been dedicated to public service in other national institutions.”¹⁰² Thus, the presidency is an important factor in the “sustained struggle”¹⁰³ for civil rights, but the power of the movement does not rest there alone. In fact,

on the question of African-American rights, the presidency became an agency of change only when movements for equality had successfully reoriented the incumbent’s perception of those role requirements, by preparing public opinion and illuminating the risks of tolerating inequality in periods of heightened danger to the nation’s peace and security.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Candidate Kennedy made promises to advance civil rights in both legislative and executive branches, but he did not have the support in Congress to do so once he actually assumed office. Steven R. Goldzwig and George N. Dionisopoulos, “John F. Kennedy’s Civil Rights Discourse: The Evolution from ‘Principled Bystander’ to Public Advocate,” *Communication Monographs* 56 (September 1989): 181. Whether or not it was due, in part, to Kennedy’s untimely death, President Johnson was the one at the helm when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were passed, two critical pieces of legislation Martin referenced frequently.

¹⁰⁰ Louis E. Martin, Speech to Urban League, (1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 15, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979], 3.

¹⁰¹ Riley states, “The central finding of this study is that the presidency has routinely served as a nation-maintaining institution on the issue of racial inequality.” Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*, 10.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰³ Riley makes note of this Kennedy verbiage on page 8. The full quotation is: “But the essential effort, the sustained struggle, was borne by the Negro alone with steadfast dignity and faith” (See Kennedy, “Remarks Recorded for the Ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial”). Katagiri also references this speech, 275.

¹⁰⁴ Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*, 60.

By investigating the rhetoric of Louis Martin, surrogate speaker and liaison to African American communities for FDR, Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter, we can get a glimpse into the prevailing sentiment of those times. Martin's words were highly regarded in African American communities and beyond, as many awards, accolades, and honorary degrees attest. Studying his speeches, in particular, provides us with a new perspective on the civil rights movement throughout the course of more than sixty years from an "inside" outsider perspective.

1.2 Sources for This Study

The sources I use for this study are primarily those written by Martin. This is particularly the case since there is limited scholarly attention to him. Martin certainly began writing before the 1930s when his first published texts become available. His writings continue until 1994 and cover civil rights progress in America. While my study is focused mainly on his speeches, his articles and editorials also provide contextual information relevant to my study.

1.2.1 Written Words

Louis Martin was a highly productive journalist. Martin began his writing career early, starting his high school newspaper, and continued to perfect his talent writing for other publications, including the *Savannah Journal*, the *Michigan Chronicle*, the *Chicago Defender*, as well as scholarly journals and publications released by national organizations such as the NAACP. These texts are remarkable not only for their content but also for their decidedly pointed commentary on then-existing conditions in African American communities. I rely on these documents to provide evidence of the consistent themes throughout Martin's writings.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix B for a list of Martin's written texts, primarily editorials.

1.2.2 *Spoken Words*

The texts I plan to analyze in this project¹⁰⁶ include, foremost, his unpublished speeches.¹⁰⁷ Carroll C. Arnold “has noted that spoken rhetoric—as a packaged suatory force—is uniquely an amalgam of verbalization and personality.”¹⁰⁸ Thus, while Martin’s numerous other publications are certainly worthy of analysis and I do include some of them here, I choose to focus on his speeches specifically because of the way they might offer a more comprehensive view of how Martin worked on various communities using language. By surveying his speeches we identify components of the rhetorical situations¹⁰⁹ which served as the genesis for his words. By interpreting his discourse, we are better able to understand Martin and the contexts in which he did his rhetorical work.¹¹⁰ To flesh-out the context, supplemental writings of the time by both Martin and others are also necessary. I have assembled more than fifty complete and partial speeches written by Martin which range from 1961 to 1990. As part of this exercise in rhetorical recovery, I am also briefly surveying Martin’s other writings including newspaper articles, magazine articles, journals, interviews, and memoirs. Combined, these documents compose a

¹⁰⁶ This project may be categorized primarily as a rhetorical history, but it also has characteristics of a rhetorical biography. For information about and examples of rhetorical biography, see Bernard J. Brommel, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1978).; Carl R. Burgchardt, *Robert M. La Follette, Sr.: The Voice of Conscience* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).; Ruth Gonchar and Dan Hahn, “Rhetorical Biography: A Methodology for the Citizen Critic,” *Communication Education* 22.1 (1973): 48-53.; Roderick Hart, “Absolutism and Situation: *Prolegomena* to a Rhetorical Biography of Richard M. Nixon,” *Communication Monographs* 43 (August 1976): 204-228.; and Robert E. Terrill, *Malcolm X: Inventing Radical Judgment* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004). Burgchardt writes in the introduction that his book and others “chronicle and explain the accomplishments of representative American leaders as orators” and that the method of such a project is to highlight “the creation, transmission, and reception of persuasive, public discourse.” Carl R. Burgchardt, *Robert M. La Follette, Sr.: The Voice of Conscience* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992) x, 3.

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix A for a chronological list of Martin’s speeches.

¹⁰⁸ Cited in Roderick P. Hart, “Absolutism and Situation,” 205.

¹⁰⁹ I pay particular attention to the exigencies and audiences for these speeches. For information about the rhetorical situation see Lloyd Bitzer, “The Rhetorical Situation,” *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1.1 (Winter 1968): 1-14. For evolving thoughts on this concept see also, Richard E. Vatz, “The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 6.3 (Summer 1973): 154-161.; and Barbara A. Biesecker, “Rethinking the Rhetorical Situation from Within the Thematic of Différance,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 22.2 (Spring 1989): 110-130.

¹¹⁰ Cited in Roderick P. Hart, “Absolutism and Situation,” 204.

complete package of Martin’s thinking on race relations and African American politics spanning over sixty years of U.S. history.

By studying Martin’s texts, which have not been analyzed by rhetorical critics like those of other, more well-known rhetors such as Martin Luther King, we are not “missing out on ... important texts that gird and influence local cultures.”¹¹¹ Martin’s speeches may have reached fairly sizeable audiences at the time, particularly given his association with presidents, but they did not receive nearly the attention of other leaders of civil rights working in the 1960s and beyond. While Martin, himself, was relatively privileged in that he traveled in important circles, we can still look to his speeches to see how he used the “rhetoric of the oppressed”¹¹² to communicate his message of political inclusion to African Americans and, ultimately, other minority constituents.

1.2.3 About Louis Martin

In addition to the written and spoken texts by Louis Martin, I rely on other accounts of his activities. The critical resource for this study is Poinsett’s biography about Martin, *Walking with Presidents*; however, I have also assembled information about Louis Martin from journalistic sources—often from the publications for which he wrote and edited. Naturally, there was a flurry of writing about Martin at the time of his death in January of 1997.¹¹³ Martin also repeatedly made the news while he was working in various capacities in news reporting, government, in higher education, and in a private communication firm, Calmar Communications, headed by his sister-in-law. The files at the Library of Congress are full of articles picturing a

¹¹¹ Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, “The Critique of Vernacular Discourse,” *Communication Monographs* 62 (March 1995): 19.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹³ See, for example, Ofield Dukes, “President Clinton, friends pay tribute to Louis Martin at L.A. Funeral Service,” *New York Amsterdam News* 08 February 1997: 2+. See also “Louis E. Martin, 84, Black Political Pioneer, Dies,” *Jet* 82.26 (17 Feb. 1997): 8.

smiling Martin with various dignitaries and heads of state, and often with his wife, Gertrude Martin. The archives also include documentation about awards and honors he earned.¹¹⁴ These secondary texts provide context and commentary useful for analyzing Martin's speeches.

1.3 Accessing and Assessing Martin's Texts, or Methodology

To establish a method of analysis, the rhetorical critic must consider the following: the purpose of the study, the criteria of assessment, the relationship between the text and the context(s), what texts to use, and the critic's role.¹¹⁵ My purpose is to 1) recover Martin's spoken texts and 2) learn from them how he lobbied for African Americans for over sixty years via agitative rhetoric. Criteria may be formal, aesthetic, pragmatic, or ethical.¹¹⁶ I focus mostly on the pragmatic aspect of Martin's rhetoric—how his rhetoric “works” and the stylistic aspects he uses to make his words powerful and worthy of analysis today. To better understand the texts in relation to their context(s) I also rely on secondary texts such as newspaper articles of the time. Martin's largest corpus of work is surely his articles and editorials in newspapers. While I consult many of his editorials in this study, I propose to focus mostly on Martin's speeches.¹¹⁷ My role as critic in this project is to understand and reveal Martin's unique perspective on the progress and attainment of civil rights for African Americans and other minorities from the 1930s to the 1990s. In so doing, I would like to re-introduce Martin to a modern audience so that we might learn how his words affected social change through the audiences he addressed.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Al Sweeney, “Louis Martin to join Howard U”; Askia Muhammad “Newspaper Executive Louis Martin Named to Army Aide Post”; and “The Racial Significance of the Election.” Martin received multiple degrees and awards, including an honorary degree from Harvard in 1970. See also “Newspaper Executive Louis Martin Named to Army Aide Post.”

¹¹⁵ James F. Darsey, “What is the ‘Rhetorical’ in Rhetorical Criticism?” Issues of Method in Rhetorical Criticism Seminar, Georgia State University, Atlanta. 15 Jan 2004, Lecture, 1.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁷ Hart conducts a similar analysis in his rhetorical biography of Richard Nixon, focusing only on speeches instead of other writings such as executive orders in “Absolutism and Situation: *Prolegomena* to a Rhetorical Biography of Richard M. Nixon,” *Communication Monographs* 43 (August 1976): 204-228.

Perhaps there is some fodder there to help us understand how to negotiate the twenty-first century political environment with its increasingly complex and contentious multicultural composition.

I next provide some more specific information on my method for interrogating Martin's texts, including the need for a chronological assessment and the historical-critical approach, as well as theoretical conception of critical localism.

1.3.1 Chronological Organization

Based on the speeches I have assembled, the best way to organize them for analysis is chronologically. The earliest speech I have acquired is one Martin gave to Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Montana on 12 April 1961. His work with the DNC from 1960 to 1969 led him to give many speeches before various groups. This early era also includes speeches from the 1970s before he began working with President Carter. During this time, Martin was also writing editorials for the *Chicago Defender*, and those texts can aid in the analysis of the context and speeches he gave during this early era. His impressive credentials and continued involvement in African American communities and organizations made him a prime candidate to help Jimmy Carter with race relations in the late 1970s.

Martin agreed to work with President Carter in August of 1978. The second era of his speeches is composed only of the speeches he gave during his time with Carter. I have recovered these both from the files at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library as well as the Library of Congress. Martin addressed many different kinds of audiences during this time, demonstrating once again his clout in many, sometimes competing, spheres of influence. This group of speeches spans until January of 1981, when President Carter's first and only term ended.

The final section of speeches ranges from Martin's time post-Carter when he was employed by Howard University¹¹⁸ until his last speech delivered to the Ford Foundation in 1990. In each of these chapters I survey the themes he used to make his case for the inclusion of African Americans and other minorities in all segments of society, particularly in government where decisions were made affecting the lives of all American citizens, minority and majority alike.

1.3.2 *Historical-Critical Method*

The method I use to evaluate texts written by Martin may be loosely defined as historical-critical. In this method, the critic not only evaluates the rhetoric itself, but also looks at the contextual circumstances surrounding the rhetoric—all to make an argument about the text or collection of texts. Texts, particularly public address texts, give us insight into the period in which they were written. People generally give speeches when they think their words may prove informative, even transformative. Texts and the various contexts in which they function (both historic and modern) inform us about the course of rhetorical history.¹¹⁹

Kathleen Turner explains the related, yet different, concepts of rhetorical criticism and rhetorical history: “whereas rhetorical criticism seeks to understand the message in context, rhetorical history seeks to understand the context through messages that reflect and construct that context.”¹²⁰ Rhetorical criticism helps us understand the subject of the text; rhetorical history helps us understand how that subject fits into the larger context. By analyzing Martin's works as both producers *and* products of the eras in which he was writing, this project engages in both

¹¹⁸ Martin joined Howard in February of 1981 as the Vice President in Charge of Communications. See Al Sweeney, “Louis Martin to Join Howard U.,” *The Washington Afro-American* 17 Jan. 1981: 4.

¹¹⁹ See, for example, Michael C. Leff and Fred J. Kauffeld, eds., *Texts in Context: Critical Dialogues on Significant Episodes in American Political Rhetoric*.

¹²⁰ Kathleen J. Turner, *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998) 2.

rhetorical criticism and rhetorical history. This approach is comprehensive, and will help me analyze the texts.¹²¹

By extension, we can also trace the history of the involvement of African Americans in the political arena by surveying the key, consistent themes, or through-lines, in Martin's texts in each of the eras in which he spoke: the 1960s to 1990. By studying the words of Louis Martin, who was well-connected and well-respected in a number of public spheres,¹²² a richer picture develops of how the civil rights movement progressed over time. His words also provide insight into Martin's keen analysis of strategies and opportunity whereby Blacks and other minorities could participate fully in the political process. This is particularly true of Martin given his involvement with four Democratic presidents. His close association with those presidents provides a particular historical perspective which results in an as-yet underexplored account of the events of the time. While this access to presidential power offered Martin a lot of opportunities, it also revealed a number of limitations: Martin realized that it would take more than executive orders and presidential directives to make integration in American politics a

¹²¹ One potential limitation of my study is that I am not African American, and therefore my experience may preclude "correct" interpretations of Martin's texts. For example, in the Forward to Smith's *We Have No Leaders*, Ronald W. Walters explains, "struggle over racial meaning is a constant and dynamic tension between the black perspective and the attempt by whites to impose the dominant perspective on a racial event." Ronald W. Walters, Foreword, *We Have No Leaders: African Americans in the Post-Civil Rights Era* by Robert C. Smith (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996) xi. I use emic criticism to attempt to mitigate this constraint. As Edwin Black suggests, I will attempt to "...[approach] a rhetorical transaction in what is hoped to be its own terms, without conscious expectations drawn from any sources other than the rhetorical transaction itself." To have a theory in mind when reading a text is to be predisposed to find text that "fits" that theory, writes Black. Instead, I will approach these texts with an open mind and see what they reveal to me. For an explanation of emic criticism, see Edwin Black, "A Note on Theory and Practice in Rhetorical Criticism," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 44.4 (Fall 1980): 331-336.

¹²² The African American community, by virtue of the fact that Martin was asked to serve as a liaison between candidates cum presidents and that community, may be considered a counterpublic. Fraser, as cited in Asen, says counterpublics are "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs." Robert Asen, "Seeking the 'Counter' in Counterpublics," *Communication Theory* 10.4 (November 2000): 428.

reality.¹²³ Even so, Martin's texts consistently present a realistic and optimistic assessment of the era in which he was writing.

Above all, Martin's texts were decidedly direct. His language was forceful, in accordance with the times and issues he addressed, and often contained harsh truths about overall African American conditions and the sources of problems they faced. To understand what Martin perceived as the pressing issues and ideas of the time, we need only read Martin's copious body of work. Martin's oral texts show how, through agitative rhetoric, he went about advancing his ultimate goal of increased African American presence and influence in the politics of the nation by working with and within the established political process.¹²⁴ John Bowers, Donovan Ochs, and Richard Jensen explain that there are two kinds of agitative rhetoric: "Agitation based on vertical deviance occurs when the agitators accept the value system of the establishment but dispute the distribution of benefits or power within that value system. Agitation based on lateral deviance occurs when the agitators dispute the value system itself."¹²⁵ As a so-called Washington insider, Martin appeared to "accept" the value system of which he was a part, yet he certainly saw the flaws in that system. Thus, my interpretation is that Martin largely used agitation based on vertical deviance. Martin frequently argued that "*protest* was the essence of black life in America."¹²⁶ Martin, like his contemporaries, actively and verbally protested against the status quo and rampant inequality in the United States over the course of sixty plus years. An analysis of the "ideas" contained within Martin's rhetoric of protest provides us with a unique perspective—from both inside and outside the White House.

¹²³ Martin remarked "I made the argument that a political approach out of the White House was not as effective as out of [the] DNC. Because you are restrained by the White House, while in the DNC you could do far more." Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #2, 17.

¹²⁴ John W. Bowers, Donovan J. Ochs, and Richard J. Jensen, *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, Second ed. (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1993).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁶ Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, xiv. Emphasis original.

Part of the historical method finds its genesis in Ernest Wrage's "history of ideas."¹²⁷

Wrage was interested in documenting "the history of ideas" by analyzing the rhetor, the purpose of the speech, the assembled audience for the speech, and the situation or exigence which led to the need for a speech.¹²⁸ To see how Martin contributed to the advancement of civil rights through the appointment and election of African Americans to government and judicial jobs, we must analyze and evaluate those texts with attention to historical context. I am interested in tracing the development of Martin's major themes, or through-lines, in his public address. This is particularly difficult because Martin's texts are not widely available: there is simply no widespread common knowledge of his speeches unlike other speakers of his time, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, or even Jesse Jackson.¹²⁹ To be critical of history, you first have to understand it. I aim to do so, in part, through Martin's texts.

The "critical" component of the method, of course, involves a critical appraisal of the texts in question—looking for themes and rhetorical devices Martin uses to make his point. It also involves illuminating any "tensions within the works."¹³⁰ Considering the speeches as a whole, the tension most apparent to me is that Martin simultaneously points out various, serious problems and their sources while maintaining a decidedly optimistic position on their ultimate outcomes.¹³¹ Martin was writing about tensions in society where African Americans were not

¹²⁷ Barnet Baskerville argues that Wrage was the founder of the historical method. See Barnet Baskerville, "Must We All Be 'Rhetorical Critics'?" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63.2 (April 1977): 109.

¹²⁸ Baskerville, "Must We," 111.

¹²⁹ Martin writes and speaks at length on many occasions from as early as 1978 to 1991 about the huge importance of Jesse Jackson in African Americans' participation in government. See Martin's editorials: "The Big Parade: Jesse Has Important Mission," "The Big Parade: Jesse Talks to the Elephant," "Up Front: Jesse Builds New Bridges," "Up Front: Jesse Caught in Political Storm," and "Jesse Shows Way." He also talks extensively about Jesse Jackson in his interviews.

¹³⁰ Leah Ceccarelli, "Polysemy: Multiple Meanings in Rhetorical Criticism," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 84.4 (November 1998): 395.

¹³¹ For example, Martin tells the Colorado State Young Democrats Convention in 1968 that "Despite all this gloom and doom—despite all the angry rhetoric—I feel optimistic. I believe the facts indicate we are moving—however much we might be stumbling—toward a better day." Louis E. Martin, Speech to the DNC Convention of

wholly included or invested in the political power structure at the same time he was honoring the successes of some Blacks who had successfully entered government positions and engaged the system.¹³² Martin sought to capitalize on the fact that, by making their choices plain in their votes cast and in dollars spent, African Americans could themselves force change in the bureaucracy—one source of their oppression. Given his aims, the tenor of the times, and the fact that he was simultaneously a Washington insider and outsider, there is a fair amount of such reality-driven tension in his public address. Martin, did, after all, refer to himself as an “agitator,” lobbying for what he thought would best serve members of African American communities. In the following chapters I analyze the construction of these texts, rhetorical devices used, and unique thematic and stylistic aspects specific to Martin. The critical analysis of his texts is necessarily informed by a study of the context in which the texts did their work.

The historical-critical method requires two types of documents: first, the primary texts written by Martin, and next, secondary texts from other sources. These secondary texts provide context and may be newspaper articles, editorials, presidential speeches, interviews, and so on. Supplemental texts such as these enable the critic to position herself in the era she studies, not the era in which she lives. To understand the era in which Martin is writing, I read the works of the time. Reading such secondary texts for context and to understand custom is critical to secure

the Colorado State Young Democrats, (27 Apr. 1968), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 2.

¹³² Martin’s early texts emphasize the importance of voting—the need to get more African Americans registered to vote. See, for example, his 1970 speech to Harvard upon receiving an honorary doctorate in which he states: “Of the 12 million blacks of voting age in the United States only about 7 million have registered to vote. The difficulties of mounting registration campaigns in the rural South and in the central cities of the metropolitan North are enormous. I believe that voting is a birthright and the responsibility for registering should be shifted from the individual citizen to the state itself.” Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, (11 June 1970), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 10, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977, 6.

a “fair” reading of the texts in question. Reading objects of the time helps to situate the critic in the mindset of the time, which includes attendant issues, language, events, and key people.

Furthermore, reading texts written by others informs my argument about the progression of Martin’s rhetoric over time. To see what the issues were in each era according to other writers, especially journalists, informs my reading of Martin’s work. This is the aim of the historical-critical method—to develop an argument about a particular text or body of texts. Rhetorical criticism that does not make an argument is not useful.¹³³ Martin sought full inclusion of African Americans in the political power structure by means of the vote, the dollar, and ultimate inclusion in government and judicial circles. Reading the speeches and tracing their common themes in conjunction with secondary texts reveals more of Martin’s strategies of opportunity. There are examples of this method to guide my project.

Examples of the historical-critical method may be found in the Brigrance series *The History and Criticism of American Public Address*.¹³⁴ A more recent example is Michigan State University Press’ series on Rhetoric and Public Affairs. In these volumes, the authors critique and make an argument about a rhetor’s works by first addressing the historical context in which the rhetor found him/herself. By establishing context in this fashion, the critic gets a clearer picture of constraints that influenced the rhetor’s choice of words. Since rhetoric is designed for practical purposes, it is imperative to gain as much information about the then-current state of the nation in which Martin was speaking. My focus on Martin’s speeches, in particular, lends itself to the method used by other writers of rhetorical biographies, where they use an orator’s words

¹³³ Sandra J. Berkowitz, “Originality, Conversation, and Reviewing Rhetorical Criticism,” *Communication Studies* 54.3 (Fall 2003): 360.

¹³⁴ See William Norwood Brigrance, ed. *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*. 2 Vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1943, 1960); and Marie Kathryn Hochmuth, ed. *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*. Vol. 3. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955).

to better understand both that speaker and the times in which he or she spoke.¹³⁵ My aim is not only to recover Martin's rhetoric, but to also use his writings to better understand the stages of the civil rights movement in which he wrote, for speeches serve as "indices to social thought."¹³⁶ My project aims to uncover the ideas promoted by Martin which proved so effective in establishing him as the "Godfather of Black Politics," in adding more African Americans to positions in government, and in nurturing the progress of the civil rights movement from the time of the New Deal to the Second Reconstruction and beyond.

1.3.3 *Critical Localism*

Analysis of Martin's texts can be further enhanced with a theoretical application of critical localism. Goldzwig explains that the theory "focuses our attention on the discourse of local communities, practices, and cultures. This includes theorizing about the communicative actions of indigenous and/or marginalized peoples and employing critical practices as sites for understanding both rhetorical invention and reception."¹³⁷ Martin's words resonated with many varied communities in major cities such as Detroit, Chicago, Atlanta, and Washington D.C. This is evidenced by the wide range of audiences he addressed: journalists, educators, lawyers, civil rights activists, African American organizations, students, and his own large circle of friends and associates. To analyze his speeches is a way to uncover and understand how he used agitative rhetoric to bring about change in those particular groups, which were parts of the African American community as a whole, and beyond. For example, Martin spoke before the following groups: Lincoln University; the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC; the South

¹³⁵ For examples of rhetorical biographies in graduate studies, see Vicki J. McCoy, "Alice Hamilton: The Making of a Feminist-Pragmatist Rhetor," MA Thesis, Georgia State University, 2005.; and Marilyn Sue Greenwald, "The Life and Career of Journalist Charlotte Curtis: A Rhetorical Biography," Diss. Ohio State University, 1991.

¹³⁶ Baskerville, "Must We," 113.

¹³⁷ Steven R. Goldzwig, "Multiculturalism, Rhetoric and the Twenty-first Century," *Southern Communication Journal* 63.4 (Summer 1998): 276.

Carolina Black Legislators; the Savannah Business League; Howard University, and at various symposiums, such as “Media and Blacks; A Post-Election Critique.” These addresses, targeted to specifically African American groups, provide information about those “communities, practices, and cultures” as primary source documents. These addresses can explain the age from which they originated—from the perception of the well-connected Louis Martin, which has not yet been explored.

His numerous speeches to various groups also provide information about an evolving culture where Blacks and Whites were increasingly working together in all aspects of community life—although not always successfully. Martin’s texts provide a telling account of the actual difficulties of those relationships over the course of sixty years. Following his writings shows the sustained, determined progression from civil rights to political power of African Americans in many sectors of government.¹³⁸ Because he had the ear of various administration officials in the Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter administrations, Martin was uniquely positioned to introduce qualified African Americans to elected government and appointed judicial positions. This is not to suggest that Martin faced no barriers along the way; rather, it is to suggest that he understood various spheres of influence, including the executive and judicial branches. Furthermore, Martin’s job was to serve as a rhetorical liaison between the various presidents and the African American community as a whole, and, as such, his successful “communicative actions” deserve to be recovered and examined.

¹³⁸ David Ruffin, “Louis Martin, the Godfather,” 5. Ruffin characterizes the shift experienced after the Voting Rights Act passed as going “from civil rights movement to electoral politics.” Martin’s emphasis on voter registration and then on the need to incorporate African Americans into positions in government supports this gradual shift from social justice to politics.

1.4 The Structure of the Dissertation

I argue that Martin's agitative rhetoric served to mobilize certain sections of the African American community to become involved in politics and the political process beyond the act of voting. This core message never changed although the times in which Martin worked certainly did. Martin believed that the vote and the dollar were tools the community could use to make its force felt, and he emphasized this throughout his speeches, regardless of the era in which he was speaking. Ultimately, Martin's goal was to make equality for all Americans a reality. To reach this goal, he felt the government should more closely reflect the people it purports to represent—Whites, Blacks, "Browns,"¹³⁹ "yellow people,"¹⁴⁰ and other groups, particularly Jewish people. This goal was met with varying levels of success across a span of sixty years. So while my chapters are arranged chronologically to illustrate the evolution of Martin's thoughts, there is also attention to the concepts he consistently invokes throughout his writings, and how he articulates those concepts to his various audiences. The following chapters are arranged as follows.

Chapter two begins with a brief evaluation of Martin's work and words as he was beginning his career as a journalist in the 1930s and his later involvement with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1944 campaign. Then, I transition to his work with Kennedy as candidate and president, as well as his work with the DNC. Louis Martin was not part of the official Kennedy administration though he certainly worked extensively with others in the Kennedy White House and Justice Department. Given his training as a journalist for African American publications, the

¹³⁹ See, for example, his editorial called "Browns, Blacks Need Each Other," *Chicago Defender* 02 Dec. 1989: 26.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, Martin's 1982 speech to a conference of the American Society of Newspaper Editors Communication Conference. Louis E. Martin, Speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors Communications Conference, (17 Feb. 1982), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 7.

Kennedy campaign realized he would be a valuable asset in their attempt to communicate with various groups making up that community. Kennedy tapped Martin to begin to understand race relations, and the details of Martin's subsequent involvement provide us with a critical look at Kennedy's limited involvement with the civil rights movement. Wofford writes that Martin "soon became our chief counselor, colleague, and co-conspirator."¹⁴¹ Martin was not merely a fringe figure on the sidelines of the campaign. Instead, he was an integral part of the operation—providing guidance to Kennedy as well as Kennedy's staff. I also include Martin's speeches while he was working with President Lyndon B. Johnson in this chapter. After his time with President Johnson, Martin continued to speak to influential groups like the National Urban League. Thus, speeches for analysis in this first chapter span from the 1960s to just before he joined the Carter administration in 1978.

Chapter three details Martin's rhetoric as he was working for President Carter. Martin frequently gave speeches during his time with the Carter administration. There is a lot of information available on Martin's speeches, comings and goings, and his involvement in administration activities at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library. In Louis Martin's files there, I discovered a number of unpublished speeches which I analyze in this chapter along with contextual information. While Martin worked for Kennedy and Johnson from the beginning of their terms in office, it is important to note that Martin did not start working with Carter until after he had been elected to office and served nearly two years as president. When race relations became an issue for Carter, Martin was the "obvious"¹⁴² choice to facilitate and enhance relations between the White House and the African American community as a whole. When Martin joined Carter in 1978, the president was having some difficulties in connecting with the

¹⁴¹ Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 60.

¹⁴² Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 178.

African American community, and Louis Martin was tapped to do just what he had done for Kennedy.¹⁴³ Martin's assessment of Carter was that he simply had received bad advice from his various advisors—that the genius of Carter would come to be appreciated in later years.

Chapter four contains speeches delivered after Martin's time with Carter until his final speech, delivered to the Ford Foundation in 1990. His work with Howard University led him to address many diverse groups at that institution. This was also a time of high productivity for Martin as a journalist. Again, his journalistic works inform his spoken rhetoric, and I use the journalistic texts as context for my analysis of the speeches. Analysis of these distinct time periods provides me with the context and content for an assessment of Martin's rhetoric.

Chapter five contains my findings and conclusion. It pays special attention to the thematic through-lines in Martin's works, such as Martin's sustained belief that African Americans must get into the power structure of government; African Americans must harness the power of the vote and the dollar; democracy depends on having all the possible players included in the process; and, above all, to remain positive and to celebrate the achievements of great African Americans, to learn from the setbacks, and to keep moving forward. This chapter also suggests paths for future scholarship. Martin was such a productive writer and speaker that many dissertations could be written based upon his texts.

1.5 Conclusion

Most people know the greats of the civil rights movement: Ralph David Abernathy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Thurgood Marshall, Rosa Parks, Al

¹⁴³ Martin explains that the Carter people “basically asked me what did I do with LBJ and JFK, as far as the black constituency was concerned.” The overall goal of the “general program [was] tightening the relationship [of] the shakers in and movers in the black national community with the administration.” Louis E. Martin, *Soapes Interview*, 1, 3.

Sharpton, Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young, and others.¹⁴⁴ Martin himself often spoke of Langston Hughes, A. Philip Randolph, Lester Granger, and Ralph Bunche as he noted African Americans who had made significant contributions to the advancement of the race.¹⁴⁵ Based on his remarkable accomplishments as a journalist for the African American community, his work with four presidents on behalf of Blacks and other underrepresented minorities, and his various efforts in academic and civic contexts, Louis Martin's name deserves to be part of the list of people who made the civil rights movement progress, however smoothly or haltingly, throughout six tumultuous decades.

My project brings Martin out of the background where he worked so hard for the career advancement of others, and puts him in plainly visible sight, like Poinsett's work, but with a focus on his rhetoric.¹⁴⁶ Martin's love of and expertise in language led him to use it as the means to advance the cause he so fervently believed in: that African Americans must be allowed access to and take all opportunities to achieve first-class citizenship. His access to key people both in local and national government and outside of government made him uniquely able to articulate and advance the cause of Blacks by means of rhetorical agitation. The textual evidence he left behind is so-called propaganda at its finest. In the following chapter, I begin to examine those texts from the early era of Martin's rhetoric, when he was transitioning from journalist to political strategist for the Kennedy and Johnson campaign of 1960.

¹⁴⁴ Hanes Walton writes, "few in academic, scholarly, popular, and political circles know of [Louis Martin], and even fewer would see or cast him as a civil rights leader on par with King, Abernathy, and Young." Hanes Walton, Jr., Rev. of *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power*, by Alex Poinsett. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (June 1999): 509.

¹⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1, 22.

¹⁴⁶ Alex Poinsett wrote Martin's biography to "[bring] Louis Martin out of the shadows and onto center stage where he belongs." My project focuses on the "lines" he delivered on stages across the country—his public address. Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, xi.

2 EARLY OPTIMISM

*“I take my stand with the optimists.”*¹

The first era of Martin’s speech writing coincides with his increased official participation in the Democratic National Committee (DNC). He first worked with the DNC as a journalist, representing the African American press as early as Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s 1944 campaign. His subsequent journalistic involvement in documenting the everyday challenges faced by African Americans led him to become involved with John F. Kennedy’s entourage in the 1960 campaign, also initially as a journalist. Once Kennedy won the election, Martin served as an advisor to and rhetorical surrogate for Kennedy.² Martin’s role as spokesperson appears in his early speeches in which he enthusiastically details Kennedy’s plans for the nation. He assumed a similar role when Johnson took office and remarked, at length, on Johnson’s many policies and programs which would improve the lot of African Americans. Later in this era, Martin turned his critical lens on Republican activities in Washington. Martin’s speeches are rich repositories of information about the turbulent times in which he wrote.

The texts of thirteen complete speeches are available from the early 1960s until Martin joins President Carter’s administration late in 1978, which marks the beginning of what I call the second era of his speeches (detailed in the next chapter). In Martin’s early addresses, we can see how his career as a journalist facilitated not only his fact-finding and communication skills in the political arena, but also brought him into contact with numerous key figures in African American

¹ Louis E. Martin, “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter,” North Carolina College, Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers and the Annual Meeting of Sigma Rho Sigma Honorary Society, Durham, NC, (26 Apr. 1963), In Roy L. Hill *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope*, ([S.I.: s.n.] Buffalo: University Press, 1976) 133. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation.”

² Martin’s move to the White House was detailed in “Hint Martin Set For White House,” *Atlanta Daily World* 17 Apr. 1962: 1.

communities around the country. These individuals, as evidenced by Martin's calling them to action, were the prime players in advancing civil rights in this tumultuous time. Martin argued that dedicated and principled people could begin to make changes to promote and attain first-class citizenship for African Americans all across the country.

In this chapter I argue that Martin forms the foundation of his plan for advancement for minorities, specifically African Americans, in these early addresses. The foundation he establishes in these speeches persists throughout the subsequent two eras of his rhetoric. He is extremely attentive to the audiences at hand and extols their local achievements, thus showing the importance of Blacks' inclusion in the political process originating at the local level. Martin details and justifies his proposals for action by focusing on a few key concepts, including, most notably, the importance of voting, which he calls a "birthright."³ While Martin does speak to issues of racism with the cold, factual tone of a pragmatic journalist, his speeches in this early era also exude infectious optimism for a future of genuine equality and first-class citizenship for all Americans, regardless of color.

In what follows, I provide evidence for my argument and attendant claims in roughly chronological order, citing relevant passages in the thirteen complete speeches of this early era. Taken together, these speeches provide a clear starting point for the evaluation of Martin's corpus of rhetoric which will then inform an analysis of the two later eras of his orations: during his time with the Carter administration (Chapter 3) and after his Carter appointment until his last speech delivered in 1990 (Chapter 4). This chapter proceeds as follows: first I provide some background information about Martin's formative years and activities as a journalist and editor turned political advisor in the Democratic party leading up to his involvement with the Kennedy

³ Louis E. Martin, "Winds of Change," Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, (11 June 1970), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 10, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977, 6. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, "Winds of Change."

campaign and administration. Then, I detail the context of the first era in which Martin gave his speeches. This section focuses specifically on Martin's time working with the DNC—an organization which provided a launching pad for his increasingly political endeavors.

Then, I take a look at the various audiences Martin addressed in each of these speeches—ranging from college students, to community activists, to formal political delegations. The section on audience facilitates a discussion of critical localism—establishing the identity of the audiences and where they were based shows how potentially broad Martin's oratorical reach and influence were among various communities of color.

With the context and audience of these speeches in mind, I turn to the major themes and proposals Martin used during this era which form the foundation for his overall philosophy on how consistent agitation, involvement, and action were critical to beginning to secure the rights of citizenship for Blacks in America. These key concepts include his insistence on African Americans' involvement in the political process, his attempt to redefine African American identity, his insistence on the purposeful use of the vote and the dollar, and his persistence in getting Blacks into positions of power both in government and the judiciary. Martin's idiolect⁴ is particularly apparent in his treatment of these themes as he crafts a pragmatic argument⁵ for his prescription for change. To make his argument, Martin looks carefully and critically at the historical context of the past and present—assessing both opportunities and constraints and how

⁴ Jeanne Fahnestock writes that an idiolect is a "personal pattern of usage." Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical Style: The Uses of Language in Persuasion* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011) 83. Hereafter cited as Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical Style*.

⁵ Pragmatic argument was appropriate for Martin to use because it is generally "used to support a policy claim." Martin consistently supported policies like voting, spending wisely, and electing Blacks to government positions. See James Jasinski, "Pragmatic Argument," in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 41. For more on pragmatic argument, see: Ch. Perelman, "Pragmatic Argument," *Philosophy* 34.128 (Jan. 1959): 18-27. See also Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California, 1945) 276, 277. For a case study of pragmatic argument, see Denise M. Bostdorff and Steven R. Goldzwig, "Idealism and Pragmatism in American Foreign Policy Rhetoric: The Case Of John F. Kennedy and Vietnam," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24.3 (Summer 1994): 515-530.

they have changed over time, since, as he explains, “Change is inevitable.”⁶ He often calls upon historical anecdotes from both his own history and the past of revered civil rights predecessors to show progress in the movement. From his experiences in his early formative years, Martin was able to construct a foundation for his strategy to achieve first-class citizenship for all Americans of color. I close with a brief assessment of Martin’s take on the potential for progress in civil rights under Republican presidents Nixon and Ford, and a prelude to Martin’s work with Carter.

2.1 From Student to Journalist to Orator

Before Martin was an orator, he was a student and a journalist. His journalistic writings from the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s⁷ detail his major concern: the “second-class citizenship”⁸ of African Americans in the United States and remedies for racial problems. Whereas Whites were regularly able to conduct their personal business in any arena free of hindrances in the land of the free, African Americans were frequently constrained in their actions based solely on the color of their skin. Using language that implicitly compared American Jim Crow to South African apartheid, Martin frequently referred to this kind of obstacle as the “color bar,” or the “color line,”⁹ and explained how this regularly precluded Blacks’ participation in a number of different public contexts.

⁶ Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 7.

⁷ See Appendix B for a complete list of Martin’s articles and editorials ranging from the 1930s to the 1990s.

⁸ Martin uses this disparaging term, “second-class citizenship,” in many of his early speeches as a point of contrast. See, for example, Louis E. Martin, “The Emancipation Proclamation,” 127-133. See also Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Urban League Midwestern Region, (24 July 1977), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 10, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977, 1-8. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest.

⁹ Martin talks about the “color line” a lot in these early speeches as well as in his journalistic accounts. Like the concept of racial inferiority, Martin felt that the color line could and should be breached. See his speech to the Colorado State Young Democrats as well as his speech to Harvard. Martin often quotes W. E. B. Du Bois, so he may have gotten the term from Du Bois work, *The Souls of Black Folk*. See W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: The Modern Library, 2003) xli.

Martin was intimately familiar with the problems faced by African Americans due to his own childhood in segregated Savannah, Georgia (even though his father was a medical doctor and the family was relatively well-to-do). To be a so-called second-class citizen meant that one was not entitled to the full complement of rights afforded by America: freedom, liberty, the pursuit of happiness and other related values. According to Martin, restriction based on skin color extended into all sections of an African American individual's life including his or her employment possibilities, economic station, political affiliation, educational opportunities, and beyond. Based solely on race and the stereotypes attached thereto, Martin the journalist observed, documented, and reported on both subtle and blatant injustices suffered by Blacks in America. Martin was particularly concerned with issues like housing, job discrimination, and access to public facilities in major urban centers such as Detroit and Chicago, where he spent his early years as a writer and editor.¹⁰ Martin's editorials in the *Michigan Chronicle* and the *Chicago Defender* addressed the pressing issues of the time with a fervor and forthrightness that earned Martin the title "the fighting editor."¹¹ His pointed commentary in editorial pages was his weapon of choice in the fight to secure civil rights.¹² His work with labor unions,¹³ in particular,

¹⁰ See, for example, Martin's articles: "The Big Stick in Detroit," (1937); "The Ford Contract: An Opportunity," (1941); "The Truth About Sojourner Truth," (1942); "Negro Housing in Detroit," (1943 or 1944); and "Detroit—Still Dynamite (1944). For information on Martin's role in the housing debate in particular, see Dominic J. Capecci, *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit: The Sojourner Truth Housing Controversy of 1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984).

¹¹ See the articles by Frances Culver et al. For example, Martin's plea on behalf of African American military personnel was covered in "Editor Asks Fair Play in Armed Forces," *Atlanta Daily World* 16 Sep. 1939: 1. For other accounts of Martin's involvement in pressing issues in African American communities, see "Fight Over Detroit Project Continues," *Atlanta Daily World* 10 Feb. 1942: 1.

¹² Martin says in an interview that he viewed the newspaper as an "instrument" to begin to change race relations: "I was more interested in accomplishing something in race relations than really in the newspapers. The newspaper, to me, was an instrument to do that." Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 3, Howard University, 02 May 1985, 19. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3. For more on Martin's use of the newspaper to facilitate his involvement with local communities, see the following: Roi Ottley, "Louis Martin Plays Role in Civic Affairs," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 01 June 1957: 11.; "The Servant of the Community for 60 Years: Three Men Were the Bedrock of Detroit's Black Press," *Michigan Chronicle* 24 Sep. 1997: 1A.

¹³ See Larry Aubry, "Journalist Louis Martin: Multifaceted Legacy," *Sentinel*, 04 June 1997: A7, for an interesting account of Martin's time with and impact upon the labor unions in Detroit. For more on Martin's work

fostered and fine-tuned his interest in the lives of workers hindered by color lines. The time Martin spent as a journalist helped him understand the harsh conditions endured by African Americans in various areas of the country. He explained: “As a veteran newspaperman, I think I am as aware of all the evils that beset our people as anyone in the nation. Racism is deep and pervasive and it is not going to vanish overnight.”¹⁴ Martin saw, experienced, and documented systemic racism from a young age. Because such attitudes were firmly ingrained over centuries and generations of American life, Martin understood that change would not come quickly. To advocate or “agitate” on behalf of Blacks, Martin had to know the obstacles they faced. He learned this through his journalistic endeavors as well as his own personal experiences growing up in a segregated Southern city and his subsequent move to more progressive Northern cities.

Martin’s career in the newspaper business facilitated his speeches in many ways. First, he knew a lot about current events in the various cities his newspapers served as well as other key cities in the United States and abroad.¹⁵ This gave him access to plenty of evidence regarding the problems African Americans were facing in different parts of the country. Furthermore, this information provided him with ample examples and statistics to use in his promotion of a “politics of inclusion”¹⁶ for African Americans in all aspects of American life, increasingly and

with labor unions see August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* and Richard W. Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945*.

¹⁴ Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 9.

¹⁵ Before Martin started working on the Kennedy campaign, he was stationed in Lagos, Nigeria as an advisor to a new press outfit. While he was there he took the opportunity to travel to many other places in Europe. His column, “Dope and Data,” which was published in the U.S., provides many exciting details of his travels abroad. See his column dated 11 April 1959 where he begins his coverage as an international journalist with his arrival in London. For information about Martin’s assignment in Nigeria, see “Honor Newspaper Executive Who Takes Post in Africa,” *Atlanta Daily World* 02 Apr. 1959: 6.

¹⁶ Louis E. Martin, “Sensible Politics,” *Chicago Defender* 15 Apr. 1989: 24. See also, “Louis Martin Honored by Democrats in D.C.,” *Jet* 19 Oct. 1992: 34. Alex Poinsett also talks about his strategy of including as many people as possible. See Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1997) 177. Hereafter cited as Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*. Martin

particularly in politics and the judicial system. Also, he was knowledgeable about the so-called “movers and shakers” in those communities. Martin systematically spoke to and called upon these opinion leaders in his editorials (and later, his speeches) to act. He consistently and enthusiastically appealed to their real ability to affect change in their local spheres of influence. By speaking directly to the opinion leaders of African American communities, organizations, fraternities, sororities, and educational institutions and informing them about the challenges, opportunities, and successes experienced by the African American community as a whole, he was able to communicate through those people to a larger audience. For example, Martin spoke to many DNC-related groups. The DNC members who heard Martin’s address could then, ideally, go back in to their respective communities to share information and strategies. Martin wanted the input and ears of as many people as possible because he believed Blacks’ strength in numbers could be increased by the free flow of information among them. His strategy of inclusion meant that, from community leaders to the common citizens, everyone was invited to participate in the democratic process to produce the best possible results for all of America’s people.

Sharing accurate information and resources was critical—particularly in his role as a surrogate speaker for Kennedy. As a surrogate for the president, Martin was vested with authority and able to explain to audiences the resources available to them. One of his purposes was to “sell” and to publicize¹⁷ the administration’s activities which may not have been known

believed that “The politics of inclusion is more likely to bring victory than a policy of divide and conquer.” Louis E. Martin, “Sensible Politics,” *Chicago Defender* 15 Apr. 1989: 24.

¹⁷ Martin said that, early on in Kennedy’s presidency, there were civil rights improvements, explaining, “changes are taking place which have not been greatly publicized but which I believe are most significant.” Louis Martin, “Along the New Frontier,” Lincoln University, Jefferson City, MO, (12 Apr. 1961), in Library of Congress,

by America at large, particularly readers of the black press. The larger audience he addressed in this fashion, whom he referred to as the “rank and file,” were the individuals who could then begin, en masse, to enact his proposals and begin to effect change in their communities by applying their sheer strength in numbers—particularly in the voting booth. Martin’s tactic was to get as many people included in these discussions as possible, characteristic of his politics of inclusion. His strategy even included sympathetic, liberal Whites.¹⁸ Appealing to opinion leaders, particularly given Martin’s later status in presidential circles (namely Kennedy and Johnson in this period), was designed to make those individuals believe that their concerns were being addressed at a very high level,¹⁹ thus securing their involvement and cooperation. Identifying key people was part of Martin’s strategy of organization and communication. Including those people who were already hands-on in their communities and using them to reach other individuals would build a coalition for change in racial relations and civil rights. Martin opened the lines of communication between government and the people it purports to represent to address the complicated issue of civil rights in America. He managed this cooperation both in person and in writing. He was particularly adept at communicating his ideas and proposals

Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Along the New Frontier.”

¹⁸ Martin wrote in an editorial: “At the risk of being premature, I believe that our leadership across the nation, political, religious, fraternal and civic, should begin immediately to map out programs to mobilize grass root sentiment in support of civil rights legislation. The white liberals in America should be integrated into this mobilization and everybody but the Communists should be called upon to help bring pressure on the Congress.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 24 Jan. 1959, national ed.: 10.

¹⁹ In his interview for the Lyndon Baines Johnson oral history project, Martin explains that it was important to get the community leaders face-to-face with important public officials. Such meetings made those African American leaders feel like their concerns were important. Martin’s role was to get the people assembled and to get them talking to each other. He said: “But what I’m trying to say is that we exposed leadership from all over black America personally to these people. And all I did was set it up, you know what I mean? And the way I would do it, I’d start out sort of as master of ceremonies, welcoming them and all of this.” Louis E. Martin, “Interview II,” Interview by Michael L. Gillette, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 12 June 1986, 46.

through his editorials and featured columns in the black press. While Martin went on to be deeply involved in politics, he always contended that he was, first and foremost, a journalist.²⁰

While Martin gained name recognition due to his association with prominent politicians and community leaders in the early era, he was certainly a force in his own right as well, earning numerous awards over the years for his work.²¹ Because Martin served as president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association²² and was a member of various press clubs, members of political campaigns sought him out for coverage of candidates in the African American press. Alex Poinsett explains that Martin extensively covered Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the *Michigan Chronicle*—especially FDR’s New Deal.²³ While the actions of the president and his cabinet were important, Martin also devoted his columns to the policies and plans of local and state officials as well—sparing no one from his pointed commentary. Martin’s editorials are similarly full of evaluations of other activities relevant to political players’ impacts upon African American communities around the country. Martin viewed his association with the newspaper as a tool to expose the problems of race relations. He used his articles as a means of fighting injustices he saw in plentiful supply. In an interview, Martin explained his early work as a journalist: “But I enjoyed fighting and, to tell you the truth, I guess in another era I would have been a civil rights leader, or tried to be one, rather than being a newspaper man. My primary

²⁰ Martin states in an interview that though he was involved with the DNC in 1944, he did not fancy himself a political agent: “I never lost my newspaper identity....” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 4, Howard University, 18 July 1985, 18. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #4.

²¹ There is even an award named for Martin, the Louis E. Martin Great American Award, which has been given to people including President Bill Clinton and Atlanta Mayor Kasim Reed.

²² This group was founded in 1940 and originally called the National Negro Newspaper Publishers’ Association. See Martin’s first interview with Ed Edwin for more information. Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 1, Howard University, 17 Apr. 1981, 41. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1. For more about the NNPA, see “Publishers Meet in Detroit’s Gotham Hotel January 18-19,” *Atlanta Daily World* 16 Jan. 1952: 1.; “Plans Completed for Publishers Meeting,” *Atlanta Daily World* 04 June 1952: 1.

²³ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 18.

objective was changing the society.”²⁴ To start making changes he had to document the conditions faced by minorities, specifically Blacks, in cities across America. The key was to begin with a local focus and then expand that focus to the national level. A critical group in focusing on the local precincts, and what led him eventually to work with presidents, was his involvement in press relations for the DNC.

2.2 Democratic National Committee as Context and Launching Pad

While Martin worked with the DNC in 1944 to promote FDR’s presidential campaign, it was not until 1961 that he joined the DNC in an official capacity. In 1961, Martin signed on with the DNC as Deputy Chairman to work as a representative for the African American press, which was similar to the role he played in the 1944 campaign.²⁵ Compared to the minimal civil rights progress of earlier decades, Martin saw the 1960s as a period of change²⁶ in the African American community. Furthermore, he saw the DNC as an essential instrument with which additional changes, particularly at the local level, could begin to take shape. While there were laws and trial decisions supporting Blacks’ right to vote, work, and integrate with the white community in the early 1960s,²⁷ there was still a lot of resistance—particularly in the South, which Martin often highlighted and disparagingly referred to as the “Old Confederacy”²⁸ plagued by the beliefs of “primitive whites.”²⁹ Martin used the connections afforded by the DNC to reach out to those communities still hampered by racial tensions. Despite the ongoing civil rights

²⁴ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3, 19.

²⁵ See Martin’s “Biographical Sketch” in the Library of Congress files: Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 2, Folder 5, Subject File, Biographical File CA 1976-1990.

²⁶ In these early speeches, Martin often refers to the “winds of change” bringing about increased opportunity for first-class citizenship for Blacks in America. Throughout his speeches, Martin uses many such metaphors.

²⁷ The most obvious examples are *Brown v. Board of Education* decided in 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

²⁸ See, for example, his speeches to the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC and the DNC convention of the Colorado State Young Democrats.

²⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 5.

problems, Martin remained optimistic about the chances for inclusion of African Americans in society as a whole and, more importantly, local, state, and federal governments. To facilitate this inclusion on the critical local level, Martin turned to the DNC and the officials therein who had direct access to precinct leaders and the rank and file voters.

His association with the DNC as Deputy Chairman led Martin to deliver speeches to many different audiences—composed of politicians, students, journalists, and opinion leaders from public and private groups alike. Through the DNC, there was more opportunity to reach out to the very people he called upon to exert their strength in numbers. Martin wanted “all the horses in the race,”³⁰ particularly those who had been excluded from the political process in the past. This metaphor is significant in that it suggests that democracy is a race of sorts—a contest in which the strongest and most adept can “win.”³¹ To Martin, everybody was worthy of participation. In an interview about his early work with the DNC, Martin remarked: “We were after a total involvement of all the types and all Negro leadership in this great struggle to do something about this real problem of Negroes in America.”³² Inclusion, action, and agitation were required from each individual to devise policies for the betterment of the whole collection of minority Americans. The constant exchange of information and tactics between Martin and these various groups associated with the DNC was essential to begin to challenge and change the status quo.

Martin’s early speeches were, naturally, heavily influenced by partisan politics due to his work with the DNC as well as the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The later

³⁰ Poinsett writes that Martin’s frequent mantra was to get “all the horses on the track,” meaning get everybody involved. Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 83.

³¹ Fahnstock writes that metaphor “invokes or epitomizes an analogy; that is its distinctive argumentative work.” In this case, democracy is the “race” and the disenfranchised African Americans and other minorities are the “horses.” Jeanne Fahnstock, *Rhetorical Style*, 105.

³² Louis E. Martin, “Second Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin,” Interview by Ronald J. Grele, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program, 07 Apr. 1966, 5. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Grele Interview.

speeches during this time period also reveal his continuing loyalty to the Democratic Party as he provides critical commentary about the actions of Republican Presidents Nixon and Ford as well as prominent Dixiecrats in the South. Martin was, from the get-go, a staunch Democrat, stating: “You know I am a partisan.”³³ Martin did not attempt to finesse or disguise his political bent. He was, in all cases, definite about his political affiliation with the Democratic Party, which Martin believed “offers the most promising political route to the advancement of Negroes.”³⁴ Martin was certain about the commitment and capability of the Democrats to form a more inclusive and equitable America, and he voiced this belief in forums ranging from his public addresses to his editorials. His profound influence on and steadfast affiliation with the Democratic Party led Jacqueline Trescott to describe him as a “Democratic warrior.”³⁵ A write-up about him in *Jet* magazine called him “the Democrat of Democrats.”³⁶ His speeches reflect the confidence he had in the Democratic Party to truly serve and benefit the African American community as a whole—a position he adopted decades earlier given his affinity for the programs of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Martin said, on numerous occasions, that “the time has come to turn Lincoln’s picture to the wall.”³⁷ He was calling on Blacks, in particular, to renounce the

³³ Martin remarked to his St. Louis audience in 1961 that he was “convinced that the time will soon come when neither racial bigots nor religious bigots will be able to poison American citizens against worthy candidates and important issues. This will come, I believe, under Democratic leadership.” He goes on to remark: “You know I am a partisan and I have never been more proud of being a Democrat than I am today.” Louis E. Martin, Speech in St. Louis, St. Louis, MO, (30 Sep. 1961), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, St. Louis. Eddie N. Williams asserted that Martin (and Frank Reeves) wore their Democratic affiliation “on their sleeves.” See Brian DeBose, “Political Pioneer Steps Down,” *Washington Times* 06 Sep. 2004: A04.

³⁴ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the DNC Convention of the Colorado State Young Democrats, (27 Apr. 1968), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 2. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado.

³⁵ See Jacqueline Trescott, “Legends of Louie; Honoring Louis Martin with Levity and Legends,” *Washington Post*, 04 Mar. 1981, B1.

³⁶ See “*Jet* Profile: Louis Martin: The Democrat of Democrats,” *Jet* 03 Sep. 1964: 21. The writer of this profile stated: “Martin is the brains, voice and ears for the Democratic power structure’s approach in race relations.”

³⁷ The assertion that African Americans were no longer best served by the (Republican) party of Lincoln appears in many of Martin’s speeches. He also references this notion in his many editorials and interviews. In a speech he delivered in 1984 regarding the 1980 election, Martin explains that the phrase “turn Lincoln’s picture to the wall” was the slogan during Roosevelt’s 1936 campaign.

Republican party, the party of Lincoln the emancipator, in favor of a party that would work for minorities in the then-current context. The Democratic Party was the one with the drive and potential to actually help minorities, particularly Blacks, across the nation. The Democratic platform of 1960 directly addressed civil rights issues as a moral dilemma.³⁸ Identifying the issues, particularly in the context of a national platform, was an initial step in beginning to address their urgency on the local level.

Martin first became involved with the Kennedy campaign of 1960 through the DNC. His goal was to provide coverage of the Kennedy campaign in the African American press to get as many Blacks as possible to vote for Kennedy, while also making sure that Lyndon B. Johnson got fair coverage despite his being from the South.³⁹ Martin explained his role as writing “propaganda to get Negro votes for the Democratic ticket.”⁴⁰ Martin was, in essence, “selling”⁴¹ the candidate by means of distributing so-called propaganda rich with truths, all with the ultimate goal of encouraging African American voters to cast their ballots for Kennedy. As Martin worked with the DNC and the Kennedy campaign to promote the candidate’s policies, he was realistic in his assessment of the goals they could hope to reach. While candidate Kennedy may have verbally supported the advancement of African Americans and civil rights in general,⁴²

³⁸ Martin addresses the Democratic platform and how the inclusion of the civil rights “plank” would be “a challenge to the Republicans.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 23 July 1960, national ed.: 10.

³⁹ Martin came on-board “after the convention,” once Kennedy’s nomination had been secured. He was concerned about the press’ coverage of Johnson, saying he did not want Johnson “lynched” in the press simply because he was from the South. See Martin’s first interview for the LBJ Oral History Project for more information about the process. Louis E. Martin, “Interview I,” Interview by David M. McComb, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 14 May 1969, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I.

⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 4.

⁴¹ In an interview, Martin explains his role as follows: “...all the time I’m a salesman. I’m selling what the administration’s doing, and trying to tell them also how to take advantage of the programs. You see, one of the problems he had in those years, we had programs but nobody linked the programs up with these people because they didn’t know how. [...] This is where I came in.” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 5, Howard University, 16 Oct. 1985, 34. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5.

⁴² Martin says in an interview that Kennedy “had made a number of good statements [on civil rights] and the statements were in that respect far more liberal than those Nixon was making.” Louis E. Martin, “Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin,” Grele Interview, 11. Most of Martin’s commentary during the Kennedy

President Kennedy's actions, or lack thereof, revealed his inability to make institutional changes at the time given the political climate.

Robert C. Smith states that Kennedy, "while generally sympathetic to the aspirations of blacks, was not passionately committed to the cause and judged that even if he proposed legislation it would not pass."⁴³ Given the president's other priorities, he spent little time or effort trying to promote civil rights, a position that was justified by the recalcitrance of Congress. This was all the more reason, to Martin's way of thinking, to focus on activities at the local level through the DNC. Kennedy's sympathy to the plight of minorities is a reflection of the increasingly urgent and moral character of the civil rights movement at that time. Kennedy's verbal acknowledgement of the problem was a small sign of progress. However, the executive branch is but one branch of government, and Kennedy doubted his ability to successfully work with Congress on the issue.⁴⁴ Martin realized this constraint early on in his work with the Kennedys, explaining:

I was in the soup because we didn't do a damn thing on Civil Rights. It all came later. [...] You got to understand the approach of the thing. There was the justice of the issue, the morality involved, equity, fairplay [sic] and all those things. But, more important to the politicians, was whether

administration was communicating what Kennedy had *said* since he had not *done* anything particularly noteworthy for African Americans at that time. Martin continues "I remember feeling [Kennedy] did not have a great deal to build a campaign on because his record, while acceptable, was not notable in civil rights it seemed to me at the time." Louis E. Martin, Grele Interview, 6.

⁴³ Robert C. Smith, *We Have No Leaders: African Americans in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996) 16.

⁴⁴ Martin commented on this fact in an editorial. He wrote: "John F. Kennedy's election victory in 1960 was so narrow, some argued he could not get enough votes in Congress to pass a Mother's Day resolution. Blacks had voted in large numbers for Kennedy, but there was not support for Civil Rights legislation. So, in and out of the administration, the president was urged to make high-level appointments of African Americans." Louis E. Martin, "Thurgood Says Farewell Court," *Chicago Defender* 06 July 1991: 14.

you could sell it or not. The politicians always count votes. [...] My role was simply agitation all the time in the interest of political power. Making sure that we were doing the best we could.⁴⁵

Martin echoed the standard sentiment of the time: civil rights were a moral imperative⁴⁶ and a salient aspect of the 1960 campaign. As a Democratic insider, Martin's voice was among those raised in the service of attempting to secure equitable rights for Americans of color. While Kennedy provided rhetoric consistent with a concern about civil rights, actual accomplishments were hard to come by on the national level. Thus, Martin's focus was on the role of the DNC in installing leaders on the local level who had more leverage and authority to make changes. It was Martin's increasingly important role in the DNC that led him to address groups of individuals sympathetic to his cause who could begin to work together in various locales to attempt to advance and secure civil rights for all minority Americans.

2.3 Audience Analysis: Critical Communication with the Locals

From 1961 to August of 1978, Martin spoke to a number of different groups. Because Martin's speeches were designed to agitate for change and inclusion in the democratic process for African American communities, it is necessary to establish the identity of the sympathetic groups to whom he spoke. In theory, those who were in attendance for his speeches could and would then communicate whatever suggestions and information therein had relevance to them, to their own neighbors, co-workers, communities, and organizations in an ever-expanding network. In this way, Martin's optimistic yet realistic message had the potential to spread beyond the

⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1, 60-62.

⁴⁶ For more on the moral aspect of civil rights in the 1960 campaign, see the following: "The Civil Rights Planks," *New York Times* 28 Jul. 1960, 26.; Leo Egan, "Kennedy Assures Liberals He Seeks No Help in South," *New York Times* 24 June 1960, 1.; Dorothy Gilliam, "Symbolism," *Washington Post* 21 Nov. 1983: D1.; Charles Grutzner, "Kennedy Pledges Wide Rights Plan," *New York Times* 13 Oct. 1960: 23.; Colleen J. Shogan, *The Moral Rhetoric of American Presidents*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007: 116-127. See also, Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 200.

immediate contexts in which he spoke—though the actual scope, impact, and effect of his words are nearly impossible to measure now. Martin’s speeches in this and the other two eras were characterized by a decidedly pragmatic argumentation style—focusing on what could be accomplished if his policies were successfully enacted and Blacks took full advantage of the opportunities available to them. Some audiences were assembled at universities, some were associated with the DNC, and some were composed of other notable organizations, like the National Urban League, which Martin called “a living force.”⁴⁷ Looking at the make-up of the audiences, we can see how Martin’s speeches may have permeated different sections of the overall national African American community via the opinion leaders in those audiences.

Many of Martin’s early speeches were delivered to groups assembled at events hosted by historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). This is significant because Martin repeatedly insists during this period that smart African American youth are, increasingly, key players in the ongoing struggle for real racial equality. This was consistent, too, with the newness and change message so characteristic of the incoming Kennedy administration.⁴⁸ Martin called on existing leaders to work with young Blacks to combat their cynicism and despair. One of Martin’s tasks was to communicate to these young people what they could do to increase their agency in the 1960s political arena. Martin delivered his first documented speech to Lincoln University after President Kennedy was elected. Lincoln University was an HBCU and prime locus for Martin to appeal to the youth with his message of optimism, involvement, and hard work. Kennedy had recently signed Executive Order 10924 establishing the Peace Corps.

⁴⁷ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 02 Dec. 1991, in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 13, Folder 7, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (3 of 3), 17.

⁴⁸ For example, in his inaugural address, President Kennedy made clear that “...the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans...” The old guard was being replaced by new players to implement Kennedy’s policies. John F. Kennedy, “Inaugural Address,” January 20, 1961. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8032>, 07 Jan. 2013.

Martin's going in to detail about Peace Corps plans before a college audience reinforced his emphasis on the youth of the movement as well as the "many Americans who want to help build a better world."⁴⁹ While his primary concern was conditions in the United States, Martin's vision extended to other areas of the globe—particularly Africa given his time spent working there just before he joined the DNC to work on the Kennedy campaign. This was indicative of Martin's pragmatism. That is, in whatever context he found himself, Martin sought out and seized opportunities. The Peace Corps, for example, could provide opportunities in education and training both to young Blacks who served and to the international communities who benefitted from their service. Martin readily promoted the promise of Kennedy's social programs, such as the Peace Corps, to his aspiring audiences.

Martin's brand of critical localism in this early era of his speeches had both a domestic and an international component. While Martin's great concern was for African Americans in the United States, his journalistic assignment in Africa just prior to his joining the Kennedy campaign contributed greatly to his conception of a world community. In his speech to Lincoln University, Martin described Kennedy's Peace Corps as a means by which the international community and America could benefit and improve the living conditions of many people. The breadth of his local focus was clear in a quote from Sargent Shriver, the head of the Peace Corps, who said that the Corps was "a contribution to the world community."⁵⁰ Thus, while Martin's personal and main focus was on racial justice in America, he did extend that interest into the international arena and provided a means by which it could be realized—precisely the sort of message a Kennedy surrogate would promote.

⁴⁹ Louis E. Martin, "Along the New Frontier," 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

Martin told his assembled audience: “We can and must help them [Africans] for our own sake if for no other reason.”⁵¹ Martin made this type of argument frequently: that to help those most in need in turn benefits everybody. In this speech to Lincoln University, Martin was careful to pair his focus on world peace with the attendant benefits Peace Corps volunteers could expect to gain, which was also what he meant by helping “for our own sake.” The audience he was addressing was a college audience—presumably composed of people who were well-positioned to participate in the Peace Corps. Not only would they gain experience in an international setting, they would also gain valuable training. The main goal was to get people working together which would improve communication between and understanding of each other: “The Peace Corps differs from all of our other technical assistance programs in that Peace Corps volunteers will seek to share a common experience with the peoples of other countries, living and working with them in an intimate relationship in what might be called a people to people program.”⁵² Martin wanted people to work together to better understand each other and find common ground. Actively working with others instead of merely advising them⁵³ would provide the participants of the Peace Corps with the skills they could use in other contexts, specifically American, when they returned home. This strategy of working with individuals to address issues and concerns, while in the international context in the speech to Lincoln University, pointed to Martin’s larger emphasis on the need for active involvement by all people in solving societies’ race-related problems. While he was promoting activities of the Peace Corps, the sentiment was equally applicable to cities and programs around the nation. His emphasis was on regular people, well-known and unknown, young and old, who would work together to achieve results.

⁵¹ Ibid., 5.

⁵² Ibid., 3.

⁵³ Ibid.

Martin's focus on the youth of the movement, newness, and change characteristic of the Kennedy era was similarly evident in his speech to another HBCU in 1963: North Carolina College.⁵⁴ He again focused on local issues relevant to the assembled crowd. For example, Martin talked about the role of governors who were urging fair employment practices under specific codes in this speech to North Carolina College. He explained that "some of our state governors have begun to use their executive authority to crack down on racism."⁵⁵ Governors' ability and willingness to punish racists for their crimes increased—racial incidents were no longer so readily passed off as status quo or ignored. Change was gradually taking place at the federal level as well as at the state and local levels. The argument for governors' use of "executive authority" closely mirrored Martin's argument for supporting the Kennedy administration: that Kennedy's personal interest in civil rights was fueled by an executive authority African Americans could expect to trickle down. Those people who answered to the governors and president were assumed to share the same values, and were tasked with implementing policies conceived in accordance with those values.

Martin cited figures: "some 30 state legislators have enacted fair employment, housing and other civil rights statutes...."⁵⁶ Martin regularly gave numerical evidence to support his claims and show how progress could be measured. Martin used numbers to easily communicate success: charting the progression from only a handful of African Americans in government to hundreds to a thousand and more affirmed momentum. Action was taking place at the state level, and those in attendance were made aware of it—even on those typically celebratory occasions

⁵⁴ This speech is the only one Martin delivered which has been published. See Roy L. Hill, ed. *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope* ([S.I.: s.n.] Buffalo: University Press, 1976) 127-133.

⁵⁵ Louis E. Martin, "Emancipation Proclamation," 131-132.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

when Martin's choice of words could potentially result in discomfort for the audience, as with his Harvard address.

In 1970, Martin addressed a meeting of Harvard alumni⁵⁷ upon being awarded an honorary degree.⁵⁸ Martin used this speech as an opportunity to reach those prestigious alumni to impress upon them the urgency of directly addressing civil rights problems in America and their obligation, as "influentials,"⁵⁹ to act. This speech provides additional evidence of his insistence on the importance of Blacks' involvement in all levels of government from small towns to the nation as a whole. He explained, "Over the last decade it has been a thrilling experience for me to witness the rise of a new interest among blacks and other minorities in national, state and local politics."⁶⁰ Martin believed in the importance of minorities' inclusion in the political process from the beginning, and his decades-long consistent attention to Blacks' increasingly active participation in the process fueled his optimism. He saw real change and documented it so that others could benefit from the knowledge. Martin cited statistics and figures which he compiled to support this claim. Martin provided figures as tangible evidence; he did not merely *say* that conditions were improving. Instead, he had hard data to back up that contention. The changing climate in the South was particularly encouraging to Martin, where he continued to add to the count of African American officials, which at that time numbered "over 1,200 blacks in elective posts."⁶¹ In a relatively short period, African Americans were becoming more present in the halls of government where they could begin to exercise their political strength in numbers. However,

⁵⁷ See Nina McCain, "Residents Disrupt Harvard's 319th Commencement," *Boston Globe* 12 June 1970: 1, 16, where she explains that Martin gave his speech in the afternoon to the Associated Harvard Alumni, not to the graduating class.

⁵⁸ Martin received a "doctor of humane letters" from Howard University in 1979. See "College Commencement Schedules," *Washington Post* 10 May 1979, final ed.: DC 6.

⁵⁹ Martin explains in an interview that political candidates used surrogates like himself to distribute information to "all the so-called 'influentials' that we could find." Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3, 22.

⁶⁰ Louis E. Martin, "Winds of Change," 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

even with the increase in minority representatives, Martin continued to lament the related lack of voting in some areas, namely “the rural South and in the central cities of the metropolitan North”⁶² where registration efforts were difficult to enact. Increased minority voting was a critical component of his strategy. Martin looked at the number of unregistered Blacks and saw wasted opportunities. He regularly told his audiences that if all African Americans were registered and voted, the result would be more elected officials sensitive to their needs and values. By voting in numbers, Martin argued, Blacks could easily affect the outcomes of local, state, and federal elections to their benefit. The African American press’ publications were critical channels in communicating the importance of voting. Given his decades as a journalist, Martin was uniquely qualified to use this resource.

Martin spoke at the University of Chicago in 1971. This speech, which was delivered at a workshop about how best to report about events in African American communities, is particularly interesting due to Martin’s abundant use of sarcasm. For example, Martin asserted:

This new social and cultural tidal wave is spilling over the ghetto walls into the general society. White youth in America has been stirred by the black movements. The women of America have been affected by the black civil rights revolution and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington is spending more time on cases involving sex discrimination than race discrimination. The dames in suburbia who used to take some comfort in the thought that they were ‘free, white and 21’

⁶² Ibid., 6.

and [sic] now clasping each other's hand and singing 'We shall overcome.'⁶³

In this quotation, Martin emphasizes the interconnectedness of Whites and Blacks in the ongoing struggle for civil rights. He regularly asserted that if civil rights were denied some Americans, then all Americans were at risk of losing their liberties. Communication and cooperation between different segments of the American population was the best means, per Martin, to begin to secure rights for all.

He provided information, "especially to white journalists who are not familiar with the black community,"⁶⁴ to help them better report the facts. These tips included: make sure you are speaking to actual leaders, tell the truth, acknowledge diversity in the community, and do not jump to conclusions about that community.⁶⁵ Martin's laundry list of suggestions ended with a useful suggestion: to approach coverage of the community rather like a "foreign correspondent"⁶⁶ who knows nothing. This was germane to many of his suggestions for change in this period: that the real way to begin to work for change was to better understand each other. Martin regularly commented on his perception that the reason Blacks and Whites were so at odds was because they did not comprehend one another. Communication between groups was imperative. Martin facilitated this dialogue by bringing people together in different contexts, including the White House.

This tendency to emphasize the need for open dialogue and understanding was additionally consistent with Martin's insistence on "people to people" programs wherein

⁶³ Louis E. Martin, "How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community," University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, (19 April 1971), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 10, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, "How to Cover."

⁶⁴ Louis E. Martin, "How to Cover," 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

different individuals work together to solve common problems. In keeping with his copious optimism, Martin did not believe that all Whites hate all Blacks;⁶⁷ rather, there was simply a deficit in communication between people.⁶⁸ For example, Martin explained, “You know it is important to know the standard of values of the people, what heroes and gods they worship, their hopes and fears, what turns them on, what offends their sensibilities, what makes them laugh and what makes them cry.”⁶⁹ Instead of viewing each other as alien or foreign or “other,” Martin chose to focus on the elements that make all of us uniquely human: everyone has beliefs and feelings and hopes, regardless of skin color. Martin felt that by appealing to commonly held dreams and ambitions, the minority and majority communities could begin to find solutions to problems of equality and access. He regularly impressed this fact upon young, idealistic offices to secure their involvement.

Martin’s speaking engagements to college audiences during this time show the importance he placed upon reaching out to all segments of the African American community for involvement in securing first-class citizenship—not just the established civil rights leaders of the time.⁷⁰ While Martin was happy to work with people of any political stripe who were also passionate about his cause, this era of his speeches was really characterized by his work with Democratic audiences affiliated with the DNC. His work there was another means to secure direct access to people already involved in the political process to share his vision and plans for

⁶⁷ In a 1959 article, he writes: “Somehow I cannot bring myself to believe, as some Negroes do, that the majority of American whites literally hate Negroes.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 14 Feb. 1959, national ed.: 10.

⁶⁸ In his “Dope and Data” article published in May of 1960, Martin writes: “What really bothers me is the lack of communication between intelligent whites and Negroes.” People then, according to Martin, were “apparently not making much progress in the essential business of getting to know each other and understanding one another.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 28 May 1960, national ed.: 10.

⁶⁹ Louis E. Martin, “How to Cover,” 2.

⁷⁰ Martin refers to these established civil rights leaders, particularly the ones associated with Martin Luther King, Jr. in Atlanta, as “the Atlanta Mafia.” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 6, Howard University, 23 Jan. 1986, 2. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #6.

the future. The DNC expanded Martin's already extensive network of successful African Americans in communities across the United States.

In 1961, Martin addressed Democratic leaders in St. Louis, though the actual occasion is unclear from the text on file at the Library of Congress. Even though this speech did not identify the exact audience to whom he was speaking, Martin did allow that the assembled people were "good citizens" and part of the "leadership" of the city.⁷¹ This is an example of Martin's brand of critical localism wherein he looks to specific communities and uses their successes as examples to prompt others to action, as a sort of parallel case—what worked for one African American community had potential to work in others.⁷² Martin used examples of success in one community to incite others to action, rather like arguing from precedent. While African American communities and their conditions were necessarily different from each other, there still remained enough similarities such that strategies in one locale could likely work in others. For example, one city's successful voting registration campaign could be used as a blueprint for another city. Communication and organization among individuals involved in the process were essential to fostering change in other communities.

Martin's language was carefully inclusive of all audience members when he discussed future plans: "All of us want to put an end to racial and religious discrimination in American society."⁷³ Note his pairing of racial and religious difficulties. While Martin's concern was with racial problems, surely his audience was sensitive to the religious discrimination John F. Kennedy faced in his bid for the presidency given his Catholic faith, as it was heavily played-out

⁷¹ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 1.

⁷² This means of argument works through comparison. James Jasinski, "Parallel Case," in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 32.

⁷³ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 2.

in public.⁷⁴ Americans are afforded freedom of religion as a fundamental right. Martin's pairing of religious and racial discrimination elevated the racial component and cast discrimination based on race as counter to cherished American freedoms and values.

Martin assumed those assembled in the audience in St. Louis shared his vision and consistently grouped himself with those he addressed by using terms such as "we" and "our." He did so, first, to take ownership and responsibility of the problem as well as to count himself among the ranks of those who strove to make a difference through purposeful and pragmatic action: "we made the wisest choice in our political history when we gave almost eighty per cent of our votes to John F. Kennedy."⁷⁵ A vote for Kennedy was a vote for a party platform and plan for the nation which would increase prosperity for *all* Americans.⁷⁶ Martin was, based on the above comment, likely addressing an audience composed mainly of African Americans. He was part of the "we" of whom he spoke. By casting himself in this way, Martin publicly assumed a role in and responsibility to the fight. He served as an example to those individuals he addressed. His involvement was genuine and complete, and not limited to words alone, though his words were certainly powerful and abundant.

Through identification with the audience members, Martin was better able to promote his agenda.⁷⁷ In his speech to community leaders in St. Louis, he said "What you are doing here

⁷⁴ Martin discusses this specifically in a 1960 editorial. Louis E. Martin, "Baptist Leader Taylor Backs Kennedy Ticket," *Daily Defender* 20 Oct. 1960: 4. He also uses Dr. Onabanjo to discuss the dangers of discrimination in religion as well as race, writing: "You will thrive only when there is peace, respect and goodwill across all lines of color, race and religion." Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Onabanjo Warns of Black Tribalism," *Tri-State Defender* 26 Mar. 1977: 5.

⁷⁵ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 5. Other sources confirm the figure was "close to 80 percent." See Cabell Phillips, "About the Election: A Second Look," *New York Times* 20 Nov. 1960: E5.

⁷⁶ Martin explained this concept often—that helping African Americans would help all Americans. He saw a shift to this way of thinking in the early 1960s, as the following quotation suggests: "There has been a growing recognition also that the nation as a whole, and not just the Negro, is the loser under the system of second-class citizenship." Louis E. Martin, "Emancipation Proclamation," 131.

⁷⁷ Kenneth Burke uses the term identification to mean a rhetor's attempt to appeal to his or her audience based on shared similarities. See Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950) 20-23, 55-59. In Martin's case, he wanted the audience to understand that he counted himself among the rank

should be done in every major city in the United States today.”⁷⁸ Martin’s scope was national, and he could see how programs started in one city could easily translate to another. He elevated the audience’s status and celebrated their success. By doing so, Martin bolstered their activities and called for an extension to those activities. The actions taken by those leaders in St. Louis could serve as a model for other communities. Martin was meeting with a group of leaders whom he felt may be instrumental in addressing “together...the many problems that face us.”⁷⁹ Note his use of the word “us.” Martin conveyed his inclusion among and involvement with the organizations and groups he addressed—to position himself as a problem solver in the midst of the problems of individual communities.

Martin even looked to his own past to show how communities could work together to affect change. He pointed to his time growing up in Georgia and how change came “whistling through the pines down there too.”⁸⁰ Martin provided witness and testimony to the fact that changes were taking place even in formerly segregated societies. He pointed to his experiences as a child both to provide evidence for his claim that conditions were improving and to build his credibility as a spokesperson for such change, stating “You can take it from me.”⁸¹ Martin used his established ethos with the audience to reinforce his point. His argument was based, in part, on his authority, which was grounded in his own struggles and triumphs as an African American man. Martin knew, firsthand, how effective use of the tools of the vote and the dollar could begin

and file who were critical to facilitating change on the grassroots level. For more on the concept of identification, see James Jasinski, “Identification,” in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 305-308. Maurice Charland also comments on the role of identification in appeal and identity formation. See Maurice Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the ‘Pueple Québécois,’” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73.2 (May 1987): 133-150.

⁷⁸ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 1.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 3.

⁸¹ Ibid.

to improve conditions for Blacks and the communities in which they lived. He pointed to events in Savannah as examples of how “spending power” can force change.⁸² While he spoke to local communities, his focus was also national in scope: “It is imperative, it seems to me, that each community in the country launch a crusade, a non-partisan crusade if you wish, to get every Negro of voting age registered.”⁸³ Consider his use of his term “crusade.” This was as close to a religious connotation as Martin ever got, but the message and intent were clear. It was imperative to the very soul of Blacks that they register and vote en masse. By deploying their strength in numbers in this way, they could force changes on the local level in “each community in the country,” which would yield quantifiable results.

Martin also ventured South to meet with the Atlanta Negro Voters League in 1962. This trip was detailed in the *Atlanta Daily World*, an African American newspaper.⁸⁴ He was invited to speak to the group, and that invitation was “particularly thrilling”⁸⁵ to him given the success of the organization in recruiting new voters, which was his main tactic in these early addresses. This speech is a marvelous example of how Martin targeted local communities and used their successes as examples for others. In Atlanta, as in the other locations where he spoke, Martin demonstrated sustained insistence on the continued use of the vote and the dollar to advance civil rights in America.

Again, he used identification and praised the Atlanta audience members for their service. Martin included himself among those who “doff our hats to your leadership.”⁸⁶ By

⁸² Ibid., 4.

⁸³ Ibid., 5-6.

⁸⁴ See “Louis Martin To Address Meeting of Voters League,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 16 Jan. 1962, 1.; “Louis Martin To Address Voters League Annual Meet Thursday Night at Central,” *Atlanta Daily World* 21 Jan. 1962: 1.; “Election Meetings of Voters League Units Continue,” *Atlanta Daily World* 21 Jan. 1962: 1.

⁸⁵ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League, Atlanta, GA, (25 Jan. 1962), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League.

⁸⁶ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 1.

acknowledging his audience's accomplishments and claiming his place as one of them, Martin gained credibility for the claims and plans he advanced. He acknowledged their concerns and linked them directly with his prescription for change. Martin commended the audience and Atlanta as a whole for their progress in both voting and in commerce. Martin said, "I cannot tell you how proud I am of what you have done and are doing in Atlanta. Your thrift and enterprise, your industry and businesses have set the pace for Negro citizens throughout America."⁸⁷ This type of accolade was quite common in Martin's speeches to various local groups. He made an obvious point of praising the audience members for their hard work and the results they achieved. What the leaders in Atlanta accomplished was a model and guide for others in the country—particularly those people working to advance civil rights in the South.

Martin's argument was based on a combination of encouragement, facts, and figures. Providing numerical data was especially important for this particular audience, the Atlanta Negro Voters League, as their goal was to increase the number and impact of registered African American voters.⁸⁸ For instance, Martin noted the existence of more than one hundred fifty congressional districts where African American voters would "help determine in an important way who will represent their districts in the Congress."⁸⁹ Martin framed this selection of a representative as a right: "One of the most important rights any citizen can have is the right to vote, the right to help choose those by whom he is to be governed."⁹⁰ This was important not only at the national level, but, at this time, particularly at the local level. He made the necessity of voting even more plain when he conceded to the audience the following: "Calling on a

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ For more information on the Atlanta Negro Voters League (ANVL), see the New Georgia Encyclopedia entry at <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-873>, where Louis Williams writes that the ANVL was started in 1949 "to form a united front to maximize the strength of the black vote."

⁸⁹ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 3.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 4.

neighbor to register and perhaps taking him at your expense to the county courthouse to register is hard work. [...] It is the kind of hard work that built this civilization and undergirds our democracy.”⁹¹ Martin believed that advancement would happen when neighbors worked together, actively encouraging each other to participate and vote and get involved in the political process. This was a large component of his local focus: that like-minded people would work together in their communities to address issues there. To the extent that minorities were successful in their efforts on the local level, they could apply the same tactics to achieve success on the state and national levels. Martin again counted himself as one of those to whom he is speaking by saying that “we” can and must act together to increase the opportunities for Blacks in America. He encouraged this specific audience by playing to their existing accomplishments, stating:

Neither Presi[d]ent Kennedy nor anyone else can do for us what we must do for ourselves. We must make use of the opportunities we already have and at the same time keep up the struggle to broaden these opportunities at every turn. We have bo[t]h the intelligence and the courage to make the opportunities before us meaningful. We can win first class [sic] citizenship for ourselves and strengthen democracy for everyone, regardless of race, color or creed. I know Atlanta will lead the way.⁹²

Notice Martin’s emphasis on self-reliance and taking advantage of already existing opportunities. Martin was in the business of informing his audiences, and by extension those communities in which they worked, about opportunities offered not only by the government, but also by local community organizations. Also, note his emphasis on expanding efforts, indicative of Martin’s

⁹¹ Ibid., 5.

⁹² Ibid., 6.

focus on the long term and the inclusion of everybody. Martin was primarily concerned with securing first-class citizenship for African Americans, as this quotation suggests. But, he was not adverse to helping the remainder of America's citizens as well. He commended Atlanta audience members as leaders and examples not just because they had succeeded, but because he could then point to successful programs in Atlanta to other communities, which he did. Local efforts and successes can have national implications. Martin consistently shared groups' strategies of success with others to whom he spoke as a guide for future action, much of it facilitated through the DNC.

In 1967, Martin spoke to the Minorities and Nationalities Division⁹³ of the Democratic National Committee—a group he chaired. In his speech to them, he began by praising the accomplishments of those Blacks who secured political positions in “such important cities as Cleveland, Ohio (Carl Stokes) and Gary, Indiana (Richard Hatcher).”⁹⁴ These local successes and the men (as well as some women) who embodied them served as critical examples throughout Martin's speeches. He went on to hail the triumphs of others who beat the odds by getting elected to legislative seats in the South. Even in the “Old Confederacy” changes were taking place and Blacks were gaining legislative and judicial seats—positions of power where these individuals could have a real impact on policies and laws that most affected African American communities. Martin used these political victories as examples of and impetus for increased activity. By naming the people and places where African Americans made progress, he demonstrated his assertion that the battle for civil rights and first-class citizenship may be won if it was tackled on multiple fronts. He affirmed the necessity of involvement in the political

⁹³ Martin was the head of the Minorities and Nationalities Division. See “Louis Martin Resigns Post, Returns To Journalism,” *Washington Afro-American* 24 Dec. 1968: 6.

⁹⁴ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities Division, (1967), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities.

process as follows: “The records made by Negro Democratic candidates in races for local, county and state offices in the South, as well as the North, clearly indicate that the Negro minority is on the threshold [sic] of a new era of political development and political power in the United States.”⁹⁵ Martin characterized the changes as if he and his audience were embarking upon a New Frontier that was ripe with opportunities for genuine political power. Martin and those he agitated to action were pioneers in an increasingly inclusive political system. The system itself was “old” and already in place, but Blacks’ activities and achievements within that system were “new.” For Martin, change started locally and, despite fears of heated objections in the South, progress was, indeed, taking place. Martin chose to emphasize the possibility of gaining ground, particularly in a potentially hostile locale. Change for the better was happening “in all sections of the United States” by African Americans who were acting to secure “new prestige and new power” by actively engaging the political process and becoming involved in that process “at every level of party affairs, including local, county, and state.”⁹⁶ Becoming part of the process and system increased each individual’s agency to challenge the status quo. Martin’s clearest endorsement of comprehensive involvement may be found in his explanation of Democratic activities of 1967:

Our activities in 1967 with Negro Democrats in state, regional and national workshops, working also with leaders of civic, business, social, civil rights, and religious organizations in the political process, supplying information to the Negro press and radio, making speeches across the country—all have been encouraging and we believe fruitful.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Louis E. Martin, *DNC Minorities*, 1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

Martin's statement revealed his all-inclusive strategy: not only were practical and purposeful activities taking place in local political organizations, they were also taking place in business and other public sectors. Through media communication such as print and radio, people were more able to access information about voting and how to get involved in the political process. That these events were "fruitful" was testimony to their ability to produce results—characteristic of pragmatic argument. Similarly, in his 1968 address to the young Colorado Democrats, Martin cited numerous statistics about how things were changing with great and positive results, particularly in the "Old Confederacy." He pointed out at the time of the speech to the young Colorado Democrats that "close to 300 Negroes h[e]ld elective offices in the Old South."⁹⁸ Facts and figures bolstered his case for each person's involvement and his proposal that what he recommended would be successful. Martin looked to see how existing "old coalitions are certain to be affected"⁹⁹ by the new (and increasingly powerful existing) coalitions, such as the National Urban League, African Americans created and nurtured.

In each case, Martin's speeches of this era reflected his emphasis on the primary role of African American individuals in the political process. He regularly encouraged his audience members by noting their successes and what those successes meant to the rest of minority America. He urged his audiences to organize to make the most impact. He said, "You are the young people who are going to influence the course of history and hopefully build a better America and a peaceful world."¹⁰⁰ While Martin positioned himself among them as a seasoned African American Democrat, this statement also showed how he was very careful to focus his attention on the youth of the party and their critical role in bringing about change. Martin's

⁹⁸ Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1.

implied audience member¹⁰¹ was one with the agency and ability to act and to become involved in the political process no matter the perceived obstacles. He appealed to the audience's potential to influence history as well as the "issues of our time"¹⁰² and to secure benefits for all Americans through their active involvement. His emphasis on the actions of the youth and the role they had to play in the success of the country was a notable characteristic in these speeches to groups of the DNC. He provided encouragement by noting that the assembled audience, the youth of the party, had made their "voice heard;" they were "in a unique position to help change racial attitudes," and they could "launch a people to people program."¹⁰³ He gave them tremendous responsibility that they might act on it: "You have in your hands the future of America, black hands and white hands."¹⁰⁴ What was good for African Americans, he argued, was good for all Americans. The people to whom he spoke were agents of change.

Martin's insistence on the importance of everybody's participation was similarly evident in an untitled and undated speech he likely delivered in 1968.¹⁰⁵ In this speech on "social crises unique to our nation," Martin called on his audience to become involved: "It is our responsibility to see that the goals of this poor minority are heard and responded to. It is up to us to apply the necessary pressure to make the decision-makers respond to these demands."¹⁰⁶ His emphasis on "responsibility" revealed his non-negotiable stance on individual involvement. As opinion

¹⁰¹ Edwin Black's notion of the second persona figures here. Martin's ideal audience member is one who would hear his suggestions for change and then actually go out into his or her community and act—become involved in the political process. See Edwin Black, "The Second Persona," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 56.2 (Apr 1970): 109-119. For information about the evolution of this concept, see Philip C. Wander, "The Third Persona: An Ideological Turn in Rhetorical Theory," *Central States Speech Journal* 35 (Winter 1984): 197-216.; and Charles E. Morris, III, "Pink Herring & the Fourth Persona: J. Edgar Hoover's Sex Crime Panic," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88.2 (May 2002): 228-244.

¹⁰² Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 1.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Martin talks about the causes of "the riots" in this speech, which may be a reference to the 1968 riots. In any case, the speech was delivered after 1965 given his reference to a speech President Johnson gave in June 1965.

¹⁰⁶ Louis E. Martin, Untitled speech on "social crises unique to our nation," n.d. (1968?), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 5, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Untitled: social crises.

leaders, those in his audience were obligated to speak up for, or agitate on behalf of, those people who did not have access to government decision-makers. Martin went further with this audience and focused directly on individual agency: “Black people can no longer be passively involved. We must all be activists.”¹⁰⁷ Here, Martin specifically calls for action, or activity, in contrast to the previously common strategy of passive resistance.¹⁰⁸ For Martin, the audience members must *do* something to improve conditions for themselves and African Americans as a whole. To begin, Martin called on them to organize: “Organization is the key to success.”¹⁰⁹ Martin championed coordination of effort and sharing of talents among people and the groups of which they were a part. Martin addressed these groups and told them how their expertise could help in the fight.

Another undated speech delivered before Martin began working with Carter was one he gave to the National Association of Market Developers. According to the *Chicago Daily Defender*, the first annual awards dinner of that organization, where Martin was a featured speaker, was held on 24 April 1970.¹¹⁰ This speech, which was in the Library of Congress “undated” files likely corresponds to that event. Martin began this address by again employing identification to relate directly to his audience, with whom he shared a similar profession: “The National Association of Market Developers is made up of citizens who sell something to the public, selling in some cases ideas, some cases consumer products and, of course, varied points of view. This has been my bag too.”¹¹¹ Martin often characterized his work as “selling” a point

¹⁰⁷ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: social crises, 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ Some journalists felt James Meredith’s murder marked the end of passive resistance and the start of “Black Power.” See, for example, “The New Leadership,” *Chicago Defender* 09 July 1966: 10. For more on the shift, see Fred Powledge, “A Slogan, A Chant, A Threat,” *New York Times* 10 Dec. 1967: 362.

¹⁰⁹ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: social crises, 4.

¹¹⁰ See “Set NAMD Prize Fete: Louis Martin Is Speaker,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 13 Apr. 1970: 6. See also Doris E. Saunders, “NAMD Awards To Johnson, Seals And Others,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 21 Apr. 1970: 17.

¹¹¹ Louis E. Martin, Untitled speech to the National Association of Market Developers, n.d. (24 Apr. 1970?), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 5, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NAMD.

of view or a policy—particularly during this era when he was promoting Kennedy’s and Johnson’s plans. In a typical maneuver, Martin encouraged his audience to look ahead with optimism and counted himself among them: “I am sure that it is the hope of all of us that we, in the decade of the 70s, can make the democratic system work for rather than against us. We know the possibilities of the political, economic and educational processes as instruments for social change.”¹¹² In this quotation, we can see Martin’s usual insistence on the importance of the vote and the dollar as well as an education, which figures more prominently in the third era of his public address, post-Carter. Martin saw the possibility for social change in the activities of people and the groups and institutions they represented.¹¹³ He fully believed they could make a difference in their local communities and beyond. With audiences composed of opinion leaders, students, and members of organizations dedicated to the advancement of African Americans, Martin was in a unique position to promote his ideas about how Blacks could begin to attain and secure first-class citizenship during the tumultuous time of the 1960s and the 1970s. Martin used what he freely called propaganda and an agitative technique to present the facts of the case to his audiences.

2.4 Martin’s Rhetorical Wares: Propaganda and Agitation

In this era of his work, Martin’s agitative propaganda¹¹⁴ was primarily focused on marking the progress of and continuing to better secure Blacks’ civil rights in the U.S. At the beginning of this early era, Martin was actively “selling” Kennedy’s programs such as the Peace Corps and the New Frontier—particularly as those programs represented increased opportunity

¹¹² Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 15.

¹¹³ There are other speeches in the “undated” file which likely belong to this era of speeches. One was apparently delivered at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Yet another deals with Civil Rights during the LBJ administration and was apparently given at a “symposium.”

¹¹⁴ Recall from Chapter 1 that Martin’s brand of propaganda was based on hard truths, or empirical evidence, and pragmatism and realism. His articulation of those truths was definitive and often harsh. Martin used such brash and provocative language to relay the seriousness of the issues at hand.

for African Americans. In the latter months of this era, he similarly promoted President Johnson's programs. Martin's speeches during this time were full of stark language that revealed the actual conditions of the U.S. in the early 1960s and well into the 1970s. Even with the successes of the mid 1960s with the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, Blacks still faced many problems during the early era of Martin's rhetoric. Racism and unfair treatment were still the norm. For example, segregation was still a problem in southern schools,¹¹⁵ there were not enough "Federal examiners" in some southern locations to register new African American voters,¹¹⁶ racially motivated violence was still common,¹¹⁷ employment opportunities for Blacks were limited,¹¹⁸ fair access to housing was still an issue,¹¹⁹ and hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan were still active.¹²⁰ The events of the time served as an exigence¹²¹ of sorts for Martin's addresses to specific audiences—namely, audiences capable of putting his plans for change into action. By discussing the nation's problems in no uncertain terms, Martin's pragmatic argument gained momentum. The audience was not left to decipher innuendo: Martin said exactly what he meant. By offering something other than platitudes about America's promise to his audience, Martin was actively agitating to address the problems at hand. He related those problems directly to their source: the "color bar."

¹¹⁵ Gene Roberts, "Negroes Assail School Tactics: 'Freedom of Choice' in South Called Token Integration," *New York Times* 12 Sep. 1965, special to the *New York Times*: 72.

¹¹⁶ Tom Wicker, "Success of Voting Law in South Causing New Problems for U.S.," *New York Times* 17 Sep. 1965: 1.

¹¹⁷ Walter Rugaber, "Negro-White Truce Is Shaky in Lincolnton, Ga.," *New York Times* 01 Nov. 1965: 50.

¹¹⁸ Joseph Lelyveld, "Negroes Intensify Their Demand for Jobs," *New York Times* 06 Jan. 1964: 67.

¹¹⁹ "Fair-Housing Test Set for Capital: CORE Will Use Team of Whites and Negroes," *New York Times* 02 Jan. 1964, special to the *New York Times*: 35.

¹²⁰ Claude Sitton, "Negroes and Klan Picket in Atlanta," *New York Times* 02 Feb. 1964, special ed.: 64.

¹²¹ Lloyd Bitzer defines exigence as "an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be." Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1.1 (Winter 1968): 6. The exigence is the reason there is a need for discourse on a matter. In the case of Martin's speeches, he was reacting, in part, to untenable societal conditions endured by Blacks at various points in time.

In his speech to Lincoln University, Martin talked about Kennedy's concern for the unjustness of the "color bar." This term was characteristic of agitative rhetoric in that it was a "loaded" term with which the people in the audience were probably familiar. Martin's suggesting that Kennedy would challenge the color bar, complete with examples of Kennedy's having done so, served to show the audience that their trust in JFK was not misplaced. Verbally, at least, there was no countenance of segregation, discrimination, or racism in Kennedy's executive branch. Martin used comparison, or a parallel case, to illustrate his point. For example, he told the Lincoln University audience about his year in Lagos, Nigeria where the "power structure" was intact and characterized by the number of Blacks who were successfully working in positions of authority—all the positions of authority, in fact. Martin said, "The most significant difference between Lagos and my home town of Savannah was obviously in the power structure. The people who really run, own and control Lagos are black."¹²² If the color bar, color line, or one's race was a real impediment to his or her ability to contribute to the political process, then how was it that Lagos was a functional, bustling city wherein all the powerful people were, as Martin described them, black? How was it that Nigeria was able to gain its independence from Britain in October of 1960 if the color of the people's skin was any real barrier to achievement or indication of ability?

Martin stated the obvious—the leaders of Lagos were black. It was imperative to his argument simply because it was so obvious: skin color was no indication of ability. Martin was actively selling and providing evidence of the fact that skin color was no barrier to power in other areas of the globe. In fact, he said, "I spent a year in Nigeria and I can bear personal testimony to the fact that some of the best minds in the modern world are possessed by men with

¹²² Louis E. Martin, "Along the New Frontier," 5.

jet black skins.”¹²³ Martin’s early speeches contained a lot of references to the struggle for independence in Nigeria. He used the events there as a contrast to American realities: “The forty million citizens of Nigeria demanded freedom and without the spilling of one drop of blood, they got it. Whatever else you may say about the British, they know how to take a hint.”¹²⁴ Martin also implicitly compared the British to the Americans in this sentiment. Americans, it would seem, were less likely to take such hints as evidenced by the violent history of race relations in this country. Note Martin’s emphasis on how demands were not met with bloodshed, nary a drop was spilled, unlike the violence common in the U.S. This suggests that the so-called “savages” were able to secure power like any other rational people. Also, Nigerians’ demands were within reason to the point that even the British could feel the “winds of change” and relinquish colonial control. Such language served as a contrast to the way demands for freedom for African Americans were often met with outright hostility and other forms of violence. Martin took the time to explain these differences to show that change was possible without resorting to brutality even in the context of the so-called “dark continent.” Surely, the U.S. could do a better job in truly emancipating her African American citizens. Martin placed responsibility for launching a campaign of change with those community leaders in his audience.

Martin’s pointed rhetoric was not just addressed to those in power who were failing to fulfill their duties to protect American liberties. He also used his speeches to speak sternly to the audience at hand about harsh truths: “It is a shameful thing that in most of the cities of the North and South where we can register and vote freely, without intimidation, still we lag behind other groups.”¹²⁵ Martin again pointed to the obvious—at the time he uttered those words, 1961, some Blacks had secured the right to vote but did not actively pursue that course of action. He called

¹²³ Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 130.

¹²⁴ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 2.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

upon the emotion of shame as a pointed means of moving his audience to action. In this instance, Martin was using the rhetorical mode of proof called pathos whereby the rhetor appeals to the emotions of the audience to amplify a point. He bemoaned the fact that “We are forever talking about the reactionaries in Congress who filibuster and stop all progressive legislation. I can assure you that if we registered and voted our full strength throughout the country, we would put an end forever to the power of the reactionaries.”¹²⁶ Note his use of terminal language. Together, African Americans voting en masse could “forever” stop the reactionaries and their resistance to progress. Even in the early 1960s, Martin believed that registration and voting by those Blacks who could do so without hindrance was enough to challenge the status quo successfully in many areas of the country.

Such language may have been designed to get his audience to focus on long-term goals since the immediate pay-off for voting was, to some, negligible or non-existent. He used forceful language to show how perceptions can and must change with current events. He did so often by mentioning certain African Americans who were proven great leaders: “If a Negro can run successfully a great agency like Bob Weaver with billions of dollars in his budget, who can say that he is not qualified for an important place in private enterprise[?] Let the captains of industry in America take full notice.”¹²⁷ Bob Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, was the first African American appointed to a cabinet position. This cabinet position was of special interest to Martin given his consistent concern with issues of housing and the plight of urban Blacks stuck in ghettos. Weaver’s successful stewardship of that post served as an example of what others could do if only given the chance. This kind of comparison was a means of analysis Martin used frequently and across all time periods: he showcased accomplishments by Blacks in

¹²⁶ Ibid., 6.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 8. See the following section, Calling the Roll, where I discuss Martin’s rhetorical strategy of naming prominent Blacks as examples and evidence of success.

political contexts to illustrate, by extension, their capability to excel in other areas. He challenged the naysayers by providing examples of African Americans' achievement. He used provocative language to spur his audience to improve their lot and work in accordance with his suggestions. His agitative rhetorical tendencies were not just directed at leaders in positions of power, but to the rank and file African Americans he wanted to empower as well.

We can also see how Martin used agitative rhetoric by appropriating derogatory terms for his own purposes: "I believe there is more so-called 'Negro money' on Auburn Avenue than on any single street in the world."¹²⁸ Martin's emphasis on the power of the dollar wisely spent in businesses owned by Blacks was illustrated by successful communities, such as Atlanta. He stated his position in no uncertain terms which would resonate with the audience: "I am firmly convinced that we shall never win full acceptance in this society until we play some part in the power structure of America."¹²⁹ Note his use of definite terms "never," and "full," which indicated he was asking for complete measures. He would not be satisfied with half measures. His insistence provided his audience with a stance to adopt and follow.

He praised his audience in a bid to encourage them to work harder: "In Atlanta you have made a magnificent beginning in the exercise of political power."¹³⁰ In the 1960s, for Martin, Blacks were still at the "beginning" stages of securing a place in the political process. He went on to detail all of the things that were going right in Atlanta which would help in the progression of equality for all: participating in local elections, electing public officials with insight on what needs to change, and fighting consistently for what was right. To do so required acceptance of difficult truths: "We must face the hard realities of our situation."¹³¹ Martin acknowledged the

¹²⁸ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 1.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 2.

¹³¹ Ibid.

problems and the realities to encourage people to work harder in their tasks. Martin explained that “our optimism about the future does not blind us to the realities of the present.”¹³² Martin and those he addressed had their eyes wide open to the conditions around them. By acknowledging the difficulties up front, he presented a realistic assessment of the situation along with his characteristic optimism for change and the ultimate inclusion of African Americans among the ranks of first-class citizens.

African Americans’ failure to participate would surely prevent that progress: “The supreme tragedy of this situation [where Blacks are not voting even though they can] lies in the fact that too many of us who can register and vote freely are sitting on our hands. Sitting on yours will not get you anything but a pain in the wrist.”¹³³ Interjecting some humor into his speech was also characteristic of Martin’s agitative rhetoric. In this case, he did not have to apply the hard sell to his audience: “I know I do not have to sell you on the importance of registering and getting out the vote.”¹³⁴ He reinforced what he claimed his audience already believed. Martin adopted and validated their truths as his own in order to secure acceptance for his proposals.

Propaganda fueled by truth played a role in his speech to the North Carolina College conference participants as well. In this address he explained the progress of African Americans in terms the audience could relate to: “As we enter the 20th Century, it is obvious that by now the Negro had climbed up the hill, had taken a look at the promised land, and had been sent sprawling back down again.”¹³⁵ He detailed what he saw as the truth of the situation: that many Blacks had made the hard journey but were still unable to enter the promised land because of various obstacles. The notion of the “promised land,” so often mentioned in religious contexts,

¹³² Louis E. Martin, *DNC Minorities*, 4.

¹³³ Louis E. Martin, *Atlanta Negro Voters League*, 4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 128-129.

gave additional import to his calls for action. The use of the term also alludes to emancipation and civil rights and, of course, Martin Luther King's regularly articulated belief that African American people would indeed reach the promised land some day. Individual agency and success, secured by climbing "the hill," were matters of one's very salvation. Martin's characterization of Blacks' progress was consistently tempered by realism.

The truth underlying his propaganda was similarly evident in his speech to the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC. In this speech, Martin affirmed that optimism about Blacks' future based on successes in local, state, and federal arenas "does not blind us to the realities of the present."¹³⁶ Martin and others "saw" the problems before them and named them outright and explicitly in order to begin to tackle those problems. Martin was clear that part of the task was to "clarify the issues" that mattered the most to African Americans—issues linked to the rights of first-class citizenship. He agitated by stating the truth of affairs and acknowledging the problems of the day while simultaneously affirming the process of change.

This approach was similarly apparent in his speech to the young Democrats in Colorado where he attempted to reassure them by saying that, although there were obstacles, "we are moving—however much we might be stumbling—toward a better day."¹³⁷ Forward momentum was the goal; continuous success was not realistically to be expected; stumbling forward was still movement in the right direction. Incremental progress was still progress. For Martin, realism and honest assessment were imperative—acknowledging successes as well as failures to begin to figure out what strategies worked best. He agitated by acknowledging the facts of the day, like: "The black citizen still feels that he is scorned and regarded with contempt by white society even

¹³⁶ Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 4.

¹³⁷ Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 2.

though he is standing taller and making progress.”¹³⁸ Martin uses this standing metaphor to reinforce the action required by all Blacks. They must stand up to the burdens and obstacles that face them regardless of the disposition of the reactionaries around them. Martin spoke to the emotions and feelings many in his audience likely shared. To acknowledge the obstacles and plow ahead anyway was Martin’s unflagging strategy.

At the time of his speech to Harvard in 1970, the leaders at the controls were Republicans; they had, from Martin’s perspective, failed to act in the best interests of the country as a whole and minorities in particular. To remedy this failure, Martin wanted his audience members to get involved. He consistently framed their involvement as a responsibility and a right. While Martin regularly encouraged his audience members to become part of the political system, he was also quick to point out where that system was failing—particularly when Republicans were in charge. Part of Martin’s strategy was to identify both opportunities and obstacles and name them accordingly. The fact that he was addressing these remarks to the Harvard alumni is telling. As one of the so-called premier institutions of the country, Martin was, by extension, prodding those in attendance to consider their own roles as leaders. In fact, Martin’s speech to the Harvard alumni stands out in this period of his oratory as being particularly harsh in its assessment of the realities African Americans continued to face—even as late as 1970.

This speech at Harvard, more than any other in this era, verbally attacked those people in power who were not leading in such a way as to increase social justice. This was evident in his opening remark: “As member of the Untouchables in our tribalistic society, a black American, I am especially pleased to be invited to share a few observations with you.”¹³⁹ By identifying

¹³⁸ Ibid., 8.

¹³⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 1.

himself, a speaker at Harvard, as an “Untouchable,” he invited the audience to consider what that meant in context. Martin’s presence before this esteemed audience was not of the norm, he suggested. Martin criticized the “hypocrisy and double talk,” and the “dragging [of] feet,” and the increasing reality that politics was run by the “super-rich.”¹⁴⁰ This was both relevant and applicable to the assembled audience given that the cost to attend Harvard in 1970 was only slightly less than half of an average family’s income.¹⁴¹ The harsh realities Martin detailed were part of the overall problem that, while Blacks were expected to pull themselves up by their proverbial bootstraps, Martin explained, “we have to do battle in the streets merely to get our hands on these same bootstraps.”¹⁴² His use of the term “battle” revealed the seriousness of the issue. He often used battle and war metaphors to characterize the ongoing struggle for civil rights in America. His use of the term “battle” is significant too because of the events the country had witnessed in the civil rights struggle at that time, including the assassinations of Malcolm X in 1965 and Martin Luther King in 1968 as well as race riots in cities like Detroit and Baltimore. He referenced the familiar bootstraps of success to illustrate the fact that many Blacks could not even count bootstraps among their possessions. For Martin, the means to secure change was no longer a matter of sitting in and protesting injustices—instead, personal combat was necessary.

In this era, Martin’s propaganda and agitation were designed to acknowledge difficulties and problems and their causes directly in order that they might be addressed in the same way: directly. He used his extensive knowledge about the overall conditions of Blacks in America to demonstrate that, using practical argument, his prescriptive actions (such as voting and wise spending) would begin to change those conditions for the better. This was particularly true when

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 6, 7.

¹⁴¹ Cyrus M. Mossavar-Rahmani, “Tuition Increase Outpaces Inflation,” *The Harvard Crimson* 25 Oct. 2006, 06 Feb. 2013 < <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2006/10/25/tuition-increase-outpaces-inflation-tuition-hikes/>>.

¹⁴² Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 7.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House. He commented on this in his speech to the National Association of Market Developers, stating: “When I reflect on what is happening today in Washington, I feel prouder than ever on the quality of the products I tried so hard to sell. I was sure then and I am doubly sure now that the reasons for my faith and confidence were eminently sound.”¹⁴³ Martin acknowledged the need for his personal reassessment of the issues and his rhetorical wares of the time. He was an ardent believer in the policies he was hired to promote to African American communities across the nation.

As time progressed and Presidents Nixon and Ford occupied the White House, his propensity was still to sell Blacks’ political involvement, but with a side of blistering analysis of Republicans’ tactics, plans, and actions.¹⁴⁴ In these early speeches, Martin consistently invoked certain themes and ideas that supported his prescription for progress. The next section looks at those themes as a means by which Martin continued to build his case for the best way to secure the benefits of first-class citizenship for minorities in America.

2.5 Building His Case, Speech by Speech, or Themes in Martin’s Rhetoric

Martin had a few key themes at this time about how best to secure first-class citizenship for the members of African American communities. These themes include (1) his insistence on African Americans’ participation in the political process, (2) his emphasis on the need for newness and change; (3) his assessment of the changing identity of African Americans; and (4) his promotion of specific “tools” which could improve the lot of African Americans, namely the dollar, the vote, and acquisition of positions of power in local, state, and national governments.

¹⁴³ Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Martin’s editorials from this time period are particularly telling. In them, he levels harsh accusations at various Republicans in positions of power to show how their actions are restricting progress for Blacks. For example, in a rant about Nixon and Alabama Governor George Wallace’s attempts to slow desegregation in American schools, Martin wrote: “the Confederate Flag is flying high over Washington.” His editorials were as pointed as his speeches. Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Nixon Nails Down George Wallace’s Political Coffin,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 29 Nov. 1969, big weekend ed.: 3.

First and foremost, African Americans must become involved in the political process. Failure to participate, even when participation was difficult, was a sure way to keep the untenable status quo intact.

2.5.1 The Political Process: Participation Is A Must

From the very beginning of his time in politics, Martin believed that minority Americans could secure the benefits they sought by engaging in the political process—particularly since there were laws on the books guaranteeing the right of participation. Blacks’ failure to engage the system rendered them invisible; that, in turn, made their concerns easier to ignore. In his typical style, Martin looked to the past to see how far Blacks had come since Reconstruction, when they were first allowed “some measure of participation in the political power structure of the South.”¹⁴⁵ Martin often used past conditions in the South as a measure for then-current successes. Even in the South where racism and discrimination were still common, Martin chose to focus on the positive attitude held by most people of color. He said that the typical African American treasured and believed in the power of the United States’ founding principles as much as any white person. The African American “never lost faith in the belief that he [sic] could win full citizenship through lawful and constitutional processes.”¹⁴⁶ This quotation equates America’s primary values with “faith,” or belief. Martin used religious rhetoric sparingly in his public address, so his mention of faith is noteworthy. Laws and the Constitution guaranteed “full citizenship,” not the second-class citizenship so many people of color were forced to accept. A number of organizations were dedicated to fulfilling the promise of American citizenship and participation in the political process—especially the Democratic National Committee.

¹⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 128.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 129.

The first time Martin mentioned the “political process” specifically was in his 1967 speech to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities Division. In this address, Martin talked about the encouraging accomplishments of a “new breed of practical Negro political leaders who dream of new horizons and new goals of political achievement.”¹⁴⁷ Martin was a great proponent of “practical” and pragmatic action; to see people working in this way toward specifically political goals gave him additional cause for his trademark optimism. Martin asserted that these new pioneers “have faith in the Democratic process and they are determined to climb the political ladder to new prestige and new power.”¹⁴⁸ Again, Martin emphasized his own faith in the process. He advocated working with the existing system instead of attempting a full-fledged reform of the system. This quotation also features one of Martin’s favorite metaphors: the ladder. In the early speeches, Martin encouraged his audience to climb the various ladders (notably the political and economic ladders) and to inspire others to climb with them, particularly African American youth “who doubt the relevance of voting and the political process.”¹⁴⁹ Martin saw the youth of the movement as critical for future success, and he communicated with them in way that suggested they could lend their talents to the cause and secure success. For example, he told the young Colorado Democrats that the rate of change was increasing, due in part to civil rights successes and the fact that “up until recently many negroes did not believe dramatic progress was possible.”¹⁵⁰ This belief persisted, said Martin, because the system itself had failed African Americans and other minorities.

Two speeches in the “undated” file that can reasonably be attributed to this era acknowledge problems with the system in which Martin encouraged his audience to participate.

¹⁴⁷ Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 7.

One speech that was probably delivered around 1968 featured Martin's assessment of the system relative to the needs of poor African Americans:

Our internal problems here at home are the gradual results of the failure of our American system, which we Americans have developed and which we sustain to serve us and to keep our nation going. These problems are about the failure of that system to serve the needs of poor black people.¹⁵¹

This quotation explains his repeated call for Blacks to get involved. If they are not present within the system, then they could not hope to change that system. Martin, therefore, called for full participation: "We must make our voices heard and our power felt constantly until this system practices what it preaches."¹⁵² Martin saw discrepancies in what the system promised and what it delivered, and he had every confidence that African Americans had to become involved in that system to make it live up to the promise. Participation was facilitated by people who understood how the system worked: "Understand fully your political system and know where your influence at pressure points can produce the results we need."¹⁵³ Here, as usual, Martin called for full measures in the quest for progress. Martin recruited individuals as well as organizations for such purposeful activities.

Another speech in the undated file can be placed in the early 1970s with a fair amount of reliability based on both newspaper accounts and the content. In this speech to the National Association of Market Developers, Martin told his audience about "three of the most important instruments that democracy provides for social change" including "the political process."¹⁵⁴ Note that democracy provides these tools, not people. This shows that Martin did believe in the

¹⁵¹ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: social crises, 1.

¹⁵² Ibid., 2.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁵⁴ Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 7.

structure of the system even if it was not being implemented as efficiently and as equitably as it could be. For Martin, the way to improve the system was for Blacks to enter the system in official capacities, like by securing a political or appointed office. Once there were more people of color in the system, Martin reasoned, they could provide more involvement and oversight. Then, changes could be made from inside the system (by elected and appointed officials) as well as from outside the system (via votes cast by African Americans). Martin suggested the system could be changed by such a dual inside/outside approach.

In this speech Martin voiced concern about the costs of the political process, explaining that politics “is fast becoming a game for multi-millionaires.”¹⁵⁵ Martin explained that politics were not “within reach of the poor” and he wanted to make the political process more “relevant” to the African American community, particularly young people, to get more participation.¹⁵⁶ Martin’s case was complex: he told his audiences to get involved in the very system that had shunned their participation in the past. Even given that history, he still saw value in the promise of the system. In politics and in other areas of American life, he acknowledged the problems minorities faced and urged them ahead anyway. For Martin, the progress up the ladder was daunting and difficult, but necessary nevertheless: “White society has made these ladders which we are expected to climb[. They] are second-hand, half rotten and every other rung is missing.”¹⁵⁷ With this ladder metaphor, Martin acknowledged the fact that African Americans were expected to do more with less and the injustice of that while still prompting them to strive for greatness. Challenges were very real and not easily overcome, yet Martin believed in eventual victory in this battle for first-class citizenship. He had seen it in Nigeria and used that country’s success to encourage American audiences: “They learned the rules of parliamentary

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 9.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 12.

democracy, they played the game, and they knew they could not be denied eventual victory.”¹⁵⁸ He assured his American audience of their eventual victory as well. Some of America’s leaders would be and had been instrumental in securing that victory. They deserved recognition, and Martin had many oratorical opportunities to provide it.

In another undated speech likely delivered at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Martin recounted President Johnson’s genuine commitment to appointing Blacks to positions of power in government as well as the judiciary; and he was able to cite Johnson’s actions in support of that commitment. Johnson not only paid lip service to the moral imperative, Johnson actually did something about it. Martin explained at length:

From countless hours of discussion and sometimes debate with LBJ over civil rights matters, I am convinced that at the very core of his philosophy was a deep and unflagging belief in the political process as the best way to achieve social justice. He once remarked that blacks may not have the financial capital but they have a lot of “warm bodies” and each one counts. He had the firm conviction that when blacks could vote freely and exercise their full political potential they could achieve the second Emancipation. Blacks would emancipate themselves.¹⁵⁹

Martin was a vocal and enthusiastic supporter of president Johnson during the time they worked together and well after Johnson’s time in the White House. He used his proximity to Johnson to divine the president’s intentions on civil rights.¹⁶⁰ Like Martin, Johnson realized the political

¹⁵⁸ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 6.

¹⁵⁹ Louis E. Martin, Untitled speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. n.d. (1977?), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 5, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated, 5. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, LBJ Library.

¹⁶⁰ For a few different perspectives on President Johnson’s approach to civil rights, consult the following sources: Steven R. Goldzwig, “LBJ, the Rhetoric of Transcendence, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6.1 (Spring 2003): 25-53.; “Lyndon Johnson’s Fight for Civil Rights,” By Cokie Roberts and Steve

power Blacks, represented by “warm bodies,” in communities around the nation held by virtue of their numbers. Martin also knew that, despite the Voting Rights Act and other laws on the books, Johnson realized that many Blacks were still not “free” to participate. To remedy this, Martin and Johnson both advocated individual agency—each person getting involved to secure her or his own emancipation. Martin also conceded, however, that the more urgent necessities of life often took precedence over participation in a political process that could yield gradual, incremental results at best.

In his speech to Harvard, Martin remarked on how economic concerns often keep minorities from participating in the democratic process: “We know also that economic deprivation and poverty in black America represent one of the major crippling factors for those blacks who are seeking to climb the political ladder, those who hope that basic reforms can be achieved in our society through the political process.”¹⁶¹ While Martin promoted the political process, he harbored no illusions about it. He remarked: “I am deeply troubled by the fact that the political process itself is in urgent need of some basic reforms.”¹⁶² Most of these reforms, Martin believed, should come at the state level, and included, most especially, a focus on registration efforts. Even with the problems of the American political system, Martin still advocated involvement to his audience. By getting into the process itself and working with and within the system, minorities could hope to amass the authority to change it from the inside. Change would come with the new guard making waves in the 1960s and 1970s. Consistent with

Inskeep, *Morning Edition* National Public Radio, 02 Jul. 2004, 03 Mar. 2013, Web.; Windy Y. Lawrence, “A Crisis in Civil Rights Leadership: The Prophetic Persona in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Howard University Address,” *Texas Speech Communication Journal* 31.1 (Winter 2007): 35-43.

¹⁶¹ Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 4.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 6.

the vigor and newness associated with the Kennedy campaign and presidency, Martin focused on the change coming to the country through the actions of new, often young actors.

2.5.2 *Emphasis on Newness and Change*

By the time Martin started giving speeches in front of audiences in the early 1960s, he was already intimately familiar with the myriad problems African Americans faced throughout the country. In this early era, he made numerous references to another one of his favorite metaphors, the “winds of change.”¹⁶³ Change had come about because of the new Blacks in leadership in the U.S.—in the halls of government and justice, in local communities, and among the increasingly involved youth of the civil rights movement. His use of the “winds of change” metaphor represented the natural force of the civil rights movement. It was a natural progression from second-class citizenship to full citizenship for African Americans. Much like weather-related storms, this process could not, ultimately, be slowed by human intervention. The point Martin was trying to convey was that the status quo was, albeit gradually, changing¹⁶⁴—perhaps as a result of the new Kennedy administration, but more directly because there had been a shift in perceptions about African Americans’ role in society—even on the world stage.

He stated in St. Louis, “The winds of change are blowing over the whole world.”¹⁶⁵ Martin talked mostly about the changes taking place in America, but he was also able to point to changes taking place on the African continent given his year spent working as a consultant

¹⁶³ This sentiment occurred frequently in Martin’s early speeches. See his 1961 speech to Lincoln College, his 1961 speech in St. Louis, his 1962 speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League, and his 1970 speech to Harvard entitled “Winds of Change.” Martin also often used this phrase in his editorials to discuss events he witnessed in Nigeria as it and other African countries secured independence.

¹⁶⁴ In his address to Harvard alumni, Martin explained how new African American voters “have finally begun to challenge the status quo, which has been all quo and no status from the county courthouse to the state legislature. Blacks are beginning to register and vote even in the rural South without fear of assassination or lynching.” Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 4.

¹⁶⁵ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 2.

journalist in Nigeria.¹⁶⁶ He pointed to differences in Nigeria, where he said people of color had gained their independence without violence, as an example to his American audience of how change was not necessarily always violent. Martin was particularly specific about how things had changed in the American south. He said that in Atlanta the old way of segregation was changing, and this caused the previously empowered segregationists to “turn over in their graves.”¹⁶⁷ This comment suggests a few important facts: first, that many of those who were enthusiastic promoters of segregation were dead and gone; therefore, their lingering influence was limited and could be challenged. It also suggested that progress had, in fact, been made—progress that defied segregationist beliefs. Why else would they reanimate and turn over? Martin acknowledged the mortality of those who would hamper Blacks’ advancement in society to show that these bigoted people and their ideology were perishing—thus giving hope to future generations of minorities that progress, success, and equality were eminent.

Emphasis on mortal and ideological death points to another theme consistent in Martin’s works of this period: the fact that the old guard and old ways of thinking were being increasingly replaced with young blood and fresh ideas that were not nearly so restricted and isolated as in previous times. This went hand-in-hand with the new Kennedy administration, where the emphasis on change and newness and youth and vigor was de rigueur.¹⁶⁸ Youth was not necessarily paired with rash impulsiveness and inexperience. Martin saw and communicated the

¹⁶⁶ In an article he wrote in 1989, Martin explained that he was originally tasked with finding somebody to take the assignment in Nigeria, but nobody would commit for a year, so he took the position himself. See Louis E. Martin, “Monkey Blood,” *Chicago Defender* 03 June 1989: 20.

¹⁶⁷ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 3.

¹⁶⁸ Youthful empowerment was evident, for example, in one of the campaign ads for President Kennedy. In a Kennedy commercial set to a jingle, “Kennedy for Me,” the emphasis on Kennedy’s youth and vigor and the potential therein was balanced with the assertion that he was also time-tested. The lyrics went as follows: “Do you want a man for President who’s seasoned through and through, But not so dog-goned seasoned that he won’t try something new? A man who’s old enough to know, and young enough to do? Well, it’s up to you, it’s up to you, it’s strictly up to you.” See the web site called The Living Room Candidate for this and other campaign commercials at <http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/>.

strengths of the youth: their new ideas, ambition, and willingness to work hard to secure results for themselves as well as others in their communities.

Martin's emphasis on newness and change was consistent with his perception that the civil rights movement was gaining momentum. He viewed the Kennedy plans to constructively address civil rights issues as a "magnificent beginning."¹⁶⁹ In 1961, the process of including African Americans in all levels of government was still in the beginning stages. Perhaps because of this nascent status, Martin was especially careful to promote the positives while also being attuned to the remaining problems of the era. He was an unrepentant optimist. However, he was also a realist: seeing both opportunities and hindrances for additional social change. Martin consistently used pragmatic argument, wherein he pointed to specific examples like the successes of the Atlanta Negro Voters League, to make his case.

In his speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League, for instance, Martin praised the members of the group, stating that they showed that "the winds of change cannot be held back and should not be held in this period when the fight for Democratic freedom and individual liberty has engulfed the whole world."¹⁷⁰ Again the emphasis was on the inevitability of change and the lack of power of the naysayers and segregationists to stop the force of change. Atlanta served as an example of how an African American community had excelled in the areas of voting, commerce, and political appointments. As in his other speeches, Martin used the winds of change metaphor and emphasized their force and inevitability to promote his perception that his audience could and should expect changes with the Kennedy administration and, more importantly, through their own focused and localized grassroots efforts.

¹⁶⁹ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 2.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Note also Martin's use of the ideographs¹⁷¹ "freedom" and "liberty." These loaded words and concepts, secured through a "fight," were part and parcel of first-class citizenship. It would take active involvement on the part of each person to participate in this fight to secure sustainable change for the better. Furthermore, Martin saw that the opportunities for Blacks' participation in politics were increasingly common in the mid-1960s.¹⁷² He pointed to the all-encompassing force of these changes in that they were not just limited to the United States, but they also "engulfed" the globe. Martin's international reference here was also consistent with increased emphasis on international affairs characteristic of the Kennedy era.

In the speech to Atlanta voters, Martin's ideal, empowered, and vote-casting audience, Martin also made mention of the prominent role of the youth in the movement: "Here I would like to pay tribute to the Negro youth of the South. Our youngsters have within a few short months buried for all time two myths which unfortunately have been believed by many Americans for over a century."¹⁷³ Dead things get buried; Martin was determined to bury the lie of Blacks' inferiority forever. By complimenting the youth he simultaneously acknowledged their accomplishments, reinforced their activities, and provided encouragement for additional action. The youth of the movement demonstrated that they were not content to live in segregated communities, nor did they lack the determination to fight and perhaps to suffer for their freedom.

He used the concept of time to show how change could, sometimes, be quick: in "a few short months" the youth, per Martin's assertion, eradicated a myth that had been perpetuated for

¹⁷¹ McGee explains that ideographs "are one-term sums of an orientation," they convey, "signify and 'contain' a unique ideological commitment" which people share and understand. The concepts of freedom and liberty are inextricably attached to concepts of what America stands for ideologically. Michael Calvin McGee, "The 'Ideograph': A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66.1 (February 1980): 1-16. For more information on ideographs and how they function in political discourse, see also Mary E. Stuckey and Joshua R. Ritter, "George Bush, <Human Rights>, and American Democracy," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37.4 (December 2007): 646-666.

¹⁷² See "Opportunities for Negroes in Southern Politics Increasing," *The Dispatch* 19 Apr. 1966: 2.

¹⁷³ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 2.

one hundred plus years. By acknowledging the role of youth he expanded the involvement of those who might affect positive change in civil rights: it was no longer an activity left to the experienced leaders alone.¹⁷⁴ In fact, Martin stated, “My [great] hope tonight is that many of these young people will join with their elders in launching a crusade to mobilize our political power.”¹⁷⁵ This quotation reflects Martin’s strategy of radical inclusion whereby *all* American people were encouraged to participate in the political process. The process attained the status of a “crusade,” which denoted the seriousness of his call to action. Note too Martin’s pointed use of the word “myth.” Time and again in his speeches, writings and interviews, Martin challenged the commonly held belief of Blacks’ inferiority and the attendant “unholy legacy of the doctrine of white supremacy.”¹⁷⁶ A myth exposed as an untruth by actions and facts bolstered his assertion that change was not only possible, it was imminent. To support his assertion that the myth had been put to rest, Martin went on to list youths’ notable accomplishments challenging that myth: how they had proved that Blacks would not be happy with a mandated “segregated society,” and how the individual African American was willing and able to take on the tasks and burdens associated with advancement. Martin frequently urged personal action—the key to beginning to realize more equality and opportunity was to act, not to sit by passively and hope fortune will provide—remember the painful wrists.

Although it may have seemed difficult and there were still barriers to advancement, Martin called on his audience to become actively engaged in the political process. The young people in the movement successfully challenged the preconceived notions about the inferiority of African Americans through their organization, hard work, dedication, and resultant successes.

¹⁷⁴ In one of his editorials from 1960, Martin remarked that the youth were getting support for their increased protest activities from the older generations who were more “fearful and conservative” in their fight for civil rights. Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 21 May 1960, national ed.: 10.

¹⁷⁵ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 3.

¹⁷⁶ Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 02 Jan. 1960, national ed.: 10.

Martin expertly melded his emphasis on change and things new with his emphasis on the critical role for African Americans in politics. He mentioned “the rise of a new breed of practical Negro political leaders who dream of new horizons and new goals of political achievement.”¹⁷⁷ This sentiment resonated with his primary audiences during this era—young people from various colleges (e.g., Lincoln University) and other organizations specifically connected with the Democratic Party. His emphasis on these new leaders and their new dreams and opportunities was central to the identity of African Americans as a whole, which Martin also frequently addressed in this era.

2.5.3 *Recasting African American Identity*

Martin was quite eager to correct misunderstandings about the perceived and changing identity of African Americans. He wanted to dispel myths, stereotypes, and unfair characterizations about the group of which he counted himself a part. These depictions evolved not just based on skin color, but also based on where many African Americans lived, “ghettos,” which “symbolize the Negro as unacceptable, inferior and [as someone who] therefore must be kept apart.”¹⁷⁸ Martin spent a fair amount of time in the speeches of this era explaining and refuting some sources of the identity¹⁷⁹ problems for African Americans. He pointed to the injustices of the past and the attempted reparations as well as the actions of the persecuted people themselves. He did so to demonstrate that there was a shift in how African Americans were perceived by others and how they perceived themselves. As a rhetorical surrogate for both

¹⁷⁷ Louis E. Martin, *DNC Minorities*, 2.

¹⁷⁸ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: social crises*, 1.

¹⁷⁹ For more on the ability of speakers to constitute a group’s identity through political language, see Mary E. Stuckey, *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004) and Maurice Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the ‘Pueple Québécois,’” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73.2 (May 1987): 133-150.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as well as the African American community at large,¹⁸⁰ Martin was in a unique position to articulate how things had changed over time. This was especially true in the early stages of the Kennedy administration when the emphasis was on the new guard and the New Frontier. Martin's discussion of African American identity was characterized by (1) attention to myths versus facts and (2) consistently and enthusiastically calling the roll of successful Blacks in various fields and endeavors.

2.5.3.1 Myth Versus Fact

In Martin's 1961 speech to Lincoln University, he promoted President Kennedy's newly established organization called the Peace Corps. Given the international aspirations of the Corps, Martin talked about his then-recent experiences in Africa as a means to dispel some of the notions of what that continent and its people were all about: "The modern aspects of the city [Lagos, Nigeria], tall buildings, big department stores, hotels, the mansions in the suburbs and the endless stream of motor cars belied all of the crazy stories I had heard and read about life on the dark continent."¹⁸¹ In fact, Martin said, "there were no lions nor tigers and the most dangerous thing I could observe were the Nigerian bus and taxi drivers who helped to snarl up traffic on the busy streets."¹⁸² Martin found that life there was a lot like life in a large U.S. city, and not so very foreign after all. Despite the prevailing opinion that life in Africa was bleak and backward and hardly civilized, Martin personally observed that such characterizations were unfounded and untrue. Such inaccurate stories and those who accepted them as truth were

¹⁸⁰ Martha Stout Kessler uses the term "surrogate speaker" to refer to those persons speaking on behalf of the president in the 1980 presidential race. The rhetorical surrogate is invested with the authority of the person he or she is speaking for—in this case, Martin was vested with the authority of President Kennedy, thus adding clout and credibility to his arguments. See Martha Stout Kessler, "The Role of Surrogate Speakers in the 1980 Presidential Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 67.2 (May 1981): 146-156.

¹⁸¹ Louis E. Martin, "Along the New Frontier," 4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

mentally infirm, or “crazy.” He also contrasted characterizations of the “dark continent” with the perception of Blacks in America:

I was impressed on that first day too, by the quick movements of the people. Everyone seemed to be in motion, walking or running, cycling or motoring all around the town. This was no sleepy town down South and gone forever was the picture of a dark brother, munching bananas as he sat in the shade of a tree by some lazy river full of crocodiles.¹⁸³

These lines challenged the perception of Africans, and by extension, African Americans. Both groups evolved along with modern times and ways away from a more “primitive” existence to a “modern” lifestyle. Martin negated the stereotypes of Africans—and thus African Americans—as primitive by detailing his personal experiences to the assembled audiences.¹⁸⁴ He provided concrete examples to challenge commonly held assumptions about Blacks in Africa and America. Furthermore, he presented Africa as a positive example to the United States—there, Blacks were successfully negotiating the complexities of daily life, including politics, with great acumen. This was a stark contrast to the conditions still prominent in the American south, where people of color were legally inferior to Whites, and social structures in place made sure this remained the case.

While he was promoting the Peace Corps in this speech to Lincoln University, Martin was also aiming to dispel notions of black inferiority—perhaps even among his audience members. While his audience at this particular speech was composed of members of an HBCU, still Martin was working to establish a positive identity for those people in the context not only

¹⁸³ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸⁴ Martin’s column for the *Chicago Defender*, “Dope and Data,” is also a source of information about his experiences in Nigeria and other African countries. See his articles beginning in February of 1959 until approximately May of 1960, listed in Appendix B.

of the U.S. but of the world. Also in this speech, Martin referenced the “racial foolishness”¹⁸⁵ which characterized interactions between people in the south, specifically Savannah, Georgia. He explained that in Lagos, Nigeria, the color of a person’s skin did not matter because everybody in a position of power was black.

Perhaps this led him to suggest in later speeches that one means of African American improvement was through incorporating more people of color into the power structure in various cities and states of America. This speech, wherein he talks about his year-long trip to Nigeria before he was “jumped on”¹⁸⁶ to work for the Kennedy administration, showed that he had an international frame of reference. He was transcending the problems in America by pointing to the supposedly backward continent of Africa to reframe the debate.¹⁸⁷ The people there were certainly not lazy—they were actively working to improve their living conditions and the health of the country. The context for Martin’s argument largely may be in America, but it had roots in the African continent. He had been to other parts of the globe to see that the color of one’s skin was certainly not a barrier to achievement.

This speech at Lincoln University also had noteworthy aspects of identity in that it promoted a new and different vision of the American. Instead of dwelling on the characterization of the “Ugly American,”¹⁸⁸ Martin saw the Peace Corps as a chance to get young people in the international arena to demonstrate the youth, vigor, and deep-seated goodness of both American Blacks and Whites. The goal was to change the “image” of America and in so doing change the image of the people of America—particularly the too often disparaged African Americans.

¹⁸⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Along the New Frontier,” 5.

¹⁸⁶ Louis E. Martin, McComb Interview I, 5.

¹⁸⁷ For more on the use of transcendence as a rhetorical strategy, see Steven R. Goldzwig, “LBJ, the Rhetoric of Transcendence, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6.1 (Spring 2003): 25-53.

¹⁸⁸ Louis E. Martin, “Along the New Frontier,” 7.

Martin's speech in St. Louis also demonstrated how he was endeavoring to alter the perception of American Blacks not only by and among the power elite, but also among African Americans themselves. In most of these early speeches, we can assume he was speaking to a primarily African American audience. The significance of his promoting this positive view of the "new Negro"¹⁸⁹ is that he was simultaneously affirming and promoting the change he saw as necessary to the improvement of life for Blacks in America at this time in history. By acknowledging and detailing the conditions in previous times, Martin claimed that history. Then, he systematically showed that change was still possible—and necessary—in the face of that shared history. Martin fully expected additional improvements and continued progress toward first-class citizenship for Blacks in America—particularly when the country was being led by Democrats.

Martin was still very heavily influenced and inspired by and devoted to the Democratic Party. For him, the party was the one both able and dedicated to bring change whereby people were no longer discriminated against for the color of their skin—or their religion, as Kennedy was in the election of 1960.¹⁹⁰ Martin used Kennedy's difficulties as a Catholic to show how similarly ridiculous it was to fail to consider a political candidate or job applicant simply because of his or her color. This is yet another example of Martin's use of parallel argumentation. Remember too his discussion of the way life worked during his stay in Nigeria where there was no "racial foolishness" because *everybody* in power was black.¹⁹¹ Again, he pointed to conditions

¹⁸⁹ Martin frequently used this term which he adopted from a book: Alain Locke's *The New Negro*.

¹⁹⁰ Martin said: "I am convinced that the time will soon come when neither racial bigots nor religious bigots will be able to poison American citizens against worthy candidates and important issues. This will come, I believe, under Democratic leadership." Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 1.

¹⁹¹ Martin commented on the conditions he observed in Nigeria at length in his editorials for the *Chicago Defender*. While Blacks in America were often despondent about the conditions in which they lived, people in Africa were making great strides for their betterment. For example, in an article he penned at the beginning of January 1960, Martin wrote that "The old colonial order is breaking to pieces and the so-called savages of yesterday are demanding recognition and acceptance as full members in modern civilized society." The "savages" have

in Africa as reliable indicators of how America might begin to include her people of color and their talents to the benefit of the country. Martin presented events in Africa as evidence that skin color does not preclude effective community and government participation. Martin also mentioned the “so-called image of the Negro” and how it was shifting due to the success of individuals in “positions of power and responsibility they are holding today in Washington.”¹⁹² To hold such jobs in the nation’s capital was testimony to Blacks’ ability to succeed in the same venues as Whites. To demonstrate the change, Martin went on to mention a number of influential Blacks who had begun serving in positions of power around the nation, particularly Washington. These examples reinforced his claims and provided human points of reference for the audience. Martin relied on the ethos of those people he mentioned, and his audience’s recognition of them, to propel the audience to reconceptualize the African American citizen and to act. The individuals he called upon in his speeches were prominent in the early days of emancipation as well as contemporary actors. Martin cast this wide net to show that the new contingent of aspiring African Americans had their roots and strength in the relentless efforts of those who came before them in the quest for real equality.

Martin’s one and only published speech, “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter” contained many references to the changing perceptions of African Americans themselves as well as perceptions about African Americans since that proclamation in 1863.¹⁹³

asserted some successful control and authority over happenings in their homeland. See Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 02 Jan. 1960, national ed.: 10. He explained that “Nigerians do not have much of a color problem.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender*, 16 Jan. 1960, national ed.: 10.

¹⁹² Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 7.

¹⁹³ In a description preceding Martin’s speech, editor Roy L. Hill wrote that “One of the main points he is trying to convey to his audience is that the image of the Negro in our society has undergone a great change in the last century.” Roy L. Hill, ed. *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope*, 36.

Martin forcefully asserted that “even the bigoted whites”¹⁹⁴ did not believe that the black race was inferior any more: “Thus 100 years after Emancipation, the American people no longer seriously entertain any illusions about the so-called natural inferiority of the Negro.”¹⁹⁵ This statement, while clearly indicative of his optimism, may have been specific to the circles in which he traveled, but not necessarily the country at large.¹⁹⁶ Segregation and racism were still common, particularly in the Southern states, during this early era of Martin’s public address. Since Martin was based in urban hubs such as Chicago, Detroit, and Washington D.C., he noted the changes in those large urban centers as opposed to the small towns of the South, which were often slower to change.

Martin went on to remark that this shift in perception was due to the “self-evident” fact that: “[t]he American Negro has shown the world today that he is willing to pay the costs, through suffering and sacrifice, for his own advancement.”¹⁹⁷ Note Martin’s use of the monetary metaphor, “pay the costs.” If a person has paid “the costs” for something, it belongs to that person. This sentiment pointed to the fact that the modern African American was being perceived differently due to his or her own hard work and desire for betterment—Blacks had agency and were able to affect change among a certain subsection of the white majority. Martin realized that not all Whites were bigots and chose to forge bonds with the liberal majority rather than to dwell on the constraints posed by the bigots and racists. Martin was focused on progress

¹⁹⁴ Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 130.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ John G. Condran studied Whites’ attitudes toward African Americans in the 1960s and 1970s and determined that liberalism increased in tandem with increased education. See John G. Condran, “White Attitudes Toward Blacks: 1963-1977,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 43.4 (Winter 1979): 463-476. Greeley and Sheatsley confirm this using data from 1956, 1963, 1970, and 1972, stating, “While regional variations are most striking, the data show further consistent differences by age and education. In all regions, at all time periods, younger whites and those with the highest levels of education were most accepting of integration.” See Andrew Greeley and Paul B. Sheatsley, “Changing Attitudes of Whites Toward Blacks,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference on Public Opinion Research, Public Opinion Quarterly* 36.3 (Autumn 1972): 432-433.

¹⁹⁷ Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 130.

and results, not on skin color. In fact, to him “this whole black-white thing was bullshit,”¹⁹⁸ and he would work with whomever he pleased to improve race relations.

Martin was privy to such information about evolving perceptions by and about African Americans due to his extensive work with the labor unions as well as his career as a journalist in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Given his survey of history, Martin emphasized the inevitability of change: “Thus I think it is fair to state that not only has the image of the Negro changed in the last one hundred years but that the Negro himself has changed also.”¹⁹⁹ Again, Martin’s belief was that Blacks were working very hard to improve their lot and integrate with Whites as first-class citizens with the same rights and obligations.

Martin’s emphasis on change and newness, particularly with regard to the image of African Americans, was supplemented by many tangible, human examples over time. It was not simply a matter of Martin’s individual perception. Instead, Martin argued, African Americans must and had worked to improve their lot. They had the means and desire to do so, as Martin regularly showed through examples of prominent Blacks in communities all over the nation. He was able to secure this information about noted individuals due, in part, to his work with the DNC. There, he was able to gain access to many of the important community leaders he would subsequently use as examples to his many audiences of the real strength and ability of African Americans.

In his 1967 speech to the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC, Martin insisted on a positive assessment of the actual identity of African Americans as a whole. Because this speech was given to a group composed of minorities other than just African Americans, it is

¹⁹⁸ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 01 Dec. 1991, in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 13, Folder 5, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (1 of 3), 24.

¹⁹⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 131.

especially useful for determining what, exactly, Martin was hoping to promote as fact: that America could benefit from the talents of *all* her citizens regardless of their color. Martin argued that the failure of society to use the talents of all the citizens harmed the American community as a whole.²⁰⁰ He wanted to show that white supremacy was a lie and that Blacks were more than capable of successfully conducting national and local business. He pointed to people of the nations of Africa, particularly Nigeria, as examples. He began the speech by noting many successful African Americans as examples who defied the common perception of Blacks in America.²⁰¹

In addition, his speech referenced racial unrest in the recent elections, and noted that racism was still a problem. He denounced the fact that “Negroes in political offices” were not offered as much respect as those who were in the fields of sports or entertainment.²⁰² He was working to dispel the perception that African Americans can only achieve greatness in certain fields. Remember, it was his contention that the only way African Americans could get more fair treatment in the United States was for them to become more involved in politics—as voters and as office holders. Martin believed in the power of the political process and the need for Blacks to become integral to that process in order to begin to secure first-class citizenship. He often charged that it was difficult to inspire the youth to vote when some proclaim it did not seem that much was being accomplished via the vote.²⁰³ As late as 1970, Martin was concerned about youth participation in politics: “Is it any wonder that some of our youth come to the conclusion

²⁰⁰ For example, Martin explained that, “There has been a growing recognition also that the nation as a whole, and not just the Negro, is the loser under the system of second-class citizenship.” Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 131.

²⁰¹ See the section called Calling the Roll, below, for information on those he names specifically.

²⁰² Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 2.

²⁰³ Martin explained the problem to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities Division audience as follows: “In addition to our basic work in registration and party organization we have a major job to do in political education, in clarifying the issues, in combating the cynicism of the youth who doubt the relevance of voting and the political process, in combatting the reactionary views that lead to a denial of first-class citizenship for all Americans.” Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 4.

that the political process is irrelevant, that you can get more results by throwing a brick than by casting a ballot?”²⁰⁴ The people in the halls of government are the ones who made the laws that have consequences for the rank and file, Martin argued. Thus, Martin encouraged the rank and file to participate fully in the process to better serve themselves. This was particularly important on the local level where the number of votes cast in a single ward could determine the outcome of an election.

In his address to the Colorado Young Democrats, Martin was especially intent on dispelling myths about the African American community. He did so by presenting the audience with different definitions and characterizations of African Americans. Martin’s enthusiastic challenging of established myths about African Americans may be due to the fact that the assembled audience was “young,” and therefore impressionable. Throughout the speeches of this time period, Martin insisted on the importance of the youth of the movement—how they could bring the renewed vigor and ideas to the campaign for the advancement and fair treatment of Blacks in America. Martin referred to the challenges in the struggle for civil rights during the early and mid-1960s, denouncing the fact that “white attitudes toward blacks have not greatly changed despite the lowering of some barriers. The stereotypes persist.”²⁰⁵ He went on to remark,

The black citizen still feels that he is scorned and regarded with contempt by white society even though he is standing taller and making progress.

For the first time many Negroes see that anti-Negro prejudice and white

²⁰⁴ Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 9.

²⁰⁵ Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 8.

racism remain almost as strong as ever despite the fact that the ‘white only’ signs have come down and some barriers have fallen.²⁰⁶

This quotation points to an important characteristic of this era: while there were laws on the books forbidding segregation and voting discrimination and the like, it was still common for African Americans to face prejudice in varying contexts.²⁰⁷ It is this type of audience, particularly associated with the Democratic party, that Martin believed could begin to further erase some of the old racial stereotypes still hindering the progress of African Americans in 1960s and 1970s America.

One of his last speeches of this era, delivered to the National Urban League in July of 1977, still spoke to the stereotypes of African Americans, but this time Martin explained that that perception was, unfortunately, common in other countries as well as the United States. Having just returned from a trip to the USSR, Martin explained that: “The image of U.S. blacks among Russians with whom we talked, some of the journalists, seemed to be based primarily on Mark Twain’s Huckleberry Finn and the media reporting of U.S. racial atrocities of this century. The sophisticated Russians who are well traveled [sic] of course, had a different perspective.”²⁰⁸ This is significant because it illustrates that the stereotypes and perceptions of African Americans in the United States had traction abroad as late as 1977—well after the civil rights movement had achieved some notable successes. In fact, Martin relayed the story of how a Russian journalist suggested Martin should “lose [his passport] on purpose” as a response to the perceived

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ These contexts included institutions of higher learning, business, entertainment, and employment, among other areas. See Ernest Boynton, “African Students Have Their Brushes With American Racial Prejudice,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 30 Mar. 1968, big weekend ed.: 11.; Bayard Rustin, “Prejudice and Poverty Under Nixon,” *Sun Reporter* 12 Apr. 1969: 9.; “Use of Blacks in Movies Can Be Dangerous,” *Sacramento Observer* 03 Apr. 1969: 28.; “Harvard Sit-In Over Black Painters’ Pay,” *Bay State Banner* 27 Nov. 1969: 12.

²⁰⁸ Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 3.

treatment of Blacks in the U.S.²⁰⁹ Martin explained in his journalistic accounts of his travels that he was repeatedly asked by people in foreign countries to explain the racial climate in the U.S.²¹⁰ Martin realized that foreigners paid great attention to the treatment of Blacks in the States, and that America's inaction in securing civil rights for people of color reflected terribly on the nation as a whole.

Martin continued with some blistering commentary about the characterization of American Blacks abroad back in the 1940s: "The American Negro was symbolized by a clowning shoe-shine boy who made Uncle Tom look like a militant."²¹¹ Martin countered one stereotype with another in order to negate both of them. Martin's speeches frequently included such references to characters in literature, such as Uncle Tom, which were used to fuel faulty convictions about African Americans. For example, some people believed that even if a person of color was appointed to a position of leadership in government, it was only a symbolic appointment, and that the appointee "had no real influence in the U.S. [S]tate [D]epartment."²¹² Martin explained that this was not the case, pointing to the success of President Carter's Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young. While the "poor image [of Blacks] has taken a long time to die,"²¹³ it was because of the achievements of a number of African Americans that the stereotypes could be challenged if not outright abolished. Martin referenced these key people through a process of "calling the roll."

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 4.

²¹⁰ For example, in his second article written in Lagos, Martin explained: "However badly America may be misrepresented abroad, the people here, the average man, looks upon our country as a land of opportunities for education and progress." Louis E. Martin, "Dope and Data," *Chicago Defender* 23 May 1959, national ed.: 10.

²¹¹ Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 4.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

2.5.3.2 *Calling the Roll*

To make his imperative point that Blacks were more than capable of productively participating in society and various segments of government, Martin took the time in his speeches to identify, or “call the roll”²¹⁴ of, many African Americans who were already in positions of power.²¹⁵ He thereby challenged and dispelled the myths and, more importantly, provided examples to which his audiences could look for inspiration and, by extension, evidence of the lie of racial inferiority.²¹⁶ By naming names, Martin made an argument by example²¹⁷—he provided factual information about those people who had already succeeded in the national and international arena as proof of his claim. Furthermore, by naming specific individuals, he used concrete diction, which was more persuasive than abstract diction referring to generic “pioneers” or “leaders.”²¹⁸ Because of his time spent as a journalist for African American newspapers, Martin was certainly knowledgeable about the achievements of people in African American communities around the nation. His tendency to call the roll of the important and influential people was one way he attempted to bolster his claims that Blacks were, indeed, capable of performing tasks in American government.

From his first speech in 1961 which he delivered to Lincoln University, Martin named prominent African Americans who have been able to challenge the system by joining it, as he himself advocated. Martin explained: “The appointment of Dr. Robert Weaver to head the

²¹⁴ Martin was joined by others who would “call the roll” of influential Blacks. See for example, Martin’s article where he explains that a conference speaker “called the roll of famous black scientists.” Louis E. Martin, “Investing in Our Future,” *Chicago Tribune* 12 May 1982: Section 1, 19.

²¹⁵ See Appendix D for a list of prominent African Americans, and other people, Martin mentioned in his speeches.

²¹⁶ Martin stated, “Thus 100 years after Emancipation, the American people no longer seriously entertain any illusions about the so-called natural inferiority of the Negro.” Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation,” 130.

²¹⁷ In this type of argument, examples are used to “support factual claims about the existence of a condition of some sort.” James Jasinski, “Argument,” in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 31.

²¹⁸ For more information about abstract versus concrete diction see, Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical Style*, 64.

Housing Program of the Administration, and the naming of other Negroes to positions never before held, have already won national attention.”²¹⁹ His mentioning Weaver had two purposes: not only did it reinforce to the audience the claim that African Americans could and would serve well in positions of government, it also promoted the perception of then President Kennedy as an ally in the progress and promotion of civil rights.

Martin also named people who were national leaders of African Americans in a bid to get support for his policies. For example, in the 1961 St. Louis speech, Martin mentioned Roy Wilkins and Dr. Martin Luther King as great proponents of getting Blacks to register so that their votes could be made to count in future elections. This was a national appeal, but Martin was also careful to call for “each community” to also seek to register all the voters. His speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League is a case in point. He lauded that audience for their efforts to register Blacks to vote and pointed to the strength they could demonstrate as a large voting block: “We must face the hard realities of our situation and begin now to mobilize the full voting strength of our people in Atlanta and throughout America.”²²⁰ African Americans had given Kennedy the victory in 1960,²²¹ and Martin believed that they could propel similarly minded Democrats to other positions of power.

The speech in St. Louis is remarkable for its sustained list of African Americans promoted to various posts by the Kennedy administration. At this point in Martin’s speeches, he detailed the successful actions of President Kennedy to date: “The President has appointed more qualified Negroes into responsible policy-making position [sic] in the Federal Government than

²¹⁹ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 2.

²²⁰ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 2.

²²¹ Dorothy Gilliam writes that “Martin also persuaded the president to use the White House to make larger social statements, particularly since, as Martin boldly reminded Kennedy, he owed blacks a political debt.” See Dorothy Gilliam, “Symbolism,” *Washington Post* 21 Nov. 1983: D1.

were appointed by all the Presidents since the turn of the century combined.”²²² The names he mentioned were testament to his assertion that, by getting Blacks in positions of power, the overall condition of African Americans in America would gradually improve. Some of the other people he mentioned include: Christopher C. Scott who was Deputy Assistant Postmaster General; Cecil Poole, an attorney for the United States; Merle McCurdy, also a U.S. attorney; Carl Rowan the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in MN; Andrew Hatcher as Associate White House Secretary; Judges James B. Parsons and Wade McCree; and Thurgood Marshall for the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals.²²³ The purpose of naming names and calling the roll, as Martin did so frequently in these early speeches, was to make his case that there were qualified²²⁴ Blacks to fill such positions—that there was no office to which an African American person could not aspire.

For example, in his speech to a St. Louis audience, Martin called upon Bob Weaver’s success in running a billion dollar budget to illustrate Weaver’s and other Blacks’ genuine competence in government as well as “private enterprise.”²²⁵ In his speech to the young Democrats in Colorado, Martin phrased it this way: “These black beach-heads [sic] in every department of the Federal Government permit us to say for the first time in our history that there is no appointive position in the national government which is barred to a citizen because of his race or color.”²²⁶ This quotation demonstrates Martin’s continued use of battle metaphors (i.e., beachheads) to characterize the struggle for civil rights. Appointed Blacks were winning battles

²²² Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 6.

²²³ Ibid., 6-7.

²²⁴ Martin was insistent upon qualifications for candidates he recommended. He wrote, “We will look silly fighting for an important post and then when it is granted we come up with a lame-brain jackass to fill it.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 19 Mar. 1960, national ed.: 10.

²²⁵ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 8.

²²⁶ Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 7.

by making inroads in the political establishment and securing their position therein. Martin stated:

The list of qualified Negroes who are now running things in Washington is far too long to be read here. Anyway, I am convinced that the so-called image of the Negro in this country is going to be enhanced by the positions of power and responsibility they are holding today in Washington.²²⁷

As time progressed and Martin continued to give speeches up until 1990, the lists of these distinguished African Americans in positions of power continued to expand, and many people make repeat appearances over the years.

When Martin addressed the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC in 1967, he took that opportunity to relay the accomplishments of even more African Americans in government positions. For example, to reinforce his emphasis on the importance of local action, he pointed to Blacks serving as mayors of major cities: Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Ohio, and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana; as well as increasing numbers of Blacks in legislatures of Virginia (Dr. Ferguson Reid), Mississippi (Robert Clark) and Louisiana (Ernest Morial). Martin also used this speech as an opportunity to focus on the achievements of African American women in the South, such as Representatives Georgia M. Davis and Mae Street Kidd of Kentucky. Martin's naming of these African American achievers in the context of this speech served as an argument by example—if the people he cited as examples can attain levels of power in government, then surely those in attendance and others in their circle could as well. He stated, in

²²⁷ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 7.

fact: “The year 1967 has been a history-making year for Negro Democrats in American politics”²²⁸ with many Blacks being elected to government positions even in the South.

At this time in Martin’s speeches, there was definitely evidence of success to support his proposal of getting more African Americans in government and judicial jobs in order to bring about positive change for a greater number of people. His optimism was bolstered by actual, documented accomplishments: “The records made by Negro Democratic candidates in races for local, county and state offices in the South, as well as the North, clearly indicate that the Negro minority is on the threshold [sic] of a new era of political development and political power in the United States.”²²⁹ Note that there had been six years since his first recorded speech in 1961 and this one. In that time, the country had seen the turn-over of the presidency and the establishment of several prominent laws that were designed to ensure African American participation in the voting life of the country: the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts.

By this time, Martin had concrete accomplishments he could point to in President Johnson’s tenure—specifically these two acts. This was not the case during Martin’s work with President Kennedy. Martin’s relationship with Johnson facilitated his ability to advance a number of African Americans to positions of power. Whereas Kennedy could mainly give lip-service to progress, Johnson made actual tangible progress and Martin conveyed that to a welcoming audience such as the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC. Despite problems of the time, Martin trumpeted the belief that “we believe that the majority of American [sic] support the firm commitment of President Johnson and the administration for civil rights

²²⁸ Louis E. Martin, *DNC Minorities*, 1.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

and the elimination of the basic causes of social unrest.”²³⁰ Martin argued that President Johnson was surrounded by other people who were similarly dedicated to the cause. Martin celebrated people who were “members of an inspired team who shared the President’s commitment to write a new chapter in the history of America’s quest for freedom and equality.”²³¹ Martin knew, based on past achievements, that it would take collaboration of many people with different talents to write that chapter successfully. He called for attention to the underlying foundational problems that led to civil rights problems; he addressed the cause, not just the symptoms at hand. Martin’s optimism was increasingly based on actual achievements:

Our activities in 1967 with Negro Democrats in state, regional and national workshops, working also with leaders of civic, business, social, civil rights, and religious organizations in the political process, supplying information to the Negro press and radio, making speeches across the country—all have been encouraging and we believe fruitful.²³²

This quotation shows the extent to which Martin sought out people from various segments of the community to better spread his message. This message was primarily one of supplying information to the very people he hoped to empower. Martin frequently acknowledged that Blacks did not have access to the information they needed to begin to secure their own genuine equality as first-class citizens. Through communicating with various community leaders, he could begin to distribute that information to the people most in need via the channels they were most likely to frequent: namely the black press. This quotation also shows how Martin’s focus ranged from local to national activities—seeking to influence and empower as much of the African American electorate as possible. The activities he promoted, to his way of thinking, had

²³⁰ Ibid., 2.

²³¹ Louis E. Martin, LBJ Library, 1.

²³² Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 3.

been positive and borne “fruit.” Positive results, in turn, fueled Martin’s infectious optimism about future possibilities.

By the time Martin addressed the Urban League in 1977, there were even more people to put forth as examples of Blacks who had clearly succeeded in government. In this and other eras of his speechmaking, Martin frequently mentioned “Andy” Young, “a black UN Ambassador who speaks with authority”²³³ as a prime example of the type of new leader he saw flourishing in an increasingly equitable United States. With Young as an irrefutable example, Martin went on to persuade his audience about their own plentiful yet barely tapped “political potential.” He said, “We have more black mayors, state and county legislators and government officials than anyone ever dreamed possible only a few years ago.”²³⁴ Martin contrasted the “dreams” of Blacks to achieve equality to the realities and was increasingly heartened by the progress. His dream reference, of course, harkens back to Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality and nondiscrimination. It was in this last speech of the era that Martin increasingly looked to organizations such as the Urban League to provide the education that would propel more African Americans into positions of power.²³⁵ This shift to radical inclusion would be largely accomplished by the use of certain tools, which he relentlessly promoted in this and the other eras of his speechmaking.

2.5.4 Reliable Tools in the Pursuit of Progress

One of the most salient characteristics of Martin’s early addresses was his insistent emphasis on the “tools” with which African Americans could attain first-class citizenship: the

²³³ Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 5.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

²³⁵ Note that by the time of this speech to the National Urban League in 1977, Martin had already played a major role in creating the Joint Center for Political Studies—a group specifically designed to help minorities in government positions get access to services they needed to do their jobs effectively.

vote and the dollar, and later, the appointment of African Americans to positions of authority in government and the judiciary. Time and again, Martin mentioned these tools to each audience he addressed to promote his assessment of their worth and capability to force change. By consistently stating the power and importance of the dollar and the vote, complete with examples of how these tools had been used in the past, Martin used the rhetorical tactic of amplification to “emphasize (or ‘amplify’) a particular point.”²³⁶ Again and again, he insisted on Blacks’ pragmatic and purposeful use of these metaphorical tools critical to the political process and increased power for Blacks in America. Martin sought to understand and to help others to understand the power of these two instruments and how best to harness and apply that power to “build” opportunities.

In Martin’s 1961 speech in St. Louis, he said: “We are beginning to understand the power structure in America. We recognize that there are two instrumentalities of power, two tools which we have in our hands which we can use at our own will. One of these tools represent [sic] our economic power, the dollar bill. The other tool represents political power, the vote.”²³⁷ Notice his emphasis on the tangible aspect of the vote and the dollar: they are “in our hands,” and could therefore be used by those in possession of them to make changes and challenge the status quo. He ended his speech in St. Louis with this: “We can play our part in strengthening the hand of the President [Kennedy] and in ridding America of racial and religious discrimination by the intelligence with which we use those two tools of power, the dollar bill and the vote.”²³⁸ This sentiment reinforced the importance of the audience’s participation: they were necessary to lend strength to President Kennedy, who himself had experienced religious bigotry.

²³⁶ James Jasinski, “Amplification,” in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001): 12.

²³⁷ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 4.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Beyond Blacks' vote securing President Kennedy's spot in the Oval Office, Martin suggested that there were other contests requiring their informed vote as well—particularly in local politics. Not only were these tools useful in African Americans' claiming some of their basic rights, Martin also made clear that votes and dollars were means of securing power—power that had been denied and usurped by others throughout the history of America. In fact, “We are forever talking about the reactionaries in the Congress who filibuster and stop all progressive legislation. I can assure you that if we registered and voted our full strength throughout the country, we would put an end forever to the power of the reactionaries.”²³⁹ The racists and bigots then currently in the power positions could be toppled with a sustained voting registration campaign and consistent voting of African Americans. Martin's style was to focus on the “strength” of those to whom he was speaking and to assure them that their actions really did matter. Martin attempted to dispel the myth of African American inferiority forever. In the same way, he wanted to forever silence those bigots, reactionaries, nay-sayers and others who used their positions of power to keep minorities' second-class status absolute. Voting and spending were not simply suggested as a course of action, they were presented as a necessity to begin to secure real political power. Martin presented these “two major instrumentalities of power in our democracy”²⁴⁰ as tools to be used right away.

2.5.4.1 *The Dollar*

In the St. Louis speech, Martin made clear the fact that wise application of African American dollars could have an immediate effect on Blacks' status. He called attention to the power they already had to inspire them to action: “Our economic power is enormous. You know that we have an annual income in the United States of over twenty billion dollars. What we do

²³⁹ Ibid., 6.

²⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 1.

with this wealth, how we spend it and how we invest it, directly affect our status in the society.”²⁴¹ Martin often commented on the role of money in politics in his newspaper editorials, and that sentiment extended to his speeches as well. Note his mention of both spending and investing and how African Americans approached those activities. He recasts the activities as an indication of status, suggesting that people spend wisely and in accordance with a vision of the future.

In another example of identification, Martin counted himself among the audience members as one of many who can strategically use funds to empower Blacks in America. Through these speeches to various groups Martin made suggestions about where dollars could best be spent (i.e., with Blacks who were entrepreneurs and various groups dedicated to minorities, such as the NAACP). Martin’s reference to the “spending power” of Blacks was another theme that appears frequently in his various speeches as a means to improve the condition of Blacks in America at this time. While many African Americans may not have had enough money to meet their most basic needs, he appealed to others who do have discretionary income to spend it wisely.²⁴² This could best be accomplished by educating Blacks about finances, which may best be provided by local organizations.²⁴³ He believed that “The intelligent manipulation of this economic tool, the dollar bill, can profoundly affect our future.”²⁴⁴ The key was to go about this process in a smart and organized fashion, which was where the leaders of

²⁴¹ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 4.

²⁴² Martin commented on this at length in a 1977 article in which he stated, there is an “allegation that black consumers will buy whatever they fancy, irrespective of the costs or the consequences. We are all familiar with the popular adage that we always buy what we want and beg for what we need.” Martin went on to suggest: “we may not be suffering so much from powerlessness as we are from stupidity” and asserted, “the time may be ripe now to start making our dollars talk. It doesn’t pay to get mad, it pays to get smart.” Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dollars Hold Key to ‘Lock’ On Power,” *Tri-State Defender* 20 Aug. 1977, 5.

²⁴³ He explains to the members of the Urban League audience: “Yet any student of the consumer habits of blacks will quickly admit that almost 20 cents of every black dollar is wasted or foolishly spent. The need for a widespread consumer education is critical. Some of us seem to still be in the position of aborigines [sic] who gave up valuable land for strings of beads.” Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 8.

²⁴⁴ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 4.

various African American communities could get involved. Thus, Martin was not only promoting the use of the dollar, he was also providing examples of how the dollar could be used—perhaps to inspire the audience members to action in their own location.

The critical role of African American-owned businesses was also apparent in his speech before the Atlanta Negro Voters League in 1962. In that speech, Martin referenced a number of businesses in Atlanta that were thriving under African American leadership:

The financial institutions you have built, Atlanta Life, the Citizens Trust Bank, the Mutual Savings and Loan and the others speak for themselves. In Savannah where we are building Guaranty Life, the Carver Bank and similar institutions we doff our hats to your leadership. I wish to pay tribute to your thrift and business enterprise because I am firmly convinced that we shall never win full acceptance in this society until we play some part in the power structure of America.²⁴⁵

This quotation illustrates Martin’s characteristic method of providing evidence for his claims by naming certain individuals or entities who have managed to secure positions of power in local and federal appointments—judicial and legislative. By pointing to specific successful businesses, Martin provided a blueprint of sorts for others to follow.

Furthermore, Martin provided a network of human connections: real people who achieved success and were obligated, in turn, to lend their success to others. The significance of such social networking was hardly lost on Martin, whose connections due to his experience as a journalist led him to become familiar with many potential appointees for various posts. Martin was careful to state that it was what the African American community did with its dollars that would benefit the group as a whole: “The annual income of our citizens in the United States

²⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 1.

exceeds twenty billion dollars. What we do with these dollars affects our civil rights and the general welfare of ourselves and our children. You know this well.”²⁴⁶ Why would Martin make this point if the audience already knew it to be true? He was using this tactic to reinforce and amplify his beliefs with a sympathetic audience. Even so, Martin was realistic nearly to a fault: “We must face the hard realities of our situation and begin now to mobilize the full voting strength of our people in Atlanta and throughout America.”²⁴⁷ This is another example of his sustained use of pragmatic argument whereby he systematically acknowledged both opportunities and dilemmas in order to completely assess the situation at hand and begin to move forward, literally, by “mobilizing” the African American masses. This call for movement was particularly apparent in his call for all African Americans to claim their right as voters.

2.5.4.2 *One Person, One Vote*

With Martin’s early speeches to various groups, he made sure to emphasize and reemphasize the power of the vote for African Americans. He frequently cited figures to bolster his claims. For example, in his speech in St. Louis, Martin stated: “The power of [the] vote, of course, is self-evident. In the last election I believe that we made the wisest choice in our political history when we gave almost eighty per cent of our votes to John F. Kennedy.”²⁴⁸ Hard figures were persuasive and eighty percent of one hundred was an impressive figure. It was representative of that full voting strength for which Martin so longed. While Blacks did overwhelmingly vote for Kennedy, Martin took this opportunity to expose the fact that there were “more unregistered Negroes of voting age than in any other group.”²⁴⁹ He used the

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 2.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 5.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

rhetorical strategy of definition here by calling, specifically, on those Blacks “of voting age.”²⁵⁰ Martin was able to separate the “noise” from the “facts:” nearly eighty percent of the registered voters went for Kennedy in the 1960 election²⁵¹ and this was possible even before the Voting Rights Act.

Before Blacks could vote, of course, they had to register. Registration was another common worry Martin had in this era. In his speech to the National Association of Market Developers, Martin asked his audience to “Consider the problems of registration. The restrictions citizens face and the inconveniences to which they are put to qualify to vote are archaic and ridiculous. The fewer blacks registered, the fewer can vote and the weaker their voices in the councils where decisions are made.”²⁵² As he had in the past, Martin appeals to the power of Blacks’ strength in numbers—perhaps in a bid to console them about the remaining “restrictions” and “inconveniences” they may have to face in order to register. The potential outcome, he enthused, was worth the problems of access. To remedy the access problem, Martin even called for “a universal enrollment plan” to get people from age 18 and above registered to vote and left that job to the state which should assume responsibility for that as they do for census taking.²⁵³ Registration efforts were undertaken by a number of organizations during this time, such as the Atlanta Negro Voters League.

Martin’s speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League also emphasized this fact—that the power and volume of the black vote was one worth harnessing. He even went so far as to call voter registration of African Americans a “crusade.”²⁵⁴ This is telling because it points to the

²⁵⁰ For more on definition, see James Jasinski, “Definition/Definition of the Situation,” in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 151-160.

²⁵¹ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 5.

²⁵² Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 8.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁵⁴ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 3.

nearly Biblical importance Martin placed on the African American vote. Perhaps more than religion and religious beliefs, Blacks' involvement in voter registration could be effective in beginning to secure access to the so-called promised land here on Earth. In fact, in these early speeches, the black person who could vote "has a sacred obligation to do so."²⁵⁵ Voting was serious business for Martin in these early speeches—and beyond.

In his "Emancipation Proclamation" speech in 1963, Martin was similarly effusive about the power of the vote: "Through the use of the ballot we can choose those who govern us and this tool is one of the greatest levers to move forward."²⁵⁶ His emphasis on choice was no accident, and it imbued the people to whom he spoke with a sense of agency. That is, he argued, African Americans had power to impact policy making by choosing the policy makers to represent them. This led to Martin's eventual suggestion that those who the rank and file chose to represent them should be one of them so as to understand fully their plight and to act in a way to improve their lot. Again, he also urged action and movement forward—always progressing, however slowly.

By the time Martin delivered his 1967 speech to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities division, Lyndon Johnson had begun to implement the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Whereas with Kennedy in office, Martin could only point to Kennedy's personal interest in the affairs of African Americans and his plans for improvements, with the Johnson administration, Martin could point to actual achievements in securing equality, including voting rights. Martin used Johnson's words to impress upon those in his audience that while the Voting Rights Act was a legal mandate for change, it was up to the individual to assert his or her rights in the voting

²⁵⁵ Louis E. Martin, "Dope and Data," *Chicago Defender* 27 Aug. 1960, national ed., 10. He goes on to explain that the African American who is registered to vote "possesses something precious which these white bosses of both parties want." To "stand up and be counted in the ballot box" was a key way to force those in power to reckon with increasingly empowered African Americans.

²⁵⁶ Louis E. Martin, "Emancipation Proclamation," 132.

booth. Like his earlier speeches, Martin's insistence on the importance of effectively deploying the informed African American voting public was clear. He called for the "wise use of the ballot,"²⁵⁷ guided, in part, by those leaders who heard Martin's speeches. Coupled with his enthusiasm for voting, however, Martin maintained his realistic perspective to his pragmatic argument, saying,

I do not wish to imply that all of our problems will be solved by our voting. Nevertheless, studies made by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in counties in the South where Negroes vote and where they do not clearly show that life is better in the voting counties. There are better schools, less mob violence, less police brutality and a better atmosphere than in the non-voting counties.²⁵⁸

Martin advocated other strategies to secure progress in addition to voting, of course. He called on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to provide evidence for his claims that voting did matter and could bring about changes. The conditions he was careful to mention specifically, better education and less violence, spoke to his assembled audience's immediate concerns. To supplement the power African Americans could begin to attain through the use of the vote and the dollar, Martin increasingly suggested it was necessary that Blacks also begin to serve in positions of power in local, state, and federal government.

2.5.4.3 Political Appointments, Not Posturing

Martin's focus on the appointment of African Americans to political posts became more urgent with his speech to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities Division in 1967—a time when

²⁵⁷ Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 3.

²⁵⁸ Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 4.

racial relations in the country were becoming increasingly tense.²⁵⁹ Martin said, “The records made by Negro Democratic candidates in races for local, county and state offices in the South, as well as the North, clearly indicate that the Negro minority is on the threshold [sic] of a new era of political development and political power in the United States.” He cited figures in support of his claim and he named those individuals he offered up as stories of success. Progress in getting more minorities in government was being made, however slowly. Martin looked to the then current leaders in various circles as instruments to promote change.

During his St. Louis speech, he said, “While the Kennedy Administration is exercising great leadership in this total war on racial and religious discrimination in American life, the historians of the future are bound to pay tribute to the wisdom and intelligence of our Negro leadership.”²⁶⁰ These leaders engaged in the “total war” already knew the importance of the tools Martin suggested (wise voting and spending)—he was simply reinforcing and promoting this additional tool (appointments of Blacks to positions of power). In an article for the *Chicago Defender* called “The Negro Decision Makers,” Martin commented at length about how leading Blacks in government were no longer in “advisory” positions only, but instead had real power to make policy decisions that would affect a large number of people.²⁶¹

The Voters League got some similarly succinct commentary from Martin. He suggested there was great opportunity for Blacks to advance in politics on many levels. Martin explained: “You may be interested to know that in 91 Congressional districts of the North and in 60 Congressional districts in the deep South, the Negro population ranges from over 10 to 92

²⁵⁹ See, for example, Bernard Caughey, “Psychiatrist Says Riots May Get Worse,” *Chicago Defender* 16 Sep. 1967, national ed.: 14.; Emanuel Perlmutter, “White Supremacy Doctrine Is Blamed for Riots,” *New York Times* 13 Nov. 1967, 94.; “Race Riots: The Script Is Familiar, But the Sets Are Different,” *New York Times* 18 June 1967: 156.

²⁶⁰ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 3.

²⁶¹ Louis E. Martin, “The Negro Decision Makers,” *Chicago Defender*, 21 Apr. 1962, national ed., 8.

percent. In other words we have over a 150 Congressional districts in which Negro voters have a chance now, or soon will have, to help determine in an important way who will represent their districts in the Congress.”²⁶² Voting strength in numbers for representatives who would best defend their interests in their specific locale was an effective way to begin to force change from the ground up. Of course, the DNC was instrumental in such local matters.

By the time Martin made his 1967 speech to the Minorities and Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee, the conditions in America had momentarily improved somewhat—at least, by law, Blacks were allowed to vote. Martin called the roll in this speech as well to make note of all the various African Americans who had made inroads in the political system. This was, again, a strategy to encourage participation, reward action, and facilitate networking between audience members and representatives and groups. Martin noticed a turn in perceptions about the capability of Blacks during this time period and he capitalized on the contrast: “The time is at hand when Negroes in high political offices will find as much support nationally as Negro stars in sports, the performing arts and other fields.”²⁶³ Martin called attention to this specific “time” to illustrate change and the success of the strategy he had been advocating at least since 1961. In 1967, there was evidence that his prescription for change and betterment—wise voting, spending, and increased political participation were working to some degree.

In his 1970 speech at Harvard, where Martin earned his honorary doctorate, he described his consistent support for getting more African Americans involved in politics:

Since 1944 when I worked as a publicity aide in the Roosevelt-Truman campaign, I have been a consistent advocate of greater black participation

²⁶² Louis E. Martin, Atlanta Negro Voters League, 3.

²⁶³ Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 2.

in the political process. I am still convinced that it can become an effective instrument, although not the only one, for bringing down racial barriers and for building a more just society.²⁶⁴

At the time of his Harvard speech in 1970, Martin had been privy to news and accomplishments of African Americans in the political process for approximately four decades. Consistent with his pragmatic approach to the problem, he did pause to explain that Blacks' participation in the political process was just one way to achieve social justice. Martin encouraged a comprehensive approach requiring active participation of all African Americans. In the speeches of this era, Martin often cited statistics about the number of African Americans involved in various levels of government. For example, in his first speech in 1961, he mentioned Kennedy's "naming of other Negroes [besides Robert Weaver] to positions never before held,"²⁶⁵ and in his following speech in St. Louis, he similarly noted that there are numerous "qualified Negroes [who are] running things in Washington."²⁶⁶ With these statements, his audience got the impression that there was a plurality of Blacks in government, a sign of progress.

Later, Martin got more specific. In his 1967 speech to the Minorities and Nationalities division, Martin pointed to wins in the South: "To date 23 Negroes have won legislative seats in the Old Confederacy: 11 in Georgia, 6 in Tennessee; 3 in Texas; and 1 each in Virginia, Mississippi, and Louisiana."²⁶⁷ Again, the increase in numbers and the very existence of these African American politicians in the South pointed to real progress. In his 1968 speech, the Colorado State Young Democrats learned that, "Of the 600 Negroes holding elective offices in

²⁶⁴ Louis E. Martin, "Winds of Change," 4.

²⁶⁵ Louis E. Martin, "Along the New Frontier," 2.

²⁶⁶ Louis E. Martin, St. Louis, 6.

²⁶⁷ Louis E. Martin, DNC Minorities, 1.

the nation, over 500 are Democrats.”²⁶⁸ In his speech to Harvard in 1970, the numbers were even more encouraging: “Starting almost from scratch in the early 60s, we now have over 1,200 blacks in elective posts and I expect that figure to double within five years.”²⁶⁹ By the time of his last speech in this era to the National Urban League in 1977, the number of Blacks in government was “nearing 5,000.”²⁷⁰ This propensity to count individuals remained a prominent characteristic of Martin’s rhetoric. Not only did he provide facts and figures to his audience members, he also provided names of these successful individuals—pinpointing their locations and positions so as to spread information and encouragement to the assembled people.

In his NAMD speech Martin spoke directly about Blacks securing positions of power in industry, but his comment had traction in political circles as well. He said: “We appreciate those token jobs too because we know that it is possible to turn them into beachheads. With one foot in the door, the skilled and artful may learn how to pry it all the way open.”²⁷¹ Martin saw entry into the process as the first realistic step to change it from within. While he disparaged the notion of token positions, he also recognized the strategic implications of such jobs. Martin used the metaphor of the door, again, to signify the opportunity of the moment and encourage his audience members and those in their communities to act and walk through the door to begin to access opportunities.

Martin personally witnessed the power of the dollar, the vote, and—gradually—the political and judicial appointments of African Americans during this time. While there were certainly still problems in this era, Martin’s cause for and abundant optimism was evident in many achievements. Even as Martin was optimistic about the future of African Americans in the

²⁶⁸ Louis E. Martin, DNC Colorado, 6.

²⁶⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Winds of Change,” 5.

²⁷⁰ Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 6.

²⁷¹ Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 11.

United States under Democratic leadership, his penchant for realism surfaced with the introduction of Republicans into the White House in the early and mid-1970s.

2.5.5 Shift of Perception

Toward the end of this era of Martin's speeches, there was a noticeable shift in the language he used to describe the role of Washington elite in the promotion of equality for African Americans. These speeches were given during the tenures of President Nixon (1969-1974) and President Ford (1974-1977), both of whom were Republicans. Martin saw how, under their leadership, conditions for Blacks had deteriorated.

Martin noted that the country was characterized by disunity and divisions, manifest in the fact that "there are moments today when it appears that some of our most important national leaders are walking upside down—seeking to create unity by appeals to disunity, seeking to promote harmony by promoting discord, seeking to make peace by making more and more war, and seeking to stabilize our economy by creating more and more unemployment."²⁷² The use of contrast between conditions then, in 1970, and when the Democrats were in office was no accident. In this quotation, Martin's use of contrast amplified the absurdity of the activities he witnessed. He pointed to the major areas of concern and used comparison and contrast to show how leaders' duplicitous actions yielded dire results. He remarked on the "manifestations of the acute divisiveness" which played out "between the rich and poor and between the citizens with white skins and the citizens with black skins."²⁷³ Martin placed the blame on those in "positions of leadership."²⁷⁴ He asserted that those who had political power "have failed to recognize the necessity and urgency of sweeping social changes. It might be said that the so-called

²⁷² Louis E. Martin, "Winds of Change," 2.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

establishment has been asleep at the switch.”²⁷⁵ This sentiment was expressed in classic Martin style: speaking directly and forcefully about the current constraints facing the African American community to better address and overcome the problems.

Martin proposed changes using the “two instruments of social change”²⁷⁶ he had touted since his first published speech: the vote and the dollar. He acknowledged that there had been and continued to be a problem in really including African Americans in the economic power structure of the country. Martin went on to quote a person from Harvard, Clifford Alexander, about the disparity between Whites’ and Blacks’ pay over time from the early 1950s to the 1970s. The disparity was clear in that, as Martin quotes Alexander, 106 years would be required for African Americans’ income to match Whites’ income at the current rate of increase.²⁷⁷

He was similarly critical of the administration in his 1977 speech to the National Urban League where he stated: “When it comes to the domestic scene, the signs of change in the black condition are not so encouraging. The political power of blacks has not yet moved the administration, neither the President nor the Congress to act on the issue of full employment and our cities are still in crisis.”²⁷⁸ Martin reverted quickly to his old optimism though, stating “I am not, however, throwing in any towels. I believe that we have the political and moral resources to move America forward. Sometimes I wonder if we are fully aware of our own political potential.”²⁷⁹ This was one of Martin’s great rhetorical strengths—the ability to rally an audience with an agitative and pragmatic argument chock full of realism as well as optimism regardless of the challenges at hand. He carried this optimism with him into the next era of his public address.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 3.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Louis E. Martin, National Urban League Midwest, 5-6.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 6.

2.6 Conclusion and Prelude to the Carter Years

While this period of Martin's speaking career is largely optimistic, his texts reveal the plight of the African American community for genuine equality is still prominent and sadly unanswered in the America of the 1960s to the late 1970s. Martin regularly promoted the idea that the "new Negro"²⁸⁰ of America was both capable and eager to challenge the stereotypes and myths that had plagued the African American community for so long. He promoted the use of two primary instruments to begin to realize real change: the vote and the dollar. Furthermore, he was adamant that real equality would only prevail when people of color were included in the power structure of the country in legislative and judicial positions. From the time of the Kennedy administration until he began his work with Carter, Martin progressed from plans to secure first-class citizenship for African Americans to actual accomplishments—all the while providing a tally of respected African Americans in positions of power in various circles. While there had been both progress and setbacks during this period, Martin was, overall, decidedly enthusiastic and positive in his assessment of the progress of the African American community as a whole. The next era of his speeches, delivered while he was working for President Carter, revealed more measurable progress in Blacks' struggle for equality and first-class citizenship.

²⁸⁰ Martin uses the term "new Negro" frequently in his speeches of this time period. See his speech from 1963, "The Emancipation Proclamation –100 Years Thereafter," his 1968 speech to the Colorado State Young Democrats, and his 1970 speech to Harvard.

3 THE CARTER YEARS

“If I had to choose one word to characterize this administration, I think I would settle on the word Opportunity.”¹

Louis Martin’s work with President Lyndon Johnson and his associated activities as Deputy Chairman of the Democratic National Committee ended in 1969.² In the following years, Martin returned to his journalistic pursuits, writing weekly editorials for African American newspapers as well as occasional articles for other publications.³ Martin continued to focus on documenting the changing perception and experiences of Blacks in America. His topics were varied and sometimes controversial, and he frequently commented on race relations and social injustices during the 1970s in the same straightforward style that characterized his work from the 1930s to the 1960s. In between his work with President Johnson and President Jimmy Carter, Martin also joined the board of organizations such as the United Way and DePaul University and he started the Joint Center for Political Studies⁴ in 1970, characterized as a “black think tank,”⁵ which was dedicated to providing resources and support to African Americans in political positions.

Thus, before he was recruited to work for President Carter in August of 1978, Martin was still attuned to issues most affecting African Americans after the civil rights accomplishments of the 1960s. This is important for a number of reasons: first, his experience of segregation as a boy

¹ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Savannah Business League, Savannah, Georgia, (01 Dec. 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 14, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Oct-Dec 1979, 10. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Savannah Business League.

² See Louis Martin’s “Biographical Sketch.” ca. 1976. Library of Congress Files, Louis Martin Box 2, Folder 5, Subject file, Biographical File CA 1976-1990.

³ See Appendix B for a list of Martin’s journalistic writings.

⁴ For information about Martin’s founding of the Joint Center see “Black Political Think Tank Honors Founder, Hails Past, Weights Future,” *Washington Star* 04 Mar. 1981: B2. See also Ethel L. Payne, “Black Study Group to Hear Louis Martin,” *Chicago Defender* 08 Feb. 1975: 2.

⁵ “Workshop for Elected Black Officials,” *Sun Reporter* 24 May 1975, 9.

leading to the civil rights accomplishments of the 1960s provided him with a means to comparatively measure progress (or regression) in the 1970s. Second, he could and did provide the Carter team with valuable insight into the long-term problems experienced by African American communities. Carter and his aides realized mid-term that they needed help to communicate with African American communities across the nation and that Martin, with his experience doing precisely that for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, was a good fit for the job. Finally, with his in-depth knowledge of people and policy, Martin could actively connect those people he was most committed to represent, Blacks and other minorities, with notable people and programs (such as the National Urban Policy) provided by Carter's administration. To begin to reach the community leaders with whom the Carter team sought to establish a relationship, Martin delivered at least twenty-five different speeches while he was working with the Carter team. These speeches, like the ones of the early era, provide us with Martin's assessment of race relations in the late 1970s.

In this chapter, I argue that while Martin continues to optimistically promote his original strategies including the vote, the dollar, and the need to get more Blacks into local, state, and federal government, he is becoming increasingly specific in his explanation of the programs and people who could begin to implement changes in African American communities around the nation. Whereas with the Kennedy administration, Martin could largely point to verbal promises and moral outrage at the domestic state of civil rights, with Carter (and Johnson, as described in the previous chapter) Martin could point to actual programs and processes in place which had promise in Blacks' continuing quest to secure first-class citizenship. His naming of specific programs and policies shows that progress was, indeed, being made in the continuing struggle. Furthermore, Martin's naming of these policies and the people in charge of promoting them

showed his insistence on sharing information and good news as well as challenging his audiences to avoid losing this momentum.

This chapter proceeds as follows: first, I provide an overview of Martin's assessment of the "Carter context" by looking at Martin's newspaper articles from the beginning of Carter's term. I pay special attention to the writings of Martin's "alter ego,"⁶ Dr. Onabanjo, as a means of communicating his beliefs about the condition of race relations in America in the late 1970s. Then, I turn to the relationship between Carter and Martin where I establish that Martin was, indeed, acting as a rhetorical surrogate for Carter during this time—much more so than during his tenure with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. This may be due to the fact that Carter specifically sought out Martin to begin to repair Carter's relationship with African American communities, whereas when he was first involved in the Kennedy/Johnson administration, Martin was tapped in a more journalistic capacity. Next, I consider the audiences Martin addressed during this time period, which were numerous and varied—all the better to distribute his message to other people. Then, as in the previous chapter, I turn to the common themes, or through-lines, and rhetorical devices in the speeches of this era. I conclude the chapter by

⁶ Jannette Dates explains that Dr. Onabanjo was Martin's "alter-ego." If Onabanjo was indeed a fictitious person, as Dates suggests, Martin's use of that persona to convey his assessment of race relations from an African perspective is worth examining. Jannette L. Dates, "Print News," *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media*, Eds. Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990) 387. Another writer for the *Chicago Defender*, Lou Downings, wrote a column called "Charlie Cherokee." In a few of those articles, he mentions intercepting calls from Dr. Onabanjo to Martin. Downings wrote that Dr. Onabanjo was on holiday in Wisconsin, which, coincidentally?, was also where Martin often vacationed, "Up in the Chippewa country in the North Wisconsin Woods." See Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: How Louis Lomax Set Out to End Vietnam War," *Chicago Daily Defender* 22 Aug. 1970, big weekend ed.: 3. Either Downings was in on the ruse, since he did not append his real name to the "Charlie Cherokee" articles, or Dr. S. O. Onabanjo was, indeed, an actual person. See, for example, "Charlie Cherokee Says," *Chicago Defender* 13 Oct. 1969, daily ed.: 13. See also Kenan Heise, "Lou Downings, 58, Writer of *Defender's* Media Column," *Chicago Tribune* 17 June 1993: n.p. Electronic. <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-06-17/news/9306170135_1_journalism-radio-wgci-am>. Martin first mentioned someone by the name of Onabanjo in 1959. Martin, who was in Nigeria at the time, said he had attended a luncheon hosted by "Mr. B. Onabanjo, secretary of the Journalists' [sic] Union and a stringer correspondent of the *New York Times*." Louis E. Martin, "Dope and Data," *Chicago Defender* 20 June 1959: 10. Perhaps "B. Onabanjo" and "Dr. S. O. Onabanjo" are one-in-the-same and Martin was only trying to protect his identity or perhaps the first mention of Onabanjo contained typos in the designations "Mr. B.," or perhaps Onabanjo was Martin's "alter-ego."

providing a preview of Martin's mind-set as he left the Carter team and entered the academic world by joining Howard University. Next, I consider the context in which Martin was speaking.

3.1 Prelude to the Carter Years

Martin's speeches in the Carter era must be considered in the context of preceding critical events in the civil rights movement. In particular, several "great and gifted leaders" were no longer part of the struggle.⁷ Four prominent men had been murdered: President John F. Kennedy in November 1963, Malcolm X in February 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968, and Robert F. Kennedy in June 1968. Martin mourned their loss: "Death at the hands of assassins has sealed the lips of four of them. I am thinking, of course, of Dr. Martin Luther King, of Malcolm X and those two famous brothers whom I used to call black Irishmen, President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Bobby."⁸ Note Martin's emphasis on how death "sealed their lips." The Kennedy's were held in such high esteem by Martin that he called them "black Irishmen." Bobby even earned the designation of an "honorary brother."⁹ Martin's estimation of the talents of John F. Kennedy, in particular, should be clear from the previous chapter.¹⁰ The words uttered by the Kennedys, King, and Malcolm X continued to resonate into the second era of Martin's public address.

⁷ Louis E. Martin, Untitled speech to the National Association of Market Developers, n.d. (24 Apr. 1970?), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 5, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated, 15. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NAMD.

⁸ Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 15.

⁹ Martin used the "black Irishmen" description in: Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 15. He called Robert Kennedy an "honorary brother" in a number of texts. See Louis E. Martin, "Second Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin," Interview by Ronald J. Grele, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program, 07 Apr. 1966, 21.; Louis E. Martin, "New Senator, A Friend of King," *Chicago Defender* 18 May 1991: 18. See also, Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1997), 83. Hereafter cited as Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*.

¹⁰ I was unable to locate editorials written by Martin around the time of John F. Kennedy's death. In fact, there was a large gap in his editorials for the *Defender* between April of 1962 and January of 1969.

Each of these men was a powerful orator in a contentious time in American history, the 1960s.¹¹ Their deaths and consequent lack of input on the forward momentum of the movement were a great loss for African Americans and the nation as a whole. Though the men were dead, their “ideas, programs and words are still advocated and pushed for,”¹² Martin argued. These ideas about ways to improve Blacks’ lives in America were as relevant in the 1970s as they were when first uttered. Martin discussed what these visionaries sought to accomplish and reflected on the import of their deaths in editorials he wrote for the *Chicago Defender*, particularly Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin said that regardless of people’s opinions of King, “his tragic passing has affected the lives of everyone among us, young and old, black and white.”¹³ While King was working, like Martin, to improve the lives of African Americans, and his influence reached beyond rigid racial lines, his message of equality was applicable to all Americans. Martin wondered how King had become so influential seemingly just through his words. While he was a gifted speaker, Martin agreed, “we are a race of orators,”¹⁴ so the source of King’s strength had to have its source somewhere else. Martin identified that source as love. While Martin may have used a message of love to advance the movement, Malcolm X employed a more militant method and message. Martin also commented upon that difference.

¹¹ For more on the rhetoric of John F. Kennedy, see, for example, James J. Kimble, “John F. Kennedy, the Construction of Peace, and the Pitfalls of Androgynous Rhetoric,” *Communication Quarterly* 57.2 (April 2009): 154-170. For more on the rhetoric of Malcolm X, see Robert E. Terrill, “Protest, Prophecy, and Prudence in the Rhetoric of Malcolm X,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4.1 (Spring 2001): 25-53.; Robert E. Terrill, *Malcolm X: Inventing Radical Judgment* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004).; Scott Joseph Varda, “A Rhetorical History of Malcolm X,” Diss. U. of Iowa, 2008. Web. For more on the rhetoric of Martin Luther King, see Mark Val, “The ‘Integrative’ Rhetoric of Martin Luther King Jr.’s ‘I Have A Dream’ Speech,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9.1 (Spring 2006): 51-78. For more on the rhetoric of Robert F. Kennedy, see, for example, John M. Murphy, “Crafting the Kennedy Legacy,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 3.4 (Winter 2000): 577-601.

¹² Louis E. Martin, Untitled speech on “social crises unique to our nation,” n.d. [1968?] In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8, Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Untitled: social crises.

¹³ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: King was Unusual, His Great Love Was His Big Secret,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 15 Mar. 1969, big weekend ed.: 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The words of Malcolm X were adopted, after his death, by people who favored a separationist, or nationalist approach to Black Power.¹⁵ Instead of working with and within the flawed system to try to change it, followers of Malcolm X wanted something separate. Martin was unconvinced by Malcolm X and his techniques, and asserted that Malcolm X's greatness was more the result of Alex Haley's biography on him than Malcolm X's actual promise or methodologies. Martin asserted, "Malcolm X was just another jerk around with a loud mouth, and when [Alex Haley] got through with that autobiography [Malcolm X] was a hero. These kids today think [Malcolm X is] the greatest thing on earth. Shoe leather. The guy was a joke."¹⁶ As Martin often did, in this quotation he spoke his mind directly, without hedging. Martin was an advocate of incremental politics¹⁷ and the politics of inclusion; therefore, Malcolm X's prescriptions did not get much traction in Martin's own strategies for change. So, while Malcolm X may have had a large number of followers, Martin was not one of them. Instead, he chose to focus on the political system as it existed, to work within the flawed system to try to improve it. Even though Martin did not necessarily agree with everything Malcolm X and others promoted, he still acknowledged their service to the nation in editorials of the time and into the next era of his public address, which I detail in the next chapter.

¹⁵ For an in-depth explanation of the rationale behind Martin Luther King's and Malcolm X's strategies, see Clayborne Carson, "African-American Leadership and Mass Mobilization," *The Black Scholar* 24.4 (1994): 1-7. For information about how the mainstream press left coverage of the Black Power movement to the black press, see Dori J. Maynard, "The Work and Struggles of Black Reporters," *Nieman Reports* (Fall 2003): 11-13.

¹⁶ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 5, Howard University, 16 Oct. 1985, 44. Hereafter Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5.

¹⁷ Charles E. Lindblom's incremental politics considers small improvements in the status quo, gradual problem solving instead of immediate results, and a focus on how ends must be reconsidered in light of means, per McBain and Smith. See Luke McBain, and Dr. Jonathan Smith, "Strategic Management in the Public Sector," 2010, 20 Feb. 2013 < http://www.g-casa.com/conferences/singapore/papers_in_pdf/mon/McBain.pdf>. For more information about incremental politics see Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of 'Muddling Through,'" *Public Administration Review* 19.2 (Spring 1959): 79-88. and David Braybrooke and Charles Lindblom, "Types of Decision Making," *A Strategy of Decision; Policy Evaluation as Social Process* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963) 207-216.

In the last week of 1969, Martin again referred to the impact of the assassinations of these men. He said, “Perhaps there is no better commentary on the character of this passing decade of the 60’s than the ugly fact that four of the men who made the greatest impact upon it were shot to death by assassins.”¹⁸ The loss of these important figures left a void which others began to fill with their own ideas about how to continue the progress of civil rights into the 1970s. Martin was one of those voices, but his did not get much coverage by the mainstream press. Instead, the more militant voices belonging to people and groups like the Black Panther Party were in vogue. The Black Power movement was also a force in Martin’s peripheral vision, and he did not deny its import.¹⁹ However, Martin promoted a different approach. His suggestion was to change the system from the inside by Blacks’ becoming more involved with the political process from voting to holding elected offices themselves. While Martin’s voice was only one of many arguing for different strategies in the post-civil rights era,²⁰ his voice was particularly amplified due to his return to journalism.

3.1.1 Back to the News Desk

Recall that Martin was trained as a journalist and had been working diligently at that profession from the mid-1930s until he accepted the offer to work with the Kennedy administration in 1960. In 1969 Martin left both the Johnson White House and the Democratic

¹⁸ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: ‘Shoot the Leader’ Was the Name of the Game in the 1960s,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 27 Dec. 1969, big weekend ed.: 3.

¹⁹ For more information on Black Panther Party rhetoric see Amanda Davis Gatchet and Dana L. Cloud, “David, Goliath, and the Black Panthers: The Paradox of the Oppressed Militant in the Rhetoric of Self-Defense,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 37.1 (January 2013): 5-25.; Gwendolyn Pough, “Rhetoric That Should Have Moved the People: Rethinking the Black Panther Party,” in *African American Rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson II (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 59-72. See also a review of several books on Black Panther Party rhetoric by Billy W. Reed and Peter E. Kane, Rev. of *The Black Panther Speaks*, ed. Philip S. Foner, *The Rhetoric of Black Power* by Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brockriede, and *Rhetoric of Black Revolution* by Arthur L. Smith. *Today’s Speech* 19.2 (Spring 1971): 55-56.

²⁰ For more information, see Steven Goldzwig’s prelude to a special edition of *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* on the post-civil rights era: Steven R. Goldzwig, “Civil Rights in the Postmodern Era: An Introduction,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2.2 (Summer 1999): 171-176.

National Committee to go back to work as a journalist, serving as the Vice President and Editor of the Sengstacke Newspaper Chain.²¹ His career as a journalist continued to provide him with an outlet for his criticism of race relations in America.

Martin's newspaper editorials dating from Carter's inaugural to August 1978, just before he joined the Carter team, provide his assessment of the key issues minorities faced at that time. Many of the topics he covered in these journalistic endeavors appear again in his speeches delivered while he was working for President Carter. In his editorials, Martin relentlessly covered issues most important to his African American readership, such as the need for jobs, especially among young Blacks;²² the appointment of African Americans to President Carter's cabinet;²³ the increasing importance of foreign affairs and their linkage to domestic problems,²⁴ and an overall concern for the future of Blacks' participation in the political process.²⁵ While he often referred to the topics and issues so characteristic of his early period of writing, such as the need for more aggressive voter recruitment and turn-out on election day, Martin's comments naturally tended to address the major problems (or exigencies) of the time, namely, the faltering economy, lack of jobs for African American youth, and a general pessimism and cynicism among Americans of all stripes.

Martin echoed President Carter's emphasis on America's problems in the late 1970s in his editorials published just before he joined Carter's team. Martin detailed the public's concern

²¹ See Louis E. Martin's Biographical Sketch in his files at the Library of Congress: Louis Martin Box 2, Folder 5, Subject file, Biographical File CA 1976-1990.

²² See, for example: Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Lights Dimmer for Teens," *Tri-State Defender* 07 Jan. 1978: 5.; Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Students Ask Tough Questions," *Tri-State Defender* 18 Feb. 1978: 5.; Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: First Shots in World Battle," *Tri-State Defender* 25 Mar. 1978: 5.; Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Keep Your Eyes On Target," *Tri-State Defender* 08 Apr. 1978: 5.

²³ See Martin's article on the appointment of Eleanor Holmes Norton. Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Top Woman for Super-Boss," *Tri-State Defender* 18 Mar. 1978, 5.

²⁴ See Louis E. Martin, "The Ties That Bind Us All," *Tri-State Defender* 27 May 1978: 5.; Louis E. Martin, "President Kaunda Sees War," *Tri-State Defender* 03 June 1978: 5.; Louis E. Martin, "Storms Over Africa," *Tri-State Defender* 12 Aug. 1978: 5.

²⁵ See Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Jesse Talks to the Elephant," *Tri-State Defender* 11 Feb. 1978: 5. See especially, Louis E. Martin, "Are We Losing Faith?," *Tri-State Defender* 01 July 1978: 5.

over appropriate government expenditures and how changes to various social programs could mean trouble for minority communities. Martin wrote: “The new wave against government spending has alarmed civil rights leaders because it threatens programs which service the poor and minorities most of all.”²⁶ Civil rights proponents had been striving for decades to secure rights of participation and access for poor minorities. Even with the gains they had achieved in the 1960s, there was still room for improvement and regression was a very real concern. For example, though discrimination in employment was illegal, problems of the economy, African American under-employment, and subtle bias remained and threatened to derail progress.²⁷

Martin was in the business of telling African American and other minority communities about the programs they could access for help and support. Martin was used to political “waves” capacity to harm poor African Americans. He and other leaders were attuned to this possible tsunami before it hit and were informing their communities to begin to mount an assault of sorts. It was this type of concern for decreasing assistance, especially for and among minorities, that led the Carter team to seek out a surrogate who could successfully communicate the actual details of Carter’s plans to the African American community to begin to repair “a badly strained relationship”²⁸ between Carter and his minority constituents. Martin explained that Carter “wanted me to assume a role of liaison with the [Black] Caucus and black leadership nationally,

²⁶ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Moon rock study,” *Tri-State Defender* 02 Sep 1978: 5.

²⁷ For an interesting account of bias against African Americans in employment, see Lena Williams, “For the Black Professional, the Obstacles Remain,” *New York Times* 14 Jul. 1987: A16.

²⁸ Alex Poinsett writes that Carter “intended his recruitment of Martin to mend what had become a badly strained relationship between his administration and the Black community.” Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 174. The liaison position had previously been held by Martha “Bunny” Mitchell. Some “black leaders ... [felt] she failed to keep the President in close communication with the black community and its concerns.” For an account of Bunny Mitchell’s replacement by Martin, described as “an old warhorse dating from the Kennedy years,” see Mary Frances Berry, *And Justice for All: The United States Commission on Civil Rights and the Continuing Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009) 162. See also “Carter Names Assistant For Liaison with Blacks,” *Boston Globe* 12 Aug. 1978, 15; and Dom Bonafede, “Carter Sounds Retreat from ‘Cabinet Government,’” *National Journal* 18 Nov. 1978: 1852-1857.

etc.”²⁹ Of course, Martin was already skilled in such a capacity given his years as a journalist, not to mention his prior work with the FDR campaign of 1944, as well as his tenure with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. He already knew many of the key people in various communities with whom he would need to communicate to make Carter’s plans and opportunities more well-known. The key, as it was in the early era, was to communicate relevant information to those who would most benefit from the government’s plans. Martin was able to do so through many different channels.

Between 1969 and late 1978 when he joined Carter’s team, one of Martin’s most effective ways to comment on the condition of African Americans in the United States was through the voice of his “learned Nigerian friend,” Dr. Onabanjo.³⁰ Writing as Dr. Onabanjo, Martin supplemented his assessment of the late 1970s and Carter’s role therein with unfettered wit and devastating realism.

3.1.2 Still Agitating: Calling Dr. Onabanjo

By rhetorically deploying Dr. S. O. Onabanjo, Martin created an opportunity to critique American culture and the unique problems faced by African Americans over the course of several decades. Martin’s assuming the persona of an African is important. First, he demonstrates through Onabanjo the rigorous intellectual acumen he prized and promoted among his American readers. This also served as proof for his claims that Africans were, contrary to stereotypes, intellectually astute and therefore critical of treatment of their “distant cousins”³¹ in America. Second, Onabanjo allows him some critical distance from the issues he addresses. By presenting

²⁹ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 2, Howard University, 07 Dec. 1984, 5. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #2.

³⁰ In virtually every article he penned as Dr. Onabanjo, Martin refers to the doctor as “my learned Nigerian friend.”

³¹ Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 15.

Onabanjo's ideas about American culture, Martin took a more objective stance than if he had addressed them as an American. Furthermore, note that Onabanjo is a doctor, which gives his commentary additional clout.

His first article revealing the wisdom of Dr. Onabanjo was published in 1959.³² Dr. Onabanjo was still offering sage advice in 1978, particularly with regard to the status and treatment of African Americans in the United States. As Onabanjo, Martin commented at length on many issues facing African Americans in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, including American violations of human rights and the impact of those actions on the international community, how the problems of the American economy would harm the poor and minorities, and the ever-important political process and Blacks' key role in that process—all of which Martin would ultimately address in his speeches of this era.

3.1.2.1 American Civil Rights In the International Arena

As Dr. Onabanjo Martin wrote, “Your country’s hyper-sensitivity to the violations of human rights in Russia, thousands of miles away, compared to the bland indifference to gross violations of human rights in your own backyard is almost beyond belief.”³³ Here, he called attention to Americans’ tendency to focus on civil rights problems in distant lands while still failing to resolve issues on their own soil. The focus was so absurd, particularly given conditions in America, that Onabanjo placed it in the realm of the “almost” unbelievable. This kind of blunt remonstrance was characteristic of Martin’s take on race relations. He encouraged action on the local level first. Many politicians were concerned about how race relations in America were perceived overseas and Martin, through Onabanjo, highlighted the hypocrisy: Americans were

³² See Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 20 Jun. 1959, 10. See also Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dr. Onabanjo Gets Very Upset Over Black Attitudes,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 12 Apr. 1969: 3. In this article, Martin comments at length about how Blacks in the U.S. are, per Dr. Onabanjo, “obsessed with getting even with whitey” and should be focused on increasing their professional skills instead.

³³ Louis E. Martin, “Remarks of Dr. Onabanjo,” *Tri-State Defender* 29 July 1978: 5.

concerned about fair treatment abroad when it was obviously not taking place at home. The problems were played out in international coverage of events such that even an international observer could note that the rhetoric of a free and equal America did not reflect the reality.

Despite the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act Blacks were still suffering the injustices of second-class citizenship in the 1970s. Martin felt that this situation was particularly dire, in part, as there were other countries looking to the United States to see if the words and hype about freedom and liberty for all Americans matched the reality. Martin was using the international perception, via Onabanjo, as an argument for reform. In an article for the *Tri-State Defender* titled “The Ties That Bind Us All,” Martin stated: “Anyway [sic] you look at U.S. foreign policy, the presence of blacks in America is an asset. The world will also judge the U.S. by the way it treats its own black citizens.”³⁴ In all cases, Blacks in the U.S. were a bonus to the nation as a whole, not a hindrance or a problem. Martin argued that the U.S. should use the talents of all its citizens to advance society as a whole. Failure to do so would constitute a true waste and detriment to the country. As an influential force in global politics, the actions of the U.S., Martin believed, would suffer harsh scrutiny if the premise of equality for all was not actuated.³⁵ He had to explain the workings of the U.S. in race relations to international actors during his trips and assignments overseas. He had to somehow reconcile what was roundly believed about the U.S.—it was a place of equality and opportunity—with what the news reports were revealing about actual conditions for the U.S.’s people of color. Having spent a good amount of time overseas in years past, Martin had occasion to work with many international journalists and diplomats who questioned the state of social justice in the U.S.

³⁴ Louis E. Martin, “The Ties That Bind Us All,” *Tri-State Defender* 27 May 1978: 5.

³⁵ For a discussion of the Cold War and its impact on civil rights, see Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Some even suggested he might lose his passport on purpose.³⁶ This suggestion revealed international opinion that to be black in the U.S. was to suffer injustices and inequality when there were more equitable places for Blacks to live and work. Martin knew about the international conception of race relations in the U.S. and he similarly knew about protected rights. Onabanjo was one means to promote his belief in the need for Blacks to participate and take advantage of the opportunities before them—to use their wits and compete with Whites. Martin, writing as Dr. Onabanjo, continued to criticize: “Perhaps it comes with ill grace for me a Nigerian to talk too much about your injustices when I could talk about some in my own country. I feel justified, however, because we make no pretensions of godliness. You Americans seem unable to resist playing God.”³⁷ Through Onabanjo, Martin calls attention to the hypocrisy of race relations in the U.S. Using Onabanjo to comment on the differences between nations was Martin’s consistent tactic. Martin’s mention of “playing God” was also significant because it suggests the irrational holier-than-thou disposition of some Americans—particularly in matters of race. Dr. Onabanjo was also an astute student of American economics.

3.1.2.2 *Economy and Minorities*

Martin used Dr. Onabanjo to comment, for example, on Carter’s budgetary actions in 1976. He wrote, “Carter’s programs for the poor, for the cities and for cutting out the waste and bureaucratic fat in government should be a boon to big business in the long run. His measures should lead to a healthy economy.”³⁸ The economy and the budget were of great concern during the Carter administration, and Onabanjo saw how the economy and jobs were interconnected with all aspects of American life.

³⁶ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Loss of Passport Creates Tension,” *Tri-State Defender* 30 July 1977: 5.

³⁷ Louis E. Martin, “Remarks of Dr. Onabanjo,” *Tri - State Defender* 29 July 1978: 5.

³⁸ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dr. Onabanjo On Jimmy Carter,” *Tri-State Defender* 20 Nov. 1976: 5.

Dr. Onabanjo further remarked on the dire need for education of the young urban children so that they would not turn to gangs, drugs, and the debilitating sickness “urbanitis.”³⁹ Youth unemployment was featured in a number of the speeches of this era as well, especially with regard to Carter’s CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program. Still, most important to Martin was the political process and how African Americans could and should be more involved—from voting to actually making policy.

3.2.2.3 *Editorial Agitation for Involvement in the Political Process*

Martin’s optimism from the first era of his speeches was still largely intact in the late 1970s, although he acknowledged people’s pessimism and the causes for despair all around him in his typical, pragmatic style. Martin’s confidence and optimism in the opportunities afforded by the Carter administration were similarly echoed through the words of his friend the good doctor. Dr. Onabanjo was free to remark on his perception of the political progress of African Americans with the newly elected Carter in office: “‘Seriously speaking, if you blacks don’t get what you expect out of Carter, you have only yourselves to blame. Most of you vote like sheep. All of you are suckers for liberal talk and fancy promises. You are in a rut politically and most of your leaders don’t know why.’”⁴⁰ This quotation suggested that the rhetoric alone was not enough to challenge on-going social injustices. Laws, Martin found, were not solely sufficient either. Rather, what was needed was for people to take action.⁴¹ The people had to be more discriminating in their evaluation of what local, state, and federal leaders were proposing—particularly to the extent that those policies affected their communities. Martin’s speeches of this time period reflected his continued insistence upon the need of African Americans to seize the

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Onabanjo Hits the Black Political Plantation Idea,” *Tri-State Defender* 15 Jan 1977: 5.

⁴¹ Dr. Onabanjo asserts: “‘You have many wonderful black orators but we don’t need any oratory.’” See Louis E. Martin, “Dr. Onabanjo Gets Very Upset Over Black Attitudes,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 12 Apr. 1969: 3.

opportunities before them. Part of the problem he sought to solve was how best to communicate these opportunities to the communities which would benefit the most. Martin spent a good amount of time detailing the programs that were available to people to the organizations they were likely to turn to first, like the NAACP and the Urban League.

With the 1964 Civil Rights and 1965 Voting Rights Acts, African Americans were entitled by law to participate in the political process. Martin still believed that in the 1970s access to the vote and the halls of government were essential in the on-going quest for first-class citizenship. Martin wrote, “Freedom to participate fully in the political process is a precious right that seems now secure.”⁴² Note his use of the word “seems.” This was another obstinate problem of the time: even though African Americans did have the power to vote in the 1970s, there were still obstacles to their full participation. For example, Dr. Onabanjo was concerned about distractions. In a 1970 article, Onabanjo voiced his concern that young Blacks were increasingly invested in matters of “soul” instead of more practical, here-and-now affairs. Onabanjo leveled harsh criticism at an otherwise intelligent “black chap” who was “boasting about his damn soul when his head is obviously full of rocks.”⁴³ Here, there were two ways to consider Martin’s mention of “soul:” in the religious sense and in the sense of being soulful, or cool. A person focused on the soul and the possibility of an afterlife would not necessarily lend his or her talents to improve conditions in the very real present. Similarly, a person focused on cultivating her or his cool credibility was not lending his or her talents to others either. Either way, Martin advised against cultivation of soul in favor of cultivation of one’s mind. For Onabanjo and Martin, there was greater purchase in focusing on practical actions, such as voter registration, in one’s own community. Dr. Onabanjo, like Martin, was pragmatic. He went on to explain the folly of the

⁴² Louis E. Martin, “Marshall Tells It All,” *Tri-State Defender* 15 July 1978: 5.

⁴³ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dr. S. O. Onabanjo Loses His Cool Over Soul Talk,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 09 May 1970, big weekend ed.: 3.

chap's actions: "The only way black people are going to achieve dignity and respect among the races or colors of mankind is to develop themselves intellectually, economically and politically to the point that others are forced to respect them."⁴⁴ He made it sound so simple, like the development he suggested was easy to come by.

Furthermore, he assumed that once a person had these qualities, she would automatically be welcomed with open arms. Whether or not his suggestion was practical, we can at least acknowledge that without such development, the chances were fewer still. Note as well his use of the word "force." Change was no longer possible by waiting and hoping for morality to animate those who held rigid control of the system. Instead, force was required. The type of force Martin advocated was not violence, however; rather it was force rooted in an individual's intellect and associated talents. One of Martin's goals was to contact the community leaders and other important people in African American communities to mobilize the so-called minority masses. Although Blacks were doing better than they had in the past in many respects, there was still considerable room for improvement. African Americans did not yet "have it made,"⁴⁵ and Martin believed white Americans needed to be informed about the realities of Blacks' life in America.

3.1.3 "Whites Need to Know"

In addition to Dr. Onabanjo's criticism of American ways, a common theme Martin addressed before he went to work for Carter was the feeling that white Americans did not understand (and in many cases were not interested in understanding) the plight of African

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Whites Think Blacks Have It Made," *Chicago Defender* 22 July 1972, big weekend ed.: 3. Martin wrote: "Anyway [sic] you look at the figures, the same picture emerges. The black brother is still behind the 8 ball, still getting the short end of the stick and still unable to enjoy equality of economic opportunity."

Americans. Martin remarked that, while some positive advances in race relations were obvious, there were still plenty of obstacles.⁴⁶ Martin cited increased activity in organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and decreased activity in organizations such as the NAACP⁴⁷ as evidence for his assertion that problems of racism had not yet been eradicated. White America, according to Martin, failed to appreciate and make use of what talents African Americans had to offer in the areas of journalism, business, higher education, and other vocations—and this was costing America dearly. For example, Martin remarked in an editorial that enslaved Blacks had gained skills as artisans in the construction field, but that in later years they were deliberately supplanted by Whites.⁴⁸ In the construction fields as in all others, Blacks had talents to contribute to the continuing success of the U.S. Martin was aware that many Whites were not interested to learn about African American achievements which were not given much or any coverage by the mainstream press. He recognized that white America did not read the newspapers produced by the black press.⁴⁹

The lack of Whites' interest in Blacks' affairs, and by extension the African American press, was a theme that Martin carries to the speeches of this period as well. There were a number of instances where he described to his audience the problems that Blacks faced due to the indifference or hostility of some white Americans. To Martin, even the "liberal whites" had

⁴⁶ Martin explains that "the gains that blacks have made are very visible in *some* areas..." my emphasis. Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 3, Howard University, 02 May 1985, 31. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3.

⁴⁷ Martin said to the Alpha Pi Alpha audience, "The NAACP is having financial difficulties at a time in history when the wealth of black America has never been greater." Lack of funding for an organization devoted to combatting racism necessarily meant reduced efforts in that arena. Louis E. Martin, Speech to Alpha Phi Alpha, (06 Jan. 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 12, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Jan-Apr 1979, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Alpha Pi Alpha.

⁴⁸ Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Trading On Skills Brings Wage Hike," *Tri-State Defender* 25 June 1977: 5.

⁴⁹ Louis E. Martin, "Whites Need to Know," *Tri-State Defender* 08 July 1978: 5.

“gone fishing”⁵⁰ in the 1970s. The fishing comment suggested that those who should have been and claimed to be working hard to secure rights for African Americans were on vacation. Instead of agitating they were wasting time. This led Martin to assert that it was up to him and others to continue to praise the continuing accomplishments of African Americans and to continue to support, encourage, and connect with each other.⁵¹ This was particularly true of the numerous noteworthy people working in the Carter administration. Black appointees in Carter’s Cabinet were regularly used by Martin as examples of change, progress, and the robust ingenuity of the African American mind.

One of Carter’s first appointments of an African American person was Patricia Harris as the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Martin saw problems of racism in her confirmation hearing, writing for the *Tri-State Defender* that “Nothing so disturbs some white liberals, than a smart, ambitious, competitive black who is very successful and secure.”⁵² Such promise and success challenged the stereotypes Martin and others were still trying to prove false in the 1970s. Such hostility and fear would surface again with a number of African American appointees in the Carter administration, most of whom Martin named specifically in the speeches of this period.⁵³ Martin continued,

The time has come for white government and corporate officials to give up those patronizing concepts which have so long characterized their perception and relationship to black life. In many whites’ minds there is a special corner for black people. If a black individual comes along who

⁵⁰ Louis E. Martin, “Are We Losing Faith?,” *Tri-State Defender* 01 July 1978: 5.

⁵¹ In an editorial Martin asserted that, even with the help of sympathetic Whites, “the burden was essentially on the Negro.” Louis E. Martin, “Dope and Data,” *Chicago Defender* 18 June 1960, national ed.: 10.

⁵² Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Pat Harris Takes On Sen. Proxmire,” *Tri-State Defender* 22 Jan. 1977: 5.

⁵³ See Appendix D for a complete list of people mentioned in Louis Martin’s speeches.

does not fit into the corner reserved for him, the white decision-maker becomes confused.

All blacks in the United States, rich or poor, educated or not, have had to face humiliation and disc[r]imination. Some have fought racism more successfully than others, but white America never lets a black citizen forget his or her blackness. Indeed white America loves to remind the super-black of his or her blackness. Some of the so-called liberal whites love it most of all.⁵⁴

This type of sentiment is what led Martin to argue during this time frame that getting Blacks involved in the political system at a level where they could make policy was important, but not quite enough. There was still work to do in abolishing the myth of Blacks' inferiority. Again, this commentary was indicative of Martin's particular brand of agitative rhetoric where he addressed issues and inconsistencies head-on. Martin was ready to level his criticism in whatever context he could and against the actions of whomever was in the wrong, regardless of their label, title, or status.

Martin stated on various occasions that the need for lobbying was important to dispel the then-common notion that African Americans had benefitted all they needed to from the civil rights accomplishments of the 1960s. A person's color was no indication of his or her abilities, Martin asserted: "Incidentally, the number of dim-witted whites whom chance and circumstance have thrust into positions of power in Washington is a national scandal."⁵⁵ Ignorance ran rampant, and Martin's goal was to get qualified African Americans in positions of power which were vested with authority, not mere token positions.

⁵⁴ Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Pat Harris Takes On Sen. Proxmire," *Tri-State Defender* 22 Jan. 1977: 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Martin spoke out in defense of Jimmy Carter in the early days of his presidency when some were questioning Carter's style of governing and relationships with his constituents as a whole. Martin said in his characteristic straightforward style:

To put it bluntly, President Carter seems to treat black citizens as legitimate, rank and file members in good standing in American society. The President seems to be as much at ease with blacks as with whites. To some this fact may not seem to matter much, but in my book, it is refreshing and encouraging.⁵⁶

Martin argued President Carter actually knew and cared about as well as understood the problems faced by minority and poor communities—the need for good jobs, education, and political power to protect their interests. Martin was encouraged by Carter's early actions and believed that “Hate and prejudice represent sand in the gears of our democratic machinery and I think our chief engineer Jimmy Carter, understands that.”⁵⁷ The machinery metaphor was prominent in this time period, reflecting Martin's own process-oriented pragmatic suggestions. Carter's understanding was reflected, in part, in Carter's appointments of numerous African Americans to important posts.

Before Martin joined the Carter administration in August of 1978, he was actively investigating presidential appointments of Blacks. In an article for the *Tri-State Defender*, Martin recounted a meeting he had with Hamilton Jordan wherein they discussed the number of Blacks Carter appointed. Martin wrote:

To questions about the number of blacks appointed by President Carter to cabinet and subcabinet posts, Jordan gave the following breakdown;

⁵⁶ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Now, Carter Has Stirred Up Cynics,” *Tri-State Defender* 05 May 1977: 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Department of Defense, 1; HEW, 2; HUD, 4; Interior, 2; Justice, 4; Labor, 3; State Department, 4; Treasury, 3; Transportation, 2. According to his data of the 152 cabinet and subcabinet appointments made by President Carter, so far blacks have been chosen for 26 posts. The President has given 18 per cent of the top posts to blacks thus far and he has not gotten around to filling many of them, according to Jordan.⁵⁸

This list and enumeration were important because they illustrated one of the most prominent facets of Martin's rhetoric—his propensity to count and to name names of influential African Americans in positions of power in government in the local, state, and federal levels. Whereas previous political leaders gave lip service to appointing people of color to important posts,⁵⁹ Martin saw early on that President Carter was successfully and enthusiastically delivering on that promise.

Along with political appointments, unemployment was a critical issue at this time, and Martin wrote commentary detailing the success of the equal opportunity initiative, stating,

Our leaders are not demanding that unqualified blacks be given preferential treatment. We recognize that we live in a competitive society and whites know very well that we have been denied free and open opportunities to compete fairly. Until every black child in America shares the same opportunities that are open to all white children, we are going to need a program to combat racism.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Ben Brown Is A Man To Get To Know," *Tri-State Defender* 02 Apr. 1977: 5.

⁵⁹ Martin told a story about Republican Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. saying that he would put an African American person in the Cabinet or on the Supreme Court and how that "had tremendous appeal" in 1960. Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 1, Howard University, 17 Apr. 1981, 52. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #1.

⁶⁰ Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Question Clouds Issue of Bias," *Tri-State Defender* 14 May 1977: 5.

Martin focused on the ability of Blacks to access opportunities. Access, in part, depended on the clear communication between community leaders about the programs (housing, job training, etc.) available to African Americans and other minorities. The successful passage of Civil Rights and Voting Acts in the previous decade, while momentous, was not enough to insure that African Americans would be treated fairly in seeking employment. While there certainly had been progress in combating racism, it was still an issue in various pockets of society, and Martin was keen to expose the offenders as well as the issues.

Thus, before Martin formally joined the Carter administration, he was aware of what actions Carter and his team were taking to ensure equality of opportunity and first-class citizenship for African Americans. Martin was also arguing that Carter's promising plans had been underreported by both the mainstream press and Carter's aides. Martin's name came up as the "obvious"⁶¹ choice for a liaison in Carter's discussions with aides about how to improve communication with African American communities. Martin's credibility and ability to do the job were strong given his experience in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, his extensive contacts, and his competence in how minorities could navigate the complex political process.

In one of his last editorials before he went to work for Carter, Martin stated,

We seem to be in a period when many black leaders, who traditionally have been content to simply denounce 'whitey', [sic] are demanding self-development and self-reliance. Looking inward at ourselves, we are discovering that we may not be suffering so much from powerlessness as we are from stupidity.⁶²

⁶¹ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 176.

⁶² Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Dollars Hold Key To 'Lock' On Power," *Tri-State Defender* 20 Aug. 1977: 5.

Martin was quick to point out attitudes, beliefs and actions he characterized as stupid. He contrasted actual powerlessness with lack of smarts, which was sure to lead nowhere. Martin encouraged his audiences to focus on themselves and their progress and improvement rather than some Whites' attempts to keep them down and out. Martin's assessment and criticism knew no "color line"—this quotation showed Martin regularly assigned blame where it was merited. His harsh assessments were characteristic of his agitative rhetoric. With rare access to and a measure of influence upon the inner workings of the Carter administration and the policies and opportunities his access provided, Martin was in a position to assess and address Blacks' lack of information and agitate for change once again from within the so-called establishment. Next, I turn to an assessment of how Louis Martin and President Carter pooled their talents for the benefit of African Americans in this era.

3.2 Jimmy and Louis

Early in his presidency, Carter's key areas of interest were energy, the organization of the government and the budget.⁶³ However, he and his staffers also worked to advance a more equitable America for Blacks by means of appointments⁶⁴ and programs, such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.⁶⁵ Carter's election was due, in part, to the votes of African Americans in the election of 1976.⁶⁶ The fact that many African Americans voted for

⁶³ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 175.

⁶⁴ Andrew J. Young was appointed as the ambassador for the UN and as a representative to the Security Council of the UN in 1977. Patricia Roberts Harris was nominated to be the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in 1977 as well. See Carter, Jimmy. "Nominations Submitted to the Senate." Clifford Alexander was appointed Army Secretary. Andrew Brimmer was on the Federal Reserve board.

⁶⁵ Alex Poinsett, *Walking With Presidents*, 175.

⁶⁶ Bayard Rustin, writing for the *New York Times*, stated, "The black vote was an important, perhaps decisive, factor in electing Jimmy Carter." Bayard Rustin, "Blacks and Electoral Politics," *New York Times* 03 Jan. 1978: 29. Martin echoed this sentiment, writing: "Black leaders are continually reminding Mr. Carter that if it were not for the black vote he would be peddling peanuts instead of playing tennis at the White House." Louis E. Martin, "Are We Losing Faith?," *Tri-State Defender* 01 July 1978: 5. Luix Overbea wrote that African Americans "gave 95 percent of their votes to President Carter." Luix Overbea, "'80 Black Vote – No Sure Thing For The President," *Christian Science Monitor* 24 Sep. 1980: 3. See also "Carter Wins Close Election; Heavy Negro Vote Plays

Carter for president prompted leaders in various African American organizations to demand that Carter institute policies that would help American Blacks. For example, Vernon Jordan, director of the National Urban League, went so far as to state that because Blacks voted for Carter and essentially got him elected, they had some “claim on a Carter administration.”⁶⁷ Due to the perception that it was African American voters who placed Carter into the Oval Office, many Blacks did expect Carter to support minorities, especially with regard to jobs.⁶⁸ At this time in the country’s history, Martin and others were concerned about the lack of jobs for young Blacks and other minorities.⁶⁹ Practical programs were needed to secure long-term jobs for youth.

Louis Martin was called to work with the existing Carter administration in August of 1978 to aid in the president’s affirmative action and equal opportunity initiatives. Alex Poinsett described Martin’s appointment as follows: “Carter, who had been in office a year and a half, intended his recruitment of Martin to mend what had become a badly strained relationship between his administration and the black community.”⁷⁰ Others disparagingly described Martin’s duties as “pinch-hitting.”⁷¹ Martin stated at the time that he felt Carter’s advisors had done him a disservice in African American communities; that there was no communication of the actions Carter had taken to promote and preserve first-class citizenship for Blacks.⁷² Martin was tapped

Important Role in Victory,” *Atlanta Daily World* 04 Nov. 1976: 1.; and “Black Voters Put Carter in White House,” *Oakland Post* 07 Nov. 1976: 1.

⁶⁷ “Commitment To Blacks Cannot Be Denied By Carter: Jordan,” *Atlanta Daily World* 07 Nov. 1976: 1.

⁶⁸ Paul Delaney, “Blacks Expect Gains for Help To Carter,” *New York Times* 07 Nov. 1976: 38.

⁶⁹ Martin referenced the “explosive problem” of unemployed young Blacks in articles from 1977. There, he also mentioned programs started by Jesse Jackson and Leon Sullivan which were designed to train young African Americans. Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Leaders Using New Approach,” *Tri-State Defender* 27 Aug. 1977: 5.

⁷⁰ Alex Poinsett, *Walking With Presidents*, 174.

⁷¹ See Jacqueline Trescott, “‘The Godfather of Black Politics,’ Pinch-Hitting at the White House,” *Washington Post* 10 Oct. 1978: B1.

⁷² In his exit interview, Martin explained, “it’s one of my standing grievances I must make clear, the President himself seems to have been closeted by his aides to a degree I thought was unfortunate, because I thought his point of view and his personality never really got across. [...] a lot of the aides I didn’t think knew what the hell

to begin “working on issues and programs of particular concern to black Americans.”⁷³ To Martin, this meant maintaining one eye on the implementation of Civil Rights and Voting Acts of 1964 and 1965 as well as keeping the other eye on the problems facing African American communities in the late 1970s.

Martin stated that the beginning of his assignment with Carter was filled with trying to understand what had been done thus far with regard to the president and issues of importance to African Americans. Martin explained: “The more I examined what was taking place within the administration, and the harder I looked at the various moves of the President himself, his aides, etc. the more convinced I became there was a great deal that could be done that had not been done.”⁷⁴ Martin especially noted that there was a “problem of communication” between the levels of the administration, and part of his role was to communicate Carter’s plans by establishing a “continuous, regular flow of information”⁷⁵ between President Carter and his aides, appointed leaders, the various notable people of African American communities, and organizations across the country. Given Martin’s many contacts with key people in different African American organizations, communities, and neighborhoods, he could begin to connect Carter’s plans and initiatives with those people most in need of services. He did so by meeting with many members of different organizations to inform them about Carter’s plans—from the National Conference of Black Mayors, to the NAACP, to the Urban League, and many more.

they were doing in the first place.” Louis E. Martin, “Exit Interview,” Interview by Emily Soapes, Oral History, Jimmy Carter Library, 10 Dec. 1980, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview. Poinsett echoed this sentiment: “Martin attributed Carter’s problems in governing to inexperience and to his faith in aides who had served him well in Atlanta but were misplaced among Washington’s insiders.” Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 199.

⁷³ “Louis Martin Named Assistant to Carter,” *Atlanta Daily World* 17 Aug. 1978: 1.

⁷⁴ Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Maintaining communication with disparate groups was critical, described by Martin as “tightening the relationship [of] the shakers and movers in the black national community with the administration.”⁷⁶ Martin’s inclusion in Carter’s advisory circle was met with both enthusiasm and some controversy by the black community,⁷⁷ and was detailed both in the black press and the standard “mainstream” press.

News of Martin’s inclusion in Carter’s inner circle was characterized differently depending on whether or not one was reading from a predominantly African American publication or so-called mainstream fare like *Newsweek*. An article announcing Martin’s appointment revealed that “White House staffers admit they once considered Martin, who is 65, too old and too little-known for the job.”⁷⁸ Actually, Martin’s experience with the political process and its myriad actors made him ideal for the job, for the same article referred to Martin as “the quiet old pro” who clearly knew what he was doing.⁷⁹ However, people who voiced concerns about Martin’s involvement were the same staffers whom Martin accused of failing to represent and advise President Carter with regard to the African American community. Carter, however, looked upon Martin’s experience with politics, particularly in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, as a critical factor in his appointment. Carter wanted Martin to do for him what he did for the other presidents.⁸⁰

That meant Martin was tapped to “be responsible for liaison with black organizations around the nation.”⁸¹ Martin “represented the views and interests of the black community to the president and his staff; conversely, he represented the president and his policies to the black

⁷⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁷ Alex Poinsett explained that some people believed this job of advising the president was more for show than for accomplishing anything—a mere token position. Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 176.

⁷⁸ “An Old Pro,” *Newsweek* 21 Aug 1978, United States ed.: 21.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 174. Apparently Carter said to Martin: “Whatever you did for them, I want you to do for me.”

⁸¹ “Louis Martin Named Assistant to Carter,” *Atlanta Daily World* 17 Aug. 1978: 1.

community.”⁸² Martin successfully moved in many spheres of influence from presidential circles to community groups. In numerous contexts, the power of his ethos was undeniable. People knew about Martin’s forthright style and can-do attitude. Martin was particularly well-suited to facilitate communication between people and groups because of his extensive contacts with other prominent people in the African American community as a journalist and fact-finder.

One of his first tasks was to communicate to Blacks the steps President Carter had taken in their interest. To that end, Martin began producing what he called “Fact Sheets,” which were distributed to influential African Americans around the country detailing successes like appointments of Blacks to government posts and Carter’s activities relative to African American concerns.⁸³ These Fact Sheets reached 20,000 influential members of the African American community by the time Martin published his last edition.⁸⁴ Martin’s capacity to communicate through various means and in various contexts was critical to his facilitating African Americans’ increased participation in the political process. Plus, he was vested with the authority of President Carter, who shared Martin’s commitment to a politics of inclusion. Because of his extensive contacts, his prior work with presidents, and his journalistic talents for fact finding and relaying information, Martin was able to communicate Carter’s plans and policies to large audiences. The speeches of this era reflect Martin’s serving as a rhetorical surrogate for Carter whereby he communicated to audiences Carter himself may have been unable to reach.

⁸² Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 180.

⁸³ These Fact Sheets are readily available in the Louis Martin files held by the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, Georgia.

⁸⁴ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #2, 8. Alex Poinsett said that the Fact Sheet “was mailed to every prominent black person in the country” and that it “described administration initiatives and accomplishments of interest to blacks, including tidbits from every federal department.” Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 182.

3.2.1 *Louis Martin, Rhetorical Surrogate*

Martin was regularly deployed to speak on behalf of President Carter in varying contexts—more so than his during his time working with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. While he was acting as a surrogate of sorts for both Kennedy and Johnson, in the case of Carter, Martin was more apt to directly acknowledge that he was speaking on behalf of the president. Martin had a tough job to do since, according to him, members of Carter’s administration had poorly handled relationships with the African American community, and Martin was called to fix the problem.⁸⁵

From the very beginning of his work with the Carter administration, Louis Martin was encouraged to go out into the various communities to speak on Carter’s behalf. In fact, most of his recovered speeches come from this time period. Martin was already familiar with such outreach work since he had been an agitator for the African American community for nearly five decades by that time. Newspaper accounts of Martin’s duties during this era confirmed the importance of his communicating on Carter’s behalf as a rhetorical surrogate. Martin organized meetings and connected Carter with important members of the black community. For example, *Jet* writer Sherman Briscoe wrote: “Louis Martin, special assistant to President Carter, made sure that there was meaningful representation of the black community at the Camp David summit to voice their views on issues of importance to us blacks.”⁸⁶ Martin was regularly characterized in these terms—he “made sure” there was equitable representation of African Americans in meetings with the president and his advisors in various settings. Remember that Martin was quite

⁸⁵ In his exit interview in 1980, Martin recalled how he began working with the Carter administration. He said: “I was not really certain of what had preceded my coming. There was some controversy about the manner in which black affairs had been handled.” Martin went on to say that the only real directive he got was to do for President Carter whatever it was he did for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 1-2.

⁸⁶ Sherman Briscoe, “The Blackside of Washington: Black Voice Leaders at Summit,” *Atlanta Daily World* 19 July 1979: 4.

focused on the importance of minority representation in matters of the political process. He was increasingly able to name individuals who filled that need. Sherman Briscoe, for example, praised Carter for including so many prominent African Americans in the discussion as “an effective mechanism for obtaining directly the opinions of a broad cross-section of America on the knotty problems he faces.”⁸⁷ This was precisely why Martin was brought on board, to facilitate communications between Carter and his administration and various sections of the African American community.

For example, in one of his shortest speeches, Martin welcomed the distinguished guests at an NAACP dinner.⁸⁸ Martin regularly lauded the progress made by President Carter in the area of civil rights during this era of speeches. He felt that in his first two years of office, Carter’s administration had done a poor job communicating his successful initiatives in support of African Americans. Martin emphasized the fact that there were a lot of things Carter accomplished in the first two years of his term as president that were not widely known, particularly to the African American constituency: “I have touched upon a few achievements of the Carter administration that have not been too well publicized. The sound and fury over press reports of threatened budget cuts, most of which have not been realized, have tended to obscure some achievement.”⁸⁹ Martin was worried about budget cuts too, but in his trademark style, he also sought to document progress around him. Furthermore, he pointed to the fact that fears which had been unfounded were unfairly distracting attention from actual policies that resulted in some benefit for African Americans. One of Martin’s most important tasks was to communicate to the minority constituency the programs of relevance to them—just as he had

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner, (25 Nov. 1978), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 11, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NAACP.

⁸⁹ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 9.

while working for Kennedy and Johnson. This was Martin's propaganda, or what he was trying to sell during this time: Carter's policies most beneficial to African Americans.

His efforts to correct the lack of coverage in the mainstream media of Carter's plans to benefit people of color meant that Martin's speeches during this era were chock full of lists of various appointments, plans, and people who would be working to advance the causes Martin and his associates cared about most. Martin made a point in these speeches to acknowledge that the President knew Blacks' votes landed him in office and that the administration was properly grateful. In a speech to the National Conference of Black Mayors, Martin said: "Last week the President told 200 leaders from the deep South that he knew full well that he would not be in the White House if it had not been for the black vote."⁹⁰ Martin, as rhetorical surrogate, told the audience not only about Carter's recognition of the importance of the black vote in the South, but the black vote in general. Martin acknowledged the voters' importance on behalf of Carter as a starting point for the remainder of his argument. By telling them Carter valued them, Martin could then hope to persuade those in his audience to give Carter's plans and policies a chance. Martin knew that the people who voted for Carter were concerned about his plans to cut government waste and how that might affect social programs designed to help the poor. He strove to assure his audience that Carter had not forgotten about their problems in his quest to reform government spending.

There was a lot of concern about Carter's 1980 budget and how changes in the budget would impact the poor.⁹¹ Martin used his position to provide clarity on that point, stating: "The

⁹⁰ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Conference of Black Mayors, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., (03 Nov. 1978), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 11, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Black Mayors.

⁹¹ See, for example, "Black Voices Speak Up, They Warn Carter Against Budget Cutting At the Expense of the Poor," *Time* 112.25 (18 Dec. 1978): 14.; "Civil Rights Leaders Eye Meet with Carter on Budget—Cuts Seen Hurting Poor Most," *Atlanta Daily World* 26 Nov. 1978: 1.; Richard D. Lyons, "Black Leaders Ask to See Carter On Budget Cuts in Social Problems," *New York Times* 24 Nov. 1978: special to the *New York Times*: A1.

1980 budget, for instance, has been grossly misrepresented. The Carter budget called for an increase of 4.7 billion dollars over the 1978 budget for assistance to the poor and disadvantaged.”⁹² Martin countered false information, such as the “grossly misrepresented”⁹³ budget, by providing facts and figures. Again, as a surrogate for Carter, Martin had access to those individuals who were instrumental in constructing the budget. Martin’s proximity to these people enabled him to get facts which he could then distill for presentation to the audience at hand—all in a bid to counter faulty characterizations of Carter’s programs and how they would negatively affect African Americans.

As in the earlier era, Martin provided hard data as evidence for his claims. Martin spent a lot of time explaining what Carter was actually doing, especially regarding the budget and economic issues. Martin acknowledged: “there is mounting concern about economic development, inflation, unemployment and energy issues which now dominate the concerns of most of us today. The least understood decisions and actions of the president [Carter] are in this area.”⁹⁴ Martin consistently advocated for understanding of all kinds and on all levels: understanding between different races of people; understanding of the political process; understanding of sound financial policy; understanding of world, national, and local events; and understanding of the true nature of the obstacles African Americans faced in this and other eras in which he wrote. Martin was a proponent of increasing understanding among all Americans, particularly the rank and file Blacks who were often neglected and therefore understood little about the policies which could affect them. This sort of sentiment, where Martin asserted there was lack of knowledge about actual programs, regularly preceded his long and detailed lists of

⁹² Louis E. Martin, Speech to the South Carolina Black Legislators, (09 June 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 13, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, June-July 1979, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators.

⁹³ Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

what Carter had accomplished to-date. For example, Martin enthusiastically told his audiences about Carter's appointing African Americans to important positions, establishing CETA to ready young Blacks for the workforce, supporting the National Urban Policy, including minority business in government contracts, and naming African Americans to life-long federal judgeships. Unlike some of his predecessors, Martin argued, President Carter was actively working to make good on his campaign promises to the African American community. Martin said: "The promise of action is a promise that President Carter intends to keep."⁹⁵ Martin's job was to continuously communicate the actions the Carter administration was taking from an inside agitator's perspective. Given his experience with presidents and the workings of the Democratic National Committee, Martin was well-qualified to evaluate the political process under Carter. He wrote, "I believe that despite a wayward and sometimes hostile Congress, President Carter has been a good and careful captain of the ship of state."⁹⁶ Martin understood, given his time working with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, that Congress could stall even the most progressive president's plans. He saw a similar relationship between the Congress and President Carter. That is, Carter was hampered by Congress much like Kennedy was. Martin negated the common characterization of Carter as hampered by Congressional action, and focused instead on his positive achievements using the captain of a ship metaphor. Congressional albatrosses aside, Martin believed Carter was prudently navigating the waters of race relations in the late 1970s.

Not everyone was thrilled with Martin's work as a rhetorical surrogate for Carter. During the late 1970s, many journalists commented on the dissatisfaction some African Americans felt with Carter's plans. In fact, journalist Nathaniel Wright wrote,

⁹⁵ Louis E. Martin, *Black Mayors*, 6.

⁹⁶ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Cook County Bar, (23 June 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 13, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, June-July 1979, 5. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, *Cook County Bar*.

Specifically, it has been noted that no Black persons at the White House are in the ‘inner circle’ of advisors closest to the Oval Office. Mr. Louis Martin, the veteran Black newsman at the White House, it was noted, has as his principal job and portfolio the responsibility for interpreting the lily-white ‘inner circle’ decisions in the most favorable possible light.⁹⁷

This remark was disparaging of both President Carter and Martin, and suggests Martin was deployed as an apologist for policies he and other Blacks might otherwise find untenable. Wright’s comment further suggested that Martin was merely a token in Carter’s group of advisors tasked with breaking down complex policies in a way that minority audiences would understand and accept.

Louis Martin, simultaneously insider and outsider in presidential politics, had a momentous task in appeasing all segments of the communities he represented. He not only had to interpret and analyze presidential policy, he had to convey that information in a clear and concise way to the people he was hired to persuade that those policies were beneficial. While some observers of Martin’s activities on behalf of Carter considered them little more than posturing, others disagreed. Wright explained this tendency as well, explaining that some people in African American communities felt

The President could-doubt-less [sic] do no single act to encourage a greater confidence in his administration on the part of black Americans than to appoint his presently closest top black aide—a White House public relations officer—Louis Martin, to a higher place than that of image-

⁹⁷ Nathaniel Wright, “Black Empowerment: Black Dissension at the White House,” *The Skanner* 09 May 1979: 4.

making and into the closest possible policy advising position to the President himself.⁹⁸

Martin, of course, was more concerned with getting other Blacks into positions of power in the president's cabinet and in judiciary slots. Carter and his aides sought out Martin for his skill in forming diverse coalitions, not necessarily policy making. Martin was not advocating for greater involvement or a more prestigious role than he already had. Instead, Martin used his post as a conduit for getting other qualified Blacks into important jobs. Martin's proximity to Carter afforded him a clear vision of Carter's plans for the country as a whole and African Americans in particular. The next step was to communicate those plans to the audiences who would benefit the most from policies put in place by Carter and those in various agencies he controlled.

Martin explained in interviews after his time with the Carter team that he felt there was a problem of communication in the administration that naturally extended to the African American constituency. Martin wrote that as he worked with Carter, he became convinced that Carter was not getting fair and accurate representation by the press or his aides⁹⁹—Martin believed Carter was a fine President¹⁰⁰ and set about communicating the facts that made him believe in Carter and his plans for the country. Martin said, “It encouraged me to do more communicating, trying to get across what I thought this man was like, and I think I succeeded in some ways in impressing black America that this man was genuine, he was smart, he was knowledgable [sic], he was believable, he was worth working for.”¹⁰¹ Martin agitated for acceptance of President Carter when the country in general and some African Americans in particular were unconvinced

⁹⁸ Nathaniel Wright, “Black Empowerment; Human Rights Activist,” *Washington Informer* 15 Nov. 1979: 19.

⁹⁹ See Martin's Article in the *Chicago Defender*, “Carter Gets Credit,” for Martin's assertion that it was Carter's loyalty to the aides that prevented him from getting more qualified Washington-savvy helpers.

¹⁰⁰ Alex Poinsett explains that Martin “believed that if Carter's record were properly communicated, it would carry as much weight with rank-and-file black Americans as Senator Kennedy's.” Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 195.

¹⁰¹ Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 5.

about his true intentions. Martin believed in his vision as he did the visions of FDR, Kennedy, and Johnson. To get average Blacks invested in Carter, Martin had to promote, explain, and defend his own investment in the president. Carter, Martin said, was worth the effort it took to support him and denounce his critics. To do so, Martin had to provide concrete details about Carter's "genuine" interest in securing real civil rights, opportunities, and first-class citizenship for Blacks in America.

Martin's speeches during his time with Carter reflected precisely this goal—increasing the flow of information between government and the African American people. This aim complemented Martin's own goal of securing the involvement of larger numbers of Blacks in the political process. Martin's public addresses were full of information about the various appointments, agencies, programs, and plans Carter had which would be beneficial to the African American communities and the nation as a whole. These communities, of course, were composed of individuals who could begin to take advantage of new opportunities. Martin sought out and spoke to these opinion leaders as part of his overall strategy. Next, I turn to an assessment and enumeration of the audiences Martin addressed during his tenure with President Carter. These people, opinion leaders from communities and organizations across the country, were essential to Martin's plans for continuing to secure civil rights and first-class citizenship.

3.3 Identifying the Audiences: Critical Localism and the Politics of Inclusion

Martin spoke on many different occasions while he was working with President Carter. I have assembled twenty-five speeches from this time period alone. Some of the speeches are from Martin's files at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, Georgia, and the others are from Martin's files at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. During his time with Carter from approximately August 1978 to January 1980, Martin spoke to a diverse collection of groups

including political organizations, community groups, academic audiences, and professional organizations. He also addressed some audiences whose actual identity is hard to define exactly given available information, but which are clearly relevant given the information contained in his texts. Regardless of the audience before him, Martin continued to promote his strategies for increased African American participation in the political process. Organizations and the people who gave those organizations agency were central to Martin's means of developing and encouraging the political process. Through interaction with well-informed and well-meaning organizations, Blacks could begin to organize and exercise their right to vote en masse for those people who would best represent their interests in local, state, and federal government.

Martin's emphasis on coordination and organization was consistent with Steven Goldzwig's idea of critical localism. Goldzwig describes this concept, which "focuses our attention on the discourse of local communities, practices, and cultures."¹⁰² Martin's rhetoric provides us with a glimpse into the issues, problems, and policies that most affected and concerned the varied communities to whom he spoke. Martin acted initially by addressing the local groups of larger organizations—encouraging the audience members he reached to take the message and engage in positive actions within their local communities. He spoke to them in both positive and realistic terms. Martin's speeches, given the specific audiences he addressed, are sites of vernacular discourse¹⁰³ we can interrogate to learn about the communities he spoke to and, by extension, the communities he hoped to reach. Time and again, Martin focused on what actions needed to take place at a local level to force progress on the national level. He pointed to

¹⁰² Steven R. Goldzwig, "Multiculturalism, Rhetoric and the Twenty-first Century," *Southern Communication Journal* 63.4 (Summer 1998): 276.

¹⁰³ See Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, "The Critique of Vernacular Discourse," *Communication Monographs* 62 (March 1995): 19-46. See also, Gerard A. Hauser, *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1999).

the role of local communities in past political contexts to illustrate how change worked from the bottom up.

Martin's discourse was designed to empower those who heard it. This is evident in his speeches where Martin regularly celebrated the achievements of the audiences to whom he spoke, and then he asked for more hard work. In addition to empowering his audience, his rhetoric also promoted the system in which he wanted his audience to become more involved—the political process. By getting more African Americans involved in the political process, and encouraging those who already were involved to stay the course, Martin felt that issues specific to that community stood a better chance of being addressed. He acknowledged the pressing issues of the moment and how to best remedy them while he simultaneously offered suggestions for change—some of which he maintained well into the 1990s. Martin's public address, based on his attention to the issues most relevant to the audiences he addressed, may be considered vernacular discourse since vernacular discourse "is speech that resonates within local communities."¹⁰⁴ During the Carter era, Martin addressed many such communities where he promoted grassroots efforts such as registration, which were the genesis of many African Americans' introduction to the political process. While we can evaluate his words to these groups, it is difficult now to measure actual effect within those communities. In fact, some people might suggest that the effect of Martin's rhetoric was negligible since he continued, throughout the course of his career, to call for the use of the same tools to support first-class citizenship which was apparently still elusive. He never was satisfied with the results, and sadly, while he was positive, even today we can see how his calls for empowering minorities through voting and economic empowerment are still relevant. Again, he focused on existing

¹⁰⁴ Ono and Sloop, "The Critique of Vernacular Discourse," 20.

organizations to facilitate understanding between communities of color and the president for whom he spoke.

Because Martin was once more in the proverbial thick of the political picture as an aide to President Carter, he naturally spoke to a good number of political groups. First, Martin spoke to the National Conference of Black Mayors in Washington D.C. in November of 1978. In June of 1979, he spoke to the South Carolina Black Legislators, and in July of 1979 he spoke to the Alaska Black Caucus. As in the previous era, Martin's speeches to these groups focused on the activities of Blacks at various locales across the nation. Just as before, Martin praised them and their actions to inspire them to keep going in the incremental process of change.

Martin emphasized the importance of local actions with the African American mayors. For example, Martin acknowledged that it may be difficult to establish coalitions, but that such work was essential, based on his experience: "Each of you has had to develop your own political power base. I have long been aware of the importance of a local power base in national politics."¹⁰⁵ From his many editorials we know that Martin was particularly attuned to local politics in cities such as Chicago and Detroit. In those cities, he saw how coalitions of local or precinct voters could be mobilized to secure success in elections. This sentiment, promoting the establishment of a "power base," was consistent with his prescription for change evidenced in his earlier speeches. To begin to enact change at the local level, coalitions of like-minded individuals must be established and organized to act effectively. Martin saw clearly the "nature of political power and how it is generated in our system."¹⁰⁶ Martin's honest assessment of the system—its failures and successes—was a key component of his rhetoric carried over from the first era of his public address. Martin believed that African Americans' increased political participation was

¹⁰⁵ Louis E. Martin, *Black Mayors*, 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

necessary to begin to secure real equality. While he was quick to point to problems in the process, he was equally quick to assert that the only way to affect the system was to get involved, or to make changes from the inside. He believed Blacks had no choice but to get involved in the process, despite its flaws. Their failure to participate was, in part, how their concerns had been ignored to date. Vested, sustained, and active interest in the political process, Martin argued, would provide African Americans with real “Black power.”¹⁰⁷

In this speech to the mayors, Martin also showed that he was quite attuned to the needs of his audience. He focused specifically on urban policies and the people on Carter’s team who were responsible for enacting the programs. By naming names, Martin established connections his audience members could begin to tap for their own advantage. Martin continued to provide detailed accounts of the various proposals his audience would be interested in, such as the Housing and Community Development Act, the Urban Development Act, the Urban Homesteading program, the Community Development Block Grant, and others. Martin relied on those in attendance to get the message out to their constituents about opportunities. He explained: “I have already passed the word that if the people for whom the programs are created do not get the benefits, then we are in deep trouble.”¹⁰⁸ Trouble often arose, Martin argued, because people were frustrated with conditions they saw no way of remedying. If help was available and the people knew where to get assistance, the chances of trouble decreased. Martin worked with the people who designed the programs and those who would benefit from them. He had seen in the past how problems of poverty, for example, had led to frustration and, in some

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Onabanjo also argued this point: that it would take personal effort and involvement in existing systems, however imperfect, to make progress. Onabanjo posed the question, ““What is black power? However you define it, you know in your heart and head that it requires organized and constructive effort, energy work, sweat and intelligence on the part of the masses of black people. Nobody is going to give you black power.”” Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dr. Onabanjo Says Black Power Is Not Black Magic,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 10 Jan. 1970, big weekend ed.: 3.

¹⁰⁸ Louis E. Martin, *Black Mayors*, 6.

cases, riots. As a surrogate for Carter, Martin was obliged to explain the issue from the minority perspective as well: to explain that frustration would not result in Blacks' support for policies of dubious value. As leaders of their communities, Martin and those to whom he spoke were responsible for the welfare of their constituents. Therefore, communication and organization continued to be important themes in speeches Martin delivered while he was with Carter. Regardless of the group he addressed, Martin consistently told the audience how their coordinated efforts were helping to improve quality of life for African Americans and other minority groups.

In his speech to the South Carolina legislators, Martin was again careful to acknowledge the work of those he addressed. He explained that many of the "Black leaders who participated in the great landmark decisions and developments of this century...have for the most part come from the south and many from South Carolina..."¹⁰⁹ Martin appealed to their sense of (local) pride and accomplishment, telling the assembled crowd, "You have a great state, a great governor and many great leaders, black and white."¹¹⁰ In this speech, Martin went on to name many talented African Americans who had been appointed to posts with which the South Carolina legislators may have had occasion to work. He even went into details about Carter's appointing many African American judges. He explained how one person in a position of power could have an impact on the decision-making process at every level of politics. Carter realized this too, which Martin explained to an audience at Howard University: "There has also been a continuous demand for black representation in the policy making councils of government at every level. No president, including LBJ, has been more responsive to these pressures than

¹⁰⁹ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Jimmy Carter in my view.”¹¹¹ Policy makers from minority communities would, presumably, attempt to implement policies that were beneficial to those communities. Policies in one section of government could potentially affect those in other areas. Martin agitated for increased presence of Blacks not only in legislative bodies, but also in regulatory and judicial groups. Martin praised Carter for his inclusive plans: “President Carter has pledged and will soon announce the appointment of blacks to important regulatory bodies where no blacks have ever served.”¹¹² African Americans were lending their talents to new endeavors with great success. Martin took the time to name these people specifically.

The same positive progress and inclusion of people of color was true of Carter’s plans for the judiciary. Martin explained: “An increased number of blacks in the federal judiciary will help change the climate of the criminal justice system in our society.”¹¹³ Martin felt that with people of color in all branches of public life there was more chance of fair and equitable treatment for people in minority groups. Those people who had succeeded in attaining positions of power had the responsibility to look out for others. Martin regularly reminded his audiences that they had an obligation to act to help the rank and file Blacks who were still struggling, and he led by example.

Martin counted himself among his audience members as those who must continue to challenge the problems of race in America, explaining, “We have been climbing the political ladder and we still have a long climb ahead.”¹¹⁴ Martin used the political ladder metaphor quite a bit in his speeches to various groups. In every case, no matter how rotten the ladder was, Martin

¹¹¹ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy,” Howard University, (27 Oct. 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 14, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Oct-Dec 1979, 18. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics.”

¹¹² Louis E. Martin, Speech to unknown audience [The introduction reminds me of yesteryear...], (CA 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 15, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979], 8. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Untitled: yesteryear.

¹¹³ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: yesteryear, 8.

¹¹⁴ Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 10.

encouraged his audience to climb as best they could.¹¹⁵ Competition with Whites was unavoidable. Dr. Onabanjo agreed that Blacks must get involved in the system, no matter how distasteful, or fade into oblivion: ““You must compete with the white man or perish.””¹¹⁶ For Martin, climbing the ladder meant seizing and capitalizing on the next available opportunity. He tried, throughout his speeches, to tell his audiences about opportunities they may not have known about.

He tempered his optimism with realism regardless of the audience: acknowledging successful climbers of the political and economic ladders while still acknowledging the need for additional measures: “It is clear that we have got to strengthen our political muscle.”¹¹⁷ He called on those already a part of the political process to improve minorities’ access even more. This call even extended to Carter himself. Martin explained it this way: “Despite all of the economic troubles that President Carter inherited, the administration has recognized its responsibility to help those who are most in need.”¹¹⁸ Martin’s emphasis on people helping people extended up and down the political, social, and economic ladders in communities around the nation.

Martin went as far as Alaska to address the needs of minorities in general and minority politicians in particular. As with his other audiences, Martin started his speech to the Alaska Black Caucus by noting their accomplishments: “Your numbers have increased beyond anyone’s dream. Your phenomenal growth indicates that you have seized upon an idea whose time has come. You represent a new force that can improve the Black condition and strengthen our

¹¹⁵ Remember from Martin’s address to the National Association of Market Developers that the ladders Blacks had to climb were often treacherous. He said: “White society has made these ladders which we are expected to climb are second-hand, half rotten and every other rung is missing. When it comes to the educational ladder, the most basic of all, we seem to be trying to climb a greasy pole.” Louis E. Martin, NAMD, 12.

¹¹⁶ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Racism No Excuse For Doing Nothing,” *Tri-State Defender* 11 June 1977: 5.

¹¹⁷ Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 10.

¹¹⁸ Louis E. Martin, Savannah Business League, 4.

democracy.”¹¹⁹ Martin consistently sought out such “forces” in people and measured their success accordingly. In the Carter era, there was still a need for movement in civil rights, and the existence of a “new force” that could not only improve conditions for African Americans but for the country as a whole was welcome indeed. His strategy was consistent—praise those who had made progress, identify those who were key figures in government circles, and make recommendations for change. These recommendations always included calls for action—Martin wanted his audience and the people they worked with to come together to solve common problems by sharing resources of all kinds, not just monetary and tangible, but also the resources of the human mind.

While this speech to the Alaska Black Caucus was remarkably short, Martin did manage to name many influential Blacks who were their predecessors in government, who, he said, were “all with us in spirit today.”¹²⁰ These African Americans also figured prominently in Martin’s addresses to community groups and fraternities as examples of success and spurs for action. Martin relied on the established ethos of other prominent figures in the civil rights arena for a few reasons. First, he wanted his audience to place themselves in a larger, overwhelmingly positive movement which had been going on for decades. Also, he wanted to recognize the achievements of those who had fought for first-class citizenship throughout the country’s troubled history. Martin described the purposeful actions of the influential people, such as Jesse Jackson’s registration drive, to show his audience that action was necessary and often successful. Martin frequently quoted other Blacks to reinforce his points. For example, Martin often cited

¹¹⁹ Louis E. Martin, Speech at the Second Annual Solidarity Day Greater Fairbanks Alaska Black Caucus, (11 July 1980), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 16, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1980, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Alaska Black Caucus.

¹²⁰ Louis E. Martin, Alaska Black Caucus, 2.

W. E. B. Du Bois' commentary on the twentieth century battle of the "color line" to impress upon his audience that the war was still on and in need of dedicated soldiers as well as generals.

Martin's work with President Carter led him to address not just collections of government officials, but also community groups and even college fraternities. For example, Martin gave a speech at the NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner in November 1978 in which he addressed members of Alpha Phi Alpha¹²¹ in January of 1979 in Chicago as part of National Leadership Conference. Other audiences included: those assembled for the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) speech in June of 1979, the Urban League, and members of the Council of Assemblies for the National Association of Southern Poor (NASP) in June of 1980.

Two of Martin's shortest speeches are those he delivered to the NAACP and the OIC. Even in these brief remarks, Martin's optimism and enthusiasm for African American achievement through the organizations he was addressing was evident. Martin called on them to act, again using Du Bois' words,

'You who are the generals and footsoldiers [sic] of the NAACP are the true American patriots. You are fighting for the American dream.' We all recognize that the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil in the world is for good men and women to do nothing. Let us keep up the struggle and keep the faith.¹²²

Martin, like Du Bois, frequently employed war metaphors to depict the struggles African Americans faced. He used Du Bois' call to "generals" as well as "footsoldiers" to emphasize the need for all people to be involved in the fight. People who had been denied access to the

¹²¹ Apparently, Martin addressed the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity a number of times during his term with Carter. See Vernon C. Thompson, "Fraternity Men With 'Diversity,'" *Washington Post* 07 Dec. 1978, final ed.: DC4.

¹²² Louis E. Martin, NAACP, 1.

American dream were more likely to cherish it, thus making them “true” patriots. African Americans, through organization, dedication and strength in numbers, had to work to secure the benefits of that dream which was attainable by all Americans, at least in theory. Martin acknowledged the very real difficulties of this ongoing battle and encouraged his audience to maintain their “belief” in the possibilities and in the struggles that would make those possibilities turn into genuine opportunities. This trust and faith in the promise of America was rather like a religion in that Martin encouraged his audience to tithe with their efforts. As he did in the past, Martin called on the established leaders to keep working through his encouragement and harkening back to those who came before them. Martin saw the then-current actors as critical characters in the ongoing struggle for first-class citizenship and elevated them to the same status as the “greats” of the movement to spur their continued efforts.

Martin’s January 1979 speech to members of Alpha Phi Alpha was particularly noteworthy because it demonstrated Martin’s strategy of praising the audience members for their achievements before suggesting future policy actions. This strategy is important because it establishes a positive atmosphere from the beginning. By acknowledging the successes of those he addressed, Martin sought to secure their cooperation and publicize their methods before suggesting some of his own. Martin began strongly: “No group in black America has more influence over the future of our country and people than you. You are the shakers and movers of your communities. You set the course of current history.”¹²³ He identified his audience members as *the* agents of change in “black America.” Martin was emphatic that these assembled leaders had an obligation to go back to their communities and combat problems in a straightforward manner. He repeatedly asserted that these audience members had a duty to get involved: “You have assumed leadership roles. You are successful and you represent the black middle class.

¹²³ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 1.

Whether we like it or not we are on the spot.”¹²⁴ Martin counted himself among those he addressed as being responsible for the overall improvement of racial relations in America—an act of rhetorical identification. The onus was on each individual, including Martin himself, to act consistently with the established political process, not fight against it. Martin told the Alpha Phi Alphas to be optimistic as well as realistic,

You and I must recognize that the political process is not an automatic elevator. We cannot push a button and rise to the level of our expectations. The political process represents one of the ladders by which we can climb out of the misery and chaos of our lives. Under democratic leadership it has proven to be a sturdy ladder for those who are willing to take advantage of expanding opportunities. We have to do the climbing. [...] We who have assumed leadership roles have a responsibility to tell the truth and call for action.¹²⁵

As he did in his early speeches, Martin wanted all the horses included in the race, not just the proven winners. He called on the leaders of various African American communities to facilitate the climb up the political ladder for others in their spheres of influence. Martin regularly used the metaphor of the political process as an elevator to characterize the steep vertical ascent African Americans had to climb to secure first-class citizenship. His agitative rhetoric was designed to facilitate “movement” in political circles. He was similarly insistent on movement on the part of the people he most wanted to help. These ladder and elevator metaphors also facilitate upward movement. Over time, Martin commented on how the ladders African Americans were expected to climb were made more readily accessible by those in power. As an unrepentant partisan,

¹²⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 10.

Martin found the ladders maintained by Democrats to be the most consistently climbable.

Democrats, however, were not the only ones who could aid African Americans as they ascended the various ladders of success. He also focused on groups designed to help in that climb, such as the Urban League.

Martin addressed the Urban League in 1979 and, predictably, began his remarks by counting himself among the audience members, “It is a great honor for me to have this opportunity to talk about some of the things that I believe are close to all of our hearts and minds.”¹²⁶ Martin’s use of identification with the audience and their concerns, as in past speeches, formed a common ground upon which Martin as rhetor and the audience could contemplate solutions to the problems Martin was about to address. Those issues included problems with housing, the economy, jobs, and youth unemployment. Martin named agencies and programs most relevant to his audience members—communicating opportunities to the attendees that they might return to their communities and share the news of Carter’s programs designed to help them, specifically. Even in the face of challenges from many different quarters, Martin exuded optimism to his audience:

In many ways, I believe that we are better prepared to face the future than any other generation of Blacks. More doors are open and our opportunities for progress, despite current difficulties, are greater than ever. Rung by rung we are climbing both the political and economic ladder. We are not satisfied, of course, and we shall not be satisfied until the vestige of racial discrimination and inequality has been eliminated.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Louis E. Martin, Speech to Urban League, (1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 15, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979], 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Urban League.

¹²⁷ Louis E. Martin, Urban League, 13-14.

This quotation illustrates Martin's signature optimism and realism wherein he looked to the past and quantified change over time. The ladder metaphor was particularly useful here as it demonstrated continual progress upward to equality for African Americans. His emphasis on the ladder, contrasted to the elevator, highlighted his belief that an individual rises through his or her own efforts and hard work. Martin's emphasis, particularly in the Carter era, was on the financial aspect of that ladder. The economic plight of minorities was a frequent topic of conversation in this era, as evidenced by his speech to the National Association for Southern Poor (NASP).

Martin both emphasized the essential nature of organization and the group's ability to maintain it in his speech to the NASP. He said, "No one understands this concept [organization] better than you who are members of the Assemblies. By coming together, organizing your talents and resources, you are in a position to do collectively what could never be done by individuals, however gifted or powerful."¹²⁸ Here again, we can see Martin's insistence on people working together to achieve goals. A collection of "gifted" and "powerful" people working toward a shared goal was sure to result in success. Martin consistently emphasized the interconnectedness of people and how, working together, great achievements were possible, even probable. Martin was careful to cover all contingencies: while he emphasized the extreme need for individuals to get involved in the on-going struggle for civil rights, Martin also witnessed and promoted the power of groups of people from diverse coalitions. Martin found another coalition in the academic arena.

With the benefit of hindsight, Martin's addresses to university crowds served as a fitting prelude to his joining Howard University after he and President Carter left the White House. In

¹²⁸ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Council of Assemblies for the National Association for Southern Poor, (28 June 1980), in Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Staff Offices, Louis Martin, Special Assistant to the President, Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1], Box 58, Folder Martin, Louis—Speech 6/28/80 Norfolk, [Va], 2. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NASP.

October of 1979, Martin delivered a speech entitled “Blacks, Presidential Politics, and Public Policy” to a group at Howard University. The *Atlanta Daily World* documented this event and described the attendees as a “cross-section of prominent and influential scholars and public officials”¹²⁹—precisely the sort of diverse audience Martin sought. The conference aimed to “examine the effects of major domestic policies implemented during recent presidential administrations on the black community;”¹³⁰ therefore, as an aide to Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter and an astute observer of Presidents Nixon and Ford,¹³¹ Martin certainly had the credentials to address this audience. In this address, Martin recounted the history of Blacks in various segments of government over the years. He took special care to note that their numbers had grown significantly over the past decades. Martin named numerous influential African Americans and their accomplishments in this speech—people who were associated with Carter and other politicians—to demonstrate Blacks’ sustained involvement in the governing of America. He challenged this audience to take the accomplishments of those who came before them and advance even further: “How do we make certain that the seeds planted now will bear fruit? That is the question. There are several courses of action open to us. None of them can be pursued without deep commitment and hard work.”¹³² Martin used the gardening metaphor often to show what was possible if he and others continued to cultivate their crop of self-sufficiency, sacrifice, and involvement in the political process. He believed that nurturing the overall African

¹²⁹ “Howard University Will Host Major Public Policy Confab,” *Atlanta Daily World* 18 Oct. 1979: 3.

¹³⁰ “Howard University Will Host Major Public Policy Conference,” *Washington Informer* 04 Oct. 1979: 1.

¹³¹ Martin used his editorial space in the *Chicago Defender* to comment at length on President Nixon. In one particularly scathing article, Martin said, “Mr. Nixon is simply living up to his great reputation for duplicity.” Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Moon Seems Closer Than Ballot Box to Blacks In Dixie,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 19 July 1969, big weekend ed.: 3. Martin was slightly more optimistic about President Ford after Ford appointed William Thaddeus Coleman Jr., an African American, as Secretary of the Department of Transportation. See Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Gerald Ford Scores A Touchdown,” *Chicago Defender* 18 Jan. 1975, big weekend ed.: 3. See Appendix B for a list of Martin’s editorials corresponding to President Nixon’s and President Ford’s time in the White House.

¹³² Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 21.

American community by tending to the advances they had already secured would lead to bigger yields. For example, civil rights leaders in the Kennedy/Johnson years had pushed for the right to vote; Martin wanted the current batch of influential people to continue to nourish involvement in the political process via the vote and beyond.

As he did in his other speeches, Martin counted himself as one of the audience and suggested everybody had an obligation to become involved in the political process to secure democracy for all Americans. Martin told his audience that Blacks were, even at this late date, “on the first rungs of the political ladder.”¹³³ By detailing the achievements of notable African Americans, Martin suggested to his audience that change, advancement, and improvement were all possible if the people applied their “skill, intelligence, and commitment”¹³⁴ to the issues at hand. He encouraged those in the audience for his speech to Atlanta University¹³⁵ to do the same.

Martin began his speech to the Atlanta University audience by celebrating the success of their institution in fostering the greatness of a number of African American politicians. He said, “Scores of Black appointees prepared for their careers at this great institution. The knowledge and experience they received here now determine the decisions they make in government, decisions which influence the course of history.”¹³⁶ This quotation reflects Martin’s continuous assertion that the way to make lasting changes in government was for Blacks and other minorities to become involved in politics and, ultimately, to become lawmakers themselves. By seizing the opportunities an historically black college or university (HBCU) like Atlanta

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ The Library of Congress has this speech in the 1979 file. However, a search of newspaper articles in the *Atlanta Daily World* suggests that Martin actually gave this speech on 10 March 1980. See “Atlanta U. To Honor Two At Convocation,” *Atlanta Daily World* 31 July 1980: 1. See also “Black College Leaders Plan 4-Day Meet Here,” *Atlanta Daily World* 09 Mar. 1980: 1.

¹³⁶ Louis E. Martin, Speech to Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, (1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 15, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979], 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Atlanta University.

University afforded, people in the immediate audience and beyond could begin to make their marks on the system and, Martin argued, challenge the status quo. There were organizations available to help in such endeavors, such as the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education.

Martin gave a short address to the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) in November of 1979 in Washington D.C. as part of President Carter's plan for federal funding of historically black colleges and universities.¹³⁷ In his role as rhetorical surrogate, Martin began this speech by offering the assembled audience greetings from President Carter. Martin explained, "[President Carter's] interest and concern for our colleges are well known."¹³⁸ Here, Martin presented Carter to the audience as an ally in their efforts to maintain HBCUs. Establishing this up front was a means to secure the audience's attention and enthusiasm for what was to follow. As Carter's surrogate, Martin was invested with the authority of the president; he fortified that authority by telling his audience about Carter's moral concern for HBCUs, but more importantly his actions to fund HBCUs well into the future. As with his other speeches, Martin focused on points most relevant to the assembled audience, providing hard figures of how much monetary assistance HBCUs like Tougaloo College had received. He provided empirical data to prove Carter's sincerity and interests meshed with their own. Martin encouraged the members of the audience to continue with their efforts: "I think we are on the right track and with all of us working together we can achieve our goals. Nothing worthwhile is accomplished easily and this is no exception."¹³⁹ A "track" leads to a specific destination. For

¹³⁷ See Sherman Briscoe, "The Blackside of Washington: Help for Black Colleges," *Atlanta Daily World* 30 Sep. 1979: 4.

¹³⁸ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, Washington Hilton, (30 Nov. 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 14, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Oct-Dec 1979, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NAFEO.

¹³⁹ Louis E. Martin, NAFEO, 6.

Martin, that track led to continuous improvement for African Americans in all aspects of private and social life. Again, the emphasis was on movement: individuals pooling their resources for the greatest effect. Martin simultaneously promoted the importance of remaining on the “right” track while also acknowledging the reality that progress would be difficult. Such a pragmatic approach pointed to the possibilities while still acknowledging the obstacles and the harsh realities people would face along the way. Martin’s enthusiasm was often tempered with such practicality, characteristic of his pragmatic argument style. This points to Martin’s strength in proposing purposeful activities which would result in measurable progress. He appealed to concrete measures as a means to encourage positive change. Like-minded people working to maintain HBCUs in America would result in an increased number of educated and skilled young Blacks who had the tools needed to participate effectively in the political process Martin championed.

Martin also spoke to a number of professional organizations while he was working for Carter. His first such speech in this era was to the National Association of Black Manufacturers at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. in December of 1978. He encouraged that audience to participate fully in the Carter Administration’s efforts to “promote the development of minority business enterprise.”¹⁴⁰ Martin suggested his audience partner with the administration to encourage further development: “We in the White House need your help and support. We welcome your full partnership.”¹⁴¹ By giving his audience agency and addressing their concerns, Martin began to ask for their cooperation. Because of Carter’s increased emphasis on the inclusion of minority business in government contracts, the audience learned that their

¹⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Association of Black Manufacturers, Sheraton Park Hotel, (05 Dec. 1978), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 11, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NABM.

¹⁴¹ Louis E. Martin, NABM, 3.

partnership could lead to a financial windfall. Martin appealed to the business types in the same way he had the community organizers: he focused on their concerns specifically and told them in no uncertain terms what they could expect from the Carter administration. He wanted them, like the community activists, to believe that their concerns were, in fact, being addressed at a very high level. Focusing on what mattered most to them, Martin laid the foundation for their participation.

The case was much the same in Martin's address to the Savannah Business League in 1979. Martin explained to them that Carter's plans afforded real opportunities. Martin suggested they must join together to capitalize upon those possibilities:

Once we get the opportunity to make a contribution to our advancement
there is hope for the future. Without opportunity we are hopeless.

President Jimmy Carter has insisted on opening the door and it is up to us
[to] walk through the door. Today we are closer to enjoying full equality
of opportunity than at any time in history.¹⁴²

His use of the door metaphor was telling: all that remained was for African Americans and other minorities to cross the threshold. Martin had witnessed other United States presidents' actions on civil rights and found Carter to be genuinely involved in making policies to help the people who were most in need of assistance government could provide. In addition, business people, acting in their own communities, were likely to be attuned to problems in their own neighborhoods. For Martin, as always, the key was to connect the people with the programs. The members of this audience were provided with a veritable laundry list of all the programs and departments in the Carter administration available to them. By extension, those opportunities would help people they employed and others in their communities. For example, Martin pointed to the Minority

¹⁴² Ibid., 10.

Bank Development Program as a program to provide “capital development”¹⁴³ to minority-owned banks. Such programs were easy for Martin to promote since he had so consistently insisted on the importance of economic opportunity for Blacks and other minority groups. Opportunities afforded by President Carter’s policies were not only for minority Americans but also available to other professional groups made up principally of African Americans.

For instance, Martin also spoke to a group of lawyers when he addressed the Cook County Bar in June 1979.¹⁴⁴ Throughout his speeches, Martin regularly commented on the importance of getting Blacks to serve in the judiciary, and the audience for this speech was likely in agreement with Martin’s prescriptions. Martin began, as he often did, by praising the audience at hand, stating: “Black lawyers have been in the vanguard of the pioneers on the civil rights front. You helped secure the rights of black people and in the process helped assure the rights of all. You have always known what is good for black people is good for America.”¹⁴⁵ Martin called the lawyers “pioneers”; they were leading the quest for first-class citizenship. Through his use of the term “you” Martin affirmed their past contributions so that he could then promote additional action—namely Blacks’ increased participation in the “federal judgeships.”¹⁴⁶

Martin also briefly spoke with the National Insurance Agencies Convention attendees in July, 1979, in Washington D.C. An article about the event in the *Atlanta Daily World* explained that there were “four hundred delegates” assembled for that meeting who planned to “take a look at the state of the [insurance] industry and mark out strategy for the survival and progress of Black insurance companies.”¹⁴⁷ The attendees at this convention were successfully using the

¹⁴³ Louis E. Martin, Savannah Business League, 6.

¹⁴⁴ The Cook County Bar is “the oldest African American bar association in America,” per the organization’s web site. See Cook County Bar Association, Home Page, <http://cookcountybar.org/>.

¹⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, Cook County Bar, 1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁴⁷ “Black Insurance Companies Meeting in Washington, D.C.,” *Atlanta Daily World* 17 July 1979: 2.

power of the dollar in starting their own companies owned by and for the benefit of African Americans. The case was the same with Martin's speech to the National Minority Telecommunications Office in September 1980 in Washington, D.C.¹⁴⁸ African Americans and other minorities were enjoying success in a number of different ventures, and Martin named an astonishing number of people as examples of this success. As usual, Martin praised the attendees and imparted his infectious optimism for the future at the hands of such talented individuals: "Minority development in telecommunications will help usher in a new appreciation of minority contributions in the American mosaic of diverse cultures and peoples. We are proud of the progress that has been made and look forward to greater developments in the days ahead."¹⁴⁹ Martin was always looking ahead to bigger and better things. As an optimist, he felt that consistent improvement was highly probable if people acted. Progress was still largely dependent upon African Americans' involvement in the political process via voting in particular.

Just as he did in the previous era of speeches, Martin used his position in the Carter White House to promote the importance of voting. The files at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library contain a speech Martin delivered in September 1980 at a workshop on Voter Participation & Network Development. His speech may have been a part of the 10th Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Weekend, which, like Martin, "stressed the urgency of full participation by all Black Americans."¹⁵⁰ This speech contained a remarkable list of African American individuals who had been instrumental in securing and promoting the vote for people denied suffrage. Martin provided this information to encourage the attendees and prove that their

¹⁴⁸ See Lisa Armour, "Carter Celebrates Success of Communications Program," *Washington Informer* 18 Sep. 1980: 14 for information about this event.

¹⁴⁹ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Minority Telecommunications Conference, (11 Sep. 1980), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 16, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1980, 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NMTC. See also in Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Staff Offices, Louis Martin, Special Assistant to the President, Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1], Box 58, Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches, 3.

¹⁵⁰ "Full Schedule Planned for Caucus Weekend," *Washington Informer* 18 Sep. 1980: 1.

efforts were part of a long tradition. Martin remarked, “It is incumbent upon us to support [the Congressional Black Caucus’] efforts and dedicate ourselves to full participation in the political process.”¹⁵¹ Martin still did not seek half-measures. He looked, in particular, to the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).¹⁵² Martin called it “the most effective political instrument that we have today.”¹⁵³ His faith in the Caucus rested in their ability to organize the African Americans who had been elected to office. Furthermore, Martin saw how the CBC was instrumental in taking concerns to the president for action. The members of the CBC were performing the duties Martin expected of minority representatives; they “vigorously pursue the goals that black America deems most important.”¹⁵⁴ The members of the CBC were using their power to agitate for change. Like the Congressional Black Caucus, the media was another instrument of sorts.

As a member of the press himself, Martin also addressed a collection of journalists in 1980, the National Association of Black Journalists. He reminded his audience members that they were part of the tradition of the press acting as a sort of watchdog over the president: “Under each succeeding president [post-FDR], the publishers have met and petitioned the president with a list of demands and grievances.”¹⁵⁵ Martin’s emphasis was on involvement and agitation—each person had the responsibility to act in a way to secure progress in race relations in whatever arena he or she could. Remember his use of the *Chicago Defender* in the early days

¹⁵¹ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Voter Participation & Development Workshop, (25 Sep. 1980), in Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Staff Offices, Louis Martin, Special Assistant to the President, Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1], Box 58, Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches, 13. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Voter Participation.

¹⁵² For more information on Martin’s 1977 perception of Blacks’ political power, see Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Muscle Is Added To Moral Force,” *Tri-State Defender* 17 Sep. 1977: 5.

¹⁵³ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 17.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the National Association of Black Journalists, (01 Oct. 1980), in Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Staff Offices, Louis Martin, Special Assistant to the President, Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1], Box 58, Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, NABJ.

as a means to report on events and inequities he saw in Blacks' communities around the nation. Martin similarly felt that these journalists had an obligation to do the same thing.

Other speeches Martin delivered during this era, contained in the files held by the Library of Congress, do not indicate exactly to whom Martin was speaking. These speeches include one delivered to guests at the White House at the end of 1978, several undated speeches in 1979 dealing with civil rights progress over time, speeches in 1979 on energy and banking, and a speech entitled "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs." While the audiences of these particular speeches are unclear, Martin's rhetorical strategies remained consistent with other speeches of this period. He named individuals who were examples of success; he praised the individuals to whom he spoke for their varied efforts; he promoted the vote, the wise investment of a dollar, and the need for more minorities in the halls of government; and he assessed America's past civil rights struggles with an indisputable optimism for the future. Martin's enthusiastic assessment of future possibilities recurs in key themes, to which I turn next.

3.4 Second Verse, Same as the First, or Continuing Themes

As with his early speeches, Martin continued to address key themes and ideas he found central to securing of first-class citizenship for African Americans. These themes included a continuing emphasis on: (1) the importance African Americans becoming integrally involved in the political process on the local, state, and federal level; (2) the utility of the vote and the dollar; (3) the need for organization of black communities; (4) the need to get more Blacks in government positions, both elected and appointed; and, increasingly, (5) the need to combat the pessimism and defeatism still festering in African American communities.

3.4.1 *The Political Process*

Since Martin worked in Washington as both a journalist and a political advisor, he was quite knowledgeable about the political system—specifically how African Americans could and should become an integral part of the process. He asserted, “We cannot overestimate the importance of the political process.”¹⁵⁶ He and others who understood the workings of politics were responsible to teach others that they might become a part of the procedure as well. Martin understood that the process was both difficult and complicated. Nevertheless, as Alex Poinsett explained, Martin “believed devoutly in the American political system and its capacity to deliver on the promises of the Constitution.”¹⁵⁷ He was still trying to secure opportunities for African Americans, and his fervent belief was that active involvement in the politics was of paramount importance. It was not an easy process, but a mandatory one in any case, complete with complicated “machinery.” Martin’s use of machine parts is an appropriate metaphor for the various cogs, wheels, and pulleys of the American political system. Martin talked at length about the “machinery of government”¹⁵⁸ and how Carter wanted to reform it. He told his audience about the measures specifically of interest to them: “The first plan for reorganization called for consolidation of the scattered, federal programs for enforcement of equal employment opportunity laws. This consolidation has strengthened EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] under the leadership of Eleanor Holmes Norton.”¹⁵⁹ This quotation told the audience what they most needed to know. Initially, Carter’s “first” task was to address a program of interest to minority Americans, the still-needed equal opportunity laws, which Carter aimed to

¹⁵⁶ Louis E. Martin, Speech welcoming guests to the White House, (1978), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 11, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978, 2. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, White House Guests.

¹⁵⁷ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 205.

¹⁵⁸ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 7.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

“strengthen.” This told his audience that Carter was not of the opinion then common that Blacks had finally succeeded and needed no additional help to combat discrimination. Furthermore, Martin explained that Carter gave the important job of overseeing that reform to Eleanor Holmes Norton, who was one of the select African Americans Martin pointed to as examples of success when he called the roll.

Even with these advancements and the passage of time, Martin said, “Blacks have just begun to reap some of the rewards of the political process.”¹⁶⁰ Martin’s use of the term “reap” was another metaphor for the gardening/farming metaphor. African Americans had sown metaphorical seeds in the political process by their participation in voting and the ascension of people of color to office. With these representatives in place, minorities were poised to witness the “harvest” produced by those elected persons. To explain how to progress from sowing to reaping, Martin talked about how Blacks were involved in politics mostly in the northern cities decades ago in places like Chicago. To demonstrate the complexity of the process, Martin explains that there were then “two kinds of politics across the country. There was public relations politics in which elections were essentially popularity contests as in Detroit. Secondly, there was the structured, organization politics for which Chicago was most famous.”¹⁶¹ Public relations politics really used the press, including the black press, to get messages out. Cities, wards and precincts with well-established “machines” did not rely on the press as much. Machines, elevators, and ladders were metaphorical means for Martin to communicate his message. He explained, “Over the years there has been a gradual decline in the power and influence of the [political] machines. Patronage as a base of political operations has been on the wane although it

¹⁶⁰ Louis E. Martin, *NASP*, 9.

¹⁶¹ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 8.

is still important.”¹⁶² He downplayed the role of the machines to emphasize the role and agency of the individual actor.

Martin used easily accessible metaphors about machines, elevators, and ladders to communicate his point about the process. Martin’s emphasis was on the willingness of African Americans to work to benefit themselves, in direct contradiction to the myths about Blacks he tried to dispel. He used these common metaphors to communicate the importance of moving and purposeful action to his audiences: “The political process is a ladder and it has to be climbed through getting more of us registered, – getting more of us to turn out on election day, – taking a greater interest in the issues – demanding greater accountability. We too have to lobby.”¹⁶³ Purposeful and pragmatic action would lead American Blacks to sure success. For Martin, success was measurable in the number of Blacks casting votes on election days and the increasing presence of African Americans in positions of political and judicial power. He focused on the local rank and file people of numerous communities as a starting point.

Martin called for an impressive collection of specific courses of action: “Through political development and economic development we know that progress can be made and the lives of the rank and file of our people can be improved.”¹⁶⁴ These action plans were presented in detail specific to the audience at hand. For example, in a forum on Blacks and presidential policy, Martin called for Blacks to participate in politics called one of two “courses of action.”¹⁶⁵ He even enumerated these plans to be especially clear to his audience. Martin began with, “1. The full development and organization of the political potential of black America through

¹⁶² Ibid., 9.

¹⁶³ Louis E. Martin, Cook County Bar, 13.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 22.

increased registration and voting. That is the bottom line of political power in our democracy.”¹⁶⁶

Note Martin’s predictable emphasis on organization—getting African Americans in many different communities organized so that their votes could affect elections. Martin also referred to the “bottom line.” For him, the bottom line was an increase in the number of votes which could then propel the best people into office. Martin’s second plan was increased lobbying of Congress. Many different groups made their intentions known by repeated appeals to Congress; Martin believed African Americans should lobby for their causes as well. By acting together and identifying specific jobs for all people in a community, local and minority power would increase.

Again, Martin used the movers and shakers to show how involvement in the political process has made some changes in the largely white-dominated political arena. In particular, Martin mentioned how Blacks have become mayors of major cities, “This political renaissance has been dramatic, but its impact upon the society has not been fully felt. Blacks have just begun to reap some of the rewards of the political process.”¹⁶⁷ The effect was cumulative and had been building since the early civil rights era, Martin explained,

We are still feeling the impact of the political revolution that followed the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. All of us know that the full potential of Black political development has not been reached. We know that the number of Blacks in the Congress can be tripled. We know that the size of the national Black electorate can be doubled. Moving aggressively toward those goals is perhaps the most important item on the Black agenda for the 80s.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Louis E. Martin, NASP, 9.

¹⁶⁸ Louis E. Martin, Voter Participation, 8.

Martin's enthusiastic support for Blacks' involvement in the political process is tempered by realism and pointed rhetoric, as always. Martin charged, "It goes without saying that there has developed some disillusionment with the political process. Neither Black nor White elected officials have been able to bring the rank and file of Blacks into the promised land."¹⁶⁹ Even when many people in African American communities doubted the point of participation, Martin still encouraged them to become involved. He readily acknowledged that there were problems with the system and that it was not the only means by which struggling Blacks could get to the "promised land." Nevertheless, it was also his contention that involvement in the process was the primary means by which African Americans could effectively lobby and improve living conditions.

As a partisan, Martin was still insistent on the role of the Democrats and the Democratic Party in welcoming African Americans and other members of minority groups into the fold. To support his case, Martin talked about how the needs of African Americans were purposely considered and included in the political process in the form of party platforms, "The Democratic Party consistently called for the right of full participation in the political process, for equal employment opportunity, for security of person, for equal treatment in the armed forces, and for equal opportunity in education."¹⁷⁰ Under the Democrats, Martin argued, the political process would benefit from the increased involvement of all Blacks. The people must work at the grassroots level to begin to make changes. It was a complex task and the President, even one so progressive as Carter, was limited in the progress he can make alone, as Martin acknowledged: "...some citizens seem to be unaware of the complexities of the governmental process. The Presidency under our system is powerful but the limitations on the exercise of that power can be

¹⁶⁹ Louis E. Martin, NABJ, 9.

¹⁷⁰ Louis E. Martin, "Blacks, Presidential Politics," 11.

overwhelming.”¹⁷¹ Here, Martin was pointing to the need for education and understanding about the political process. He knew it was complex, and he urged those already in the system to explain its workings to the rank and file he so wanted to assist. He cautioned them not to place all of their hopes in the president due to his being only one of the three branches of government. By reminding the audience of the limitations of the president, Martin reinforced the need for *them* to become involved personally to agitate for the changes they sought. Presidents, he knew, had many different issues to deal with and were not always supported by Congress.

Having worked through the Democratic National Committee (DNC) with President Roosevelt in the 1944 campaign and closely with Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter, Martin saw first-hand the restrictions in what a president could accomplish in civil rights. Passage of laws and appointment of qualified Blacks were certainly important to the political process. Organization and communication between all the different organizations, communities, leaders and shakers and the rank and file was serious business. Martin’s aim was to use all the tools at his disposal, as a surrogate for the President, as a behind-the-scenes civil rights leader, as a journalist, and as a witness to history to facilitate African Americans’ equal right to secure and enjoy American freedoms, liberties, and opportunities. With Carter, Martin could point to specific programs and figures proving change had taken place for the better, despite the horrible bashing Carter got at the hand of Democrats and others in the campaign and election of 1980.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Louis E. Martin, *Voter Participation*, 13.

¹⁷² Maureen Santini detailed Martin’s work in the 1980 convention. Martin explained, “I give a little talk about the contributions and achievements of the administration, specifically on minority affairs, and answer questions.” Maureen Santini, “Carter Aides Working Hard,” *Evening Independent* 13 Aug. 1980: 2A. Martin looked at the convention in 1980 as an example of how African Americans were getting more involved in the political process as he had hoped. According to Herbert Denton, Martin remarked, “Like it or not, we’re mainstreaming [...] We can’t complain that blacks are over in the corner being ignored.” Herbert H. Denton, “The Blacks: Greater Strength, Less Unity,” *Washington Post* 12 Aug. 1980: A1.

3.4.2 *Time-Tested Tools: the Vote and the Dollar*

Martin continued to focus on what he considered were two indispensable tools to secure first-class citizenship: the vote and the dollar. By mentioning votes and dollars repeatedly and consistently throughout the speeches of this time period as well as the other two, Martin used the rhetorical tactic of amplification.¹⁷³ He insisted on these tools so often and so vigorously that multiple audiences heard his message about the smart use of these tools. Martin's attention to the dollar, however, was supplemented with in-depth assessments of the national economy and how it impacted African Americans.

3.4.2.1 *Cast Your Vote Here*

In the speeches he delivered while he worked for Carter, Martin often referred to the landmark achievements of the 1960s, especially the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Martin stated: "We hailed the 1965 Voting Rights Act as another Emancipation Proclamation. That legislation, as we now know, opened the door for the greatest political advance in our history."¹⁷⁴ Martin's comparing the Voting Rights Act to the Emancipation Proclamation indicated the importance he and others attached to the measure—voting was a right and as prized as freedom. Again, Martin used the door metaphor to indicate Blacks' crossing the threshold to a different reality where their vote not only counted but genuinely mattered. Even in the late 1970s, Martin consistently emphasized the importance of African Americans "mobilizing" their complete potential by voting as a bloc for candidates who shared their concerns.¹⁷⁵ Martin's call to mobilize was yet another example of his comparing the struggle for first-class citizenship to a battle. Strategic

¹⁷³ James Jasinski, "Amplification," in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 12. Amplification is used as a means of emphasis: by saying something over and over again, it is emphasized and, ideally, more persuasive.

¹⁷⁴ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: yesteryear*, 3.

¹⁷⁵ Martin talks at length about the need to "mobilize" all African Americans in his series of interviews with Ed Edwin.

movement of the rank and file to the voting booth was imperative for success. Martin realized, however, that even though Blacks had secured the freedom to cast their votes, that did not guarantee a person would do so. Martin consistently detailed the crucial need to rally the public and make sure they got to the polls on election days.

Since Martin did still call for and believe in the targeted use of each vote, he naturally went on—at length and in a scornful tone—about how many in the African American community were not getting out to the voting booths. He lamented, “In the political arena, the statistics indicate that some of us are succumbing to apathy, failing to register and failing to turnout on election day.”¹⁷⁶ Martin regularly acknowledged the fact that some people in the African American community felt that the vote alone was not enough to bring about real changes. To counter this pessimism, Martin cited figures from the organization he helped found, the Joint Center for Political Studies, as follows: “It has been reported that voter turnout in 1978 for blacks [in South Carolina] was 34% compared to 37.9% nationally. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies in some cities the black turnout in the 1978 elections was abysmally low – Atlanta 25% -- Dallas 24% -- Newark, 34%.”¹⁷⁷ This list of figures was a common format for Martin. He cited empirical data to support his claims. In this way, he could measure and encourage his audience to measure actual progress. He was not just saying and claiming voting rates were dismal, he proved it with data.

While Martin relied on statistics and stern rhetoric to convey his concern about the lack of purposeful and consistent voting in African American communities, he also managed to introduce some levity into his speeches. For example, in a speech to the South Carolina Black Legislature he explained, “When I was a boy in Savannah, a few blacks would register and vote.

¹⁷⁶ Louis E. Martin, *Alpha Phi Alpha*, 1.

¹⁷⁷ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 10-11.

I remember an old time political leader saying ‘some white folks are crazy but all of them can count.’”¹⁷⁸ Here, Martin called on his personal experience to supplement his proposals. His emphasis was on numbers, volume, and turnout. Counting votes was part of the process and he knew Whites in politics understood that. The more Blacks Martin and other community leaders could get to the polls, the better. People won elections when they received the most votes, plain and simple. This was the bottom line for Martin. His emphasis on increasing the number of minority voters was in line with his politics of inclusion where everybody was encouraged to participate in the political process—particularly those who had been disenfranchised in the past.

The rank and file voting public was, for Martin, key in fostering political change. Martin witnessed this up close as he watched both “machine politics” and “public relations” politics in urban centers like Detroit and Chicago over the years. The days when kingpins in the Democratic Party called the shots, deciding who would get which positions in government, were largely over. Martin advised, however, that part of their success was rooted in the fact that “all knew how to muster their troops on election day.”¹⁷⁹ While the opinion leaders were important in getting out the vote, it was the so-called “rank and file”¹⁸⁰ American people who needed to get involved in the process on a local level in order to make progress and ultimately make policy. Martin called upon organizations he addressed to lend their power and prestige to getting African Americans involved in the election process: “We can begin in our own backyard by making certain that every Black citizen we can reach is registered and votes on election day.”¹⁸¹ Note here Martin’s emphasis on the local: what individual people could do to affect change in their

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁷⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 14.

¹⁸⁰ In Martin’s third interview with Ed Edwin, Martin explains: “You see, there’s a myth that somehow the black rank and file can be manipulated by a few clever black leaders. That’s not true politically. When the black leader is on the same wavelength in interests, and says what these black rank and file people want to hear, that’s another matter.” Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3, 34.

¹⁸¹ Louis E. Martin, Voter Participation, 13.

own “backyards” with which they were most familiar. In fact, “The CBC [Congressional Black Congress] has reached an institutional status and is the most effective political instrument that we have today. They keep the president’s feet to the fire and vigorously pursue the goals that black America deems most important.”¹⁸² Martin, in referring to the aims of “black America” revealed that, though he often advised against characterizing Blacks in this way,¹⁸³ for simplicity’s sake he did sometimes consider African Americans a single, monolithic group himself. He suggested that they shared the same interests—in particular the need for a more just society, and this would lead them to collective action. Martin repeated this message of the power of the vote again and again to various audiences, and he routinely coupled it with attention to the power of the dollar.

3.4.2.2 *A Penny Saved...*

While the vote was important to Martin in his early rhetoric and into the Carter era, his emphasis on the wise use of the dollar was similarly consistent and gaining in importance. In fact, the problem of the economy in the late 1970s dictated much of his commentary. Martin predicted:

The 80s promise to be dominated by the issue of equality of economic opportunity. It has been often said that the two most important ladders to climb are the political ladder and the economic ladder. We have made significant progress climbing the political ladder but less on the economic

¹⁸² Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 17. Poinsett remarks that there was a troubled relationship between the CBC and the White House that Martin was expected to remedy. Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 194.

¹⁸³ See, for example, his Kivie Kaplan speech where he said that the belief Blacks are “politically monolithic” is a myth. Louis E. Martin, Speech at Kivie Kaplan Retreat, (06 May 1985), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1985-1990, 1. In an editorial, he wrote: “It must be clearly understood that Blacks are not monolithic. All of us do not think alike and never will. The media does not understand this.” Louis E. Martin, “Planning for the 21st Century,” *Chicago Defender* 28 July 1990: 24. See also Louis E. Martin, “A Republican Black In House,” *Chicago Defender* 08 Dec. 1990: 24. In his exit interview from the Carter job, Martin explained that Blacks expected Carter to achieve certain goals, stating that the bloc of African American leaders is “not a monolithic bloc, but they all have in terms of goals, fairly similar goals.” Louis E. Martin, Soapes Interview, 7.

ladder. The vote and the dollar bill symbolize the tools that we must use to reach the goals we seek.¹⁸⁴

The economic ladder was dangerous with slippery rungs, and Martin was prepared to instruct his various audiences on how best to climb it. In fact, Martin claimed that their ability to do so was critical: “Historically, it has been said that the vote and the dollar bill are the two tools essential for our salvation. We have begun to climb the political ladder and I believe that we now are beginning to climb the economic ladder.”¹⁸⁵ “Salvation” was a powerful term, likely to resonate with his audience. Minorities in general and African Americans in particular were responsible for taking action to secure their very salvation. This sentiment coupled well with Martin’s other religious references, such as the “promised land.” Active involvement in the political process, in contrast to pious reflection, would lead African Americans to their great reward. There was irony in this claim as well, that they were still just “beginning” to climb the economic ladder. Martin believed that, even in the late 1970s, Blacks were still at the “beginning” of securing economic privileges of first-class citizenship regardless of how far civil rights had come since the mid-1960s.

3.4.2.3 *Economic Opportunity, Still Elusive*

Martin was intent on investigating a different kind of Black Power in the late 1970s—one based in and influenced by the economic climate of the time. Beyond his emphasis on careful spending, he was emphasizing the fact that African Americans had to build and organize their own economic stability. Martin noted,

It is odd indeed that with so much talk about black power, especially in the political field, so little is said about black consumer power in the

¹⁸⁴ Louis E. Martin, *Urban League*, 4.

¹⁸⁵ Louis E. Martin, *NASP*, 12.

economic field. Every individual among [us] is a consumer as well as a potential voter. Although our dollars may be far too [sic] few, our spending can be as relevant to our advancement as our voting. [...] We have begun to learn how to mobilize our votes and there is no reason why we cannot launch a movement to organize our consumer dollars.¹⁸⁶

By mobilizing their votes and their dollars as a group, Martin suggested that African Americans could secure progress. He failed to see “reasons” for inaction as he was so certain about the results. Organization, something Martin called for regularly, was important on many fronts, particularly as nearly everyone was impacted by the country’s economic woes. In fact, people in all segments of minority communities were concerned about the economy: “While we tackle the unfinished civil rights business, there is a mounting concern about economic development, inflation, unemployment and energy issues which now dominate the concerns of most of us today.”¹⁸⁷ Here, Martin acknowledged the complexity of the problems: not only were he and others still aggressively “tackling” business which was not finished with the end of the civil rights movement, there were new issues which also needed their full attention. Given his position as an aide to Carter, Martin was both free and encouraged to emphasize those individuals in positions of power who could do something about the equal opportunity for minorities in various aspects of the economy.

Martin frequently mentioned Eleanor Holmes Norton of the EEOC and how she had powers of enforcement. In fact, in the Carter administration, “Every agency of government has been asked to do more business with minority entrepreneurs.”¹⁸⁸ Martin assured his audience that

¹⁸⁶ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dollars Hold Key to ‘Lock’ On Power,” *Tri-State Defender* 20 Aug. 1977: 5.

¹⁸⁷ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 3.

¹⁸⁸ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: yesteryear*, 10.

Carter himself was ensuring increased minority opportunities. Furthermore, these advantages were available throughout the entire complement of government agencies, not just the executive branch. Again, the opportunities provided by the Carter administration were available, the information just needed to find its way to the communities who would benefit the most. As a former business person, Martin argued, President Carter was knowledgeable about “enterprise,” and he had already voiced his intentions to more fully apply the gifts and talents of African Americans. Martin explained, “President Carter, who was a small businessman before he ventured into politics, has repeatedly expressed his interest in all aspects of minority enterprise.”¹⁸⁹ Martin communicated Carter’s thoughts and beliefs to the audience because of his knowledge as a Carter insider. As surrogate for Carter, Martin saw first-hand: “Today blacks are knocking on the door of the federal government for economic opportunity,”¹⁹⁰ he said. Martin was noting how Blacks’ demands on the government were changing in accordance with the times. That is, with the right to vote secured, more African Americans were seeking the right of access to government funds, just as other lobbies had in the past. Martin’s assessment of the Carter administration was that there was a lot of opportunity if people could access the information they needed to get involved. Martin’s job, in part, was to connect programs with the people in various locales. “Today the growing issue of concern to all of us is economic opportunity. Political power alone is not enough. It must be coupled with economic power if we truly want to be free.”¹⁹¹ Martin reaffirmed his position that the vote was important, but he supplemented that with the force of the dollar. Economic freedom, more than that required for daily sustenance, was similarly essential to effectively engage in public forums. Economic

¹⁸⁹ Louis E. Martin, Speech on Energy, (1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 15, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979], 2. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Energy.

¹⁹⁰ Louis E. Martin, Energy, 6.

¹⁹¹ Louis E. Martin, Savannah Business League, 2.

security, like the political process, depended on each individual's commitment to action on his or her own behalf. To begin, one had to climb the economic ladder.

Opening doors and climbing ladders, Martin believed, would lead to increased participation in the political process and in the economic success enjoyed by Whites. Even in the late 1970s, it was still the beginning, per Martin: "We are just beginning to climb the economic ladder. We know that temporary government jobs will never be wholly adequate to our needs. While we demand more government jobs we must also demand [the] chance to develop our own enterprises and create permanent jobs [o]ver which we have some control."¹⁹² Control comes with ownership. Here, Martin was "demanding" inclusion, control, and oversight. This reflected the changed political context in which he was speaking. African American entrepreneurs were in a position to help other people in their communities, as Martin suggested: "Black businesses can help in creating permanent jobs. As we face the future, it is imperative that we enter the market place and begin to climb the economic ladder with as much vigor as we have tried to climb to political ladder."¹⁹³ This was not the time to relax as there was more work to be done. Just as African Americans were becoming more involved in the foundations of American democracy they would also be best served by becoming integral to the foundations of America's economy. Before minority communities could climb the economic ladder, they need access to reliable and stable employment. The relationship between employment and economic stability was an ongoing theme with Martin, but it surfaced with renewed emphasis in his speeches of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The dollar and the vote were still key tools in Martin's view into this period just as in the early era of his speeches. Because of the dire economic situation of the time, Martin could not

¹⁹² Louis E. Martin, Cook County Bar, 13.

¹⁹³ Louis E. Martin, NASP, 11.

help but incorporate the problem of the national economy into his remarks. As ever, his specific concern was how national economic policies might affect African Americans and other minorities. To begin to address these difficult problems, Martin sought out individuals who had the ability and desire to work for change. Those willing souls had to be organized to be most effective—sharing information and reducing the duplication of effort. Like in the early era, there was an on-going need for organization in the local African American communities. Next, I look at Martin's calls for organization in more detail.

3.4.3 Need for Organization

Martin promoted the need for organization repeatedly throughout his time as a journalist, as a member of the DNC, as an aide for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and right before he joined President Carter's team. Using the rhetorical power of his "learned Nigerian friend," Dr. Onabanjo, Martin remarked, "You black Americans have a two-pronged battle on your hands. You have to organize yourselves to challenge the white racists on the one hand and on the other you have to mobilize your own resources to build from within. You have an external challenge and internal challenge."¹⁹⁴ The fight in which Blacks were engaged was complex and hardly limited to one single issue—both offensive and defensive strategies were necessary. While Martin was encouraging his audience to engage with the "white racists" by participating in the system that the racists largely controlled, there was also the need to focus on the system built by African Americans for African Americans. That system, as others Martin championed, functioned best when guided by systematic and pragmatic planning. Organization and mobilization of the overall African American community was of paramount importance to begin to address said challenges. In some pockets of the nation, there were still obstacles for members

¹⁹⁴ Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Racism No Excuse For Doing Nothing," *Tri-State Defender* 11 June 1977: 5.

of African American communities, even with laws on the books regarding equal opportunity in employment, for example. Martin identified those community leaders who were responsible and powerful actors who could make changes. This identification of key figures was a critical step in Martin's speeches in this period just as it was in his earlier addresses. Choosing the best possible leaders in local communities was essential, and Martin's experience with and knowledge of so many key players in the cities across the nation aided him in identifying the right people for the job(s).

Furthermore, Martin understood that those contacts in minority communities may not have been the people one might expect. Martin suggested: "The Ghetto is full of black generals without armies."¹⁹⁵ He used this war metaphor consistently to describe the quest for civil rights. Having worked closely with many communities, Martin knew who was a general and who was a foot soldier. Martin's knowing who had followers and who did not was important to his strategy. Martin argued that Blacks should become involved in and work with the system. Other figures, angry "generals," advocated a more confrontational approach. By knowing who was advocating what, Martin was better able to pinpoint which people he could work with in forming coalitions. That is, some of the generals likely would not pair with Martin and others because their tactics were so different. In his interviews years after these events, his capacity to remember all the players, regardless of whether or not he agreed with them, in these dramas is remarkable. Part of Martin's strategy was to publicly identify and work with these leaders by meeting with various influential groups. Again, he had practice in such maneuvers given his long-time career as a journalist reporting on the key people in African American communities across the nation.

¹⁹⁵ Louis E. Martin, "How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community," University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, (19 April 1971), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 10, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977, 1.

In a speech to the National Conference of Black Mayors, Martin remarked, “I remember some of the problems and concerns that led you to organize. It goes without saying that by mobilizing all your resources and by making a joint approach to common problems, you are operating from a position of maximum strength.”¹⁹⁶ The concept of pooling resources for the betterment of all involved was a common theme throughout Martin’s work. The individual was strong, but the group was stronger. This sentiment reflects his insistence on a diverse and all-inclusive coalition-type approach to politics. Everyone was welcome and expected to participate.

With the organization of people naturally came networking. For example, Martin noted that his assistant Karen Zuniga “established a liaison network” to put government agencies directly in touch with historically Black colleges.¹⁹⁷ Linking people directly to government increased the chances of their benefitting from government programs. Part of Martin’s task was to help establish those connections to facilitate relationships. His emphasis on the power of understanding and sharing of knowledge was designed to avoid confrontational politics.

In his speech to the National Association for the Southern Poor, Martin made reference to the supreme need for organization in order to right past wrongs:

If you visit some of the ward rallies, however, you might hear a speaker ask this question: What is the difference between a lot of bricks piled up in a brickyard and a beautiful tall sky-scraper or a magnificent cathedral? Someone is sure to say that the difference can be summed up in one word, organization. How you organize the bricks makes all the difference. No one understands this concept better than you who are members of the Assemblies. By coming together, organizing your talents and resources,

¹⁹⁶ Louis E. Martin, *Black Mayors*, 1.

¹⁹⁷ Louis E. Martin, *NAFEO*, 2.

you are in a position to do collectively what could never be done by individuals, however gifted or powerful.¹⁹⁸

Martin often used imagery and metaphor to appeal to his audiences. Bricks being assembled into a structure, particularly a “cathedral,” was central to the audience’s experience. He stated that members of African American churches were enormously powerful in forming coalitions; that the churches in communities were key places to begin to organize the people. Martin wanted the involvement of the rank and file African Americans in strict accordance with his politics of inclusion; to get to them he first approached the people he called the movers and shakers of their communities.

3.4.3.1 Emphasis on the Local “Movers & Shakers”

For Martin, the need for organization must begin at the very detailed level of local politics. This was becoming increasingly clear to Martin as he worked in the different climates of the journalism world, the DNC, and the White House. Whereas the president was often constrained in his actions, the leaders at the local level, such as those affiliated with the DNC, had much more flexibility in their coalition building and means of communication, but also much less power. This was evident as Martin continued, in the speeches of this era, to note that change must begin with the local communities. He tailored this message to the audiences he addressed. In his speech to the National Conference of Black Mayors, he appealed to them by remarking, “I have long been aware of the importance of a local power base in national politics”¹⁹⁹ Here, as in other speeches, Martin was petitioning the people in the communities to act locally first, to rally and lobby each other to participate in the political process. We know,

¹⁹⁸ Louis E. Martin, NASP, 2.

¹⁹⁹ Louis E. Martin, Black Mayors, 1.

from Martin's past speeches, that such involvement began with registration and the march to the voting booth on election days.

As Martin observed, the political process and genuine American democracy really was reliant on all of the people. The selection of qualified and dedicated representatives was no longer a question of machine politics where the already powerful got to hand-pick other kingpins, like the Daleys from Chicago Martin discussed in his speeches, interviews, and editorials. The so-called rank and file at the local level were integral to the political process, and it was not necessarily an easy task to get them to participate when they routinely struggled to attain the basic necessities of life. Martin remarked, "I am not advocating machine politics but I do think it is important to recognize the nature of political power and how it is generated in our system."²⁰⁰ To generate power, the people had to get involved in the process, to see how officials made policy.

Martin was very careful to encourage the audience to action with references to how history would view their endeavors. He said to some Chicago guests at the White House: "You are the shakers and movers of your communities and what you do now will determine the future of the black condition and indeed the course of American history."²⁰¹ Similarly, he remarked to an audience made up of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity members, "You are the shakers and movers of your communities. You set the course of current history."²⁰² For Martin, sustained involvement by prominent members of different minority communities was imperative. To become involved was one's responsibility. During this era, as with the others, Martin suggested that it was up to all the people in attendance to identify opportunity and relay that information to the masses. Martin worked hard to identify people who could contribute to the tasks at hand.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 2.

²⁰¹ Louis E. Martin, *White House Guests*, 3.

²⁰² Louis E. Martin, *Alpha Phi Alpha*, 1.

Throughout this time period Martin addresses various African American organizations such as the NAACP and Alpha Phi Alpha to impress upon the members in attendance that they *are* the leaders they have been looking for. He told them, “a new group of black leaders are knocking on the doors mainly for economic opportunity.”²⁰³ Martin said that, as these new leaders were the increasingly influential black middle class, they must rally the troops not only to support Blacks’ institutions but also to begin to combat Whites’ indifference to the continuing challenges of African Americans. The people assembled before Martin in each of these contexts had the power to bring about change in communities around the nation. This insistence on the audience’s agency was typical of Martin’s direct and candid assessment of societal conditions as he saw them—as a journalist and an advisor to presidents.

To Martin, the local communities were critical starting points for advancing the agenda of African Americans at the national level. Even though there were tensions in the overall African American community over how to best advance their cause,²⁰⁴ Martin still saw reasons for optimism. In the Carter era, Blacks were increasingly taking positions of real power in local, state, and federal government as well as the judiciary, yet there was still the propensity to look upon them as mere tokens. Martin frequently spoke, in no uncertain terms characteristic of his agitative style, to dispel that notion.

3.4.4 African Americans As Leaders, Not Tokens

The post Martin accepted under Carter was regarded by many in the African American community as one without much power since the special assistant did not report directly to the

²⁰³ Ibid., 7.

²⁰⁴ Martin, of course, advocated an “integrationist” approach by partnering with the Democrats. Others, “nationalists,” advocated a completely separate political party for Blacks. See Manning Marable’s Chapter 6, “Black Rebellion: Zenith and Decline, 1970-1976,” for more information about this time period. Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006*, 3rd ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007) 120.

president.²⁰⁵ However, we know from interviews and reports since that time that Martin's role was absolutely essential in reforming the coalition Carter had with Blacks.²⁰⁶ Martin could point to actual people appointed by Carter as evidence that things were, indeed, different with his administration as compared to the policies of President Nixon, for example. Alex Poinsett explained, "Carter's most generous attention to black appointees, and the area in which he later credited Martin's influence most strongly, concerned his appointments to the federal judiciary."²⁰⁷ Whereas some posts Martin attempted to staff had term limits, the judicial posts were often life-long appointments. From that vantage, African American judges would be in a position to keep a close, long-term watch on the workings of the law in numerous locales. It was then critical that "every state has at least one black member of the federal bench."²⁰⁸ To that end, Martin gave pointed speeches to legal organizations such as the Cook County Bar Association.

However, there was still some of the old double-standard Martin so despised. In late 1977, Martin wrote about how Blacks who had secured official government jobs were undergoing more scrutiny than their white counterparts.²⁰⁹ This was fueled by some Martin referred to as delusional people, both Blacks and Whites. Martin remarked, "Those who dismiss major black posts in government as mere token jobs simply do not understand the governmental policies."²¹⁰ Martin remarked that the political process was complex and often misunderstood.

Therefore, Martin saw it as his responsibility, in part, to successfully communicate accurate

²⁰⁵ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 179.

²⁰⁶ Jacqueline Trescott explained that Martin's post with Carter came about after "much public discussion of the need for a senior black adviser on his staff." She continued, "Martin returns to the inner circle at a time when the president's stock is sagging among his minority constituencies." Jacqueline Trescott, "'The Godfather of Black Politics,' Pinch-Hitting at the White House," *Washington Post* 10 Oct. 1978: B1. Vernon E. Jordan also commended Martin for the assistant position because, "Louis understands the governmental process, the political process and the politics of the black community." See "An Old Pro," *Newsweek* 21 Aug. 1978, United States ed.: 21.

²⁰⁷ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 185.

²⁰⁸ Louis E. Martin, Cook County Bar, 11.

²⁰⁹ Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Heat Is Put On Black Officials," *Tri-State Defender* 26 Nov. 1977: 5.

²¹⁰ Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 7-8.

information about the necessity of and power inherent in the positions. Martin argued Carter was making great strides in the appointment of African Americans. In fact, by mid-1979, Martin stated, Carter “has already name[d] more blacks to the federal circuit and district courts than any other president of the United States.”²¹¹ He reiterated Carter’s appointments and actions to a number of different organizations ranging from legislators to litigators to business people to academics. While Martin’s defense of Carter could be expected, given that Martin derived his power from President Carter, remember that Martin was sought out by the Carter people. He did not apply for this post and was not then in need of a job. In fact, Martin had returned to the *Chicago Defender* as “president and editorial director,” and was an assistant to Senator Adlai Stevenson just prior to his joining the Carter team.²¹² Stevenson, like Carter and Martin, was concerned about conditions Blacks faced and was working within the system to make changes.²¹³

In any context he could, Martin agitated for including more minorities in government positions—a natural extension of his argument that African Americans needed to exercise the power of their large voting bloc. He said,

Sometimes I [am] asked why I attached so much importance to major black appointments in the administration. Well, we hear a great deal about policy making in government. Policies are made by people. It is still unfortunately true that in government as in all other areas of social life, the

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

²¹² “Louis Martin Named Assistant to Carter,” *Atlanta Daily World* 17 Aug. 1978: 1.

²¹³ Martin referred to Stevenson as one of the promising “horses” in the race for civil rights and genuine equality, “You see, in politics, it seems to me you always had to have some of your own horses. I always had a horse. And I decided I would try this horse [Adlai Stevenson] out.” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 02 Dec. 1991, in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 13, Folder 7, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (3 of 3), 33. Martin also editorialized about Stevenson’s concern for African American youth unemployment. See Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Keep Your Eyes on Target,” *Tri-State Defender* 08 Apr. 1978: 5.

old adage “out of sight out of mind” still has great significance. The black presence in the decision making meetings is crucial.²¹⁴

Martin argued that appointments would eventually be translated into policy positions. First, an African American appointee had to get in the door. Entry was the first step to making changes from inside the system. Those appointees who perhaps personally understood some of the hardships faced by minorities in America would, presumably, be more attentive to those needs in others’ lives. Martin was largely optimistic because, from his vantage point and with his access to facts and figures, and knowledge of history, he could see positive indisputable change simply by counting heads. Throughout Martin’s speeches, but especially during the Carter era, Martin provided hard figures for how many minorities were then successfully navigating the halls of local, state and federal government. He explained, “While we take great pride in the election of 4,600 Black public officials across the country, we know that we have just begun to make our mark. We began to climb the political ladder with new inspiration in the 60s and we are still climbing.”²¹⁵ This climb was being facilitated by a president who, Martin argued, saw the enormous potential of minority Americans with special gifts and talents.

Carter, Martin thought, was genuinely interested in advancing civil rights and increasing opportunities for minorities in the U.S. Martin made sure the audience was aware of his views. This was the so-called propaganda Martin was selling at the time: “The president has specifically called for more blacks and women in the judiciary and for the first time black federal judges will be appointed in southern states.”²¹⁶ Martin was aware of how pockets in the North and South differed in racial attitudes well into the 1970s, as was Carter. Therefore, Martin claimed, “There

²¹⁴ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 6.

²¹⁵ Louis E. Martin, *Urban League*, 3.

²¹⁶ Louis E. Martin, *Alpha Phi Alpha*, 8.

is a special significance to many of the Black appointments made by President Carter.”²¹⁷ These appointed people were influencing business, the judiciary, and regulatory and legislative bodies too. Much of Martin’s focus was to get the right African American person in the job, just as in his days with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In so many of his speeches, writings, and editorials Martin praised Andrew Young and his political prowess and conduct on the job. Martin wrote, “It is easy to discount [sic] the importance of one post but Andy demonstrates how supremely important [sic] a post in the right hands can become.”²¹⁸ Martin regularly pointed to Andrew Young as an example of a successful African American who made great contributions to minorities both in the United States and abroad.

For Martin, there were numerous such appointments to be excited about. Martin explained, “Thus, when we mention appointments to regulatory bodies and to the federal judiciary, we are talking about influencing decision of agencies of government. We are talking about affecting policy decisions which determine our opportunities and shape our destiny.”²¹⁹ People make policy. Minority policy makers naturally would have more of an insight into what kinds of policies would best assist and elevate all Americans, especially those who had gotten short shrift in the past. Martin explained to all audiences, like the South Carolina Black Legislature, that the Carter jobs were not “token jobs” and people who thought they were “simply do not understand the governmental policies.”²²⁰ In the speeches of this era, Martin named an astonishing number of programs, policies, organizations, leaders and the like to his

²¹⁷ Louis E. Martin, Urban League, 11.

²¹⁸ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: yesteryear, 9.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 7-8.

audiences—all with the goal of distributing accurate information to facilitate involvement and accomplishment and positive change in people’s lives.

Again, for Martin, African Americans must be involved in the political process from voting to serving other constituents by securing political posts. Martin explained in detail,

Not only is the black presence crucial in making policy, it is also crucial in implementing policies that are finally made. In my view, we need blacks in cabinet and subcabinet positions, in the courts, in the regulatory commissions and wherever major decisions are made. President Carter who was born in the South understands why we take this position. That is why he has named more blacks to major offices in the federal government than any other president, including the beloved Lyndon Johnson.²²¹

Martin saw change and genuine purposeful action with Carter. His mentioning of Johnson was significant as, based on a number of his writings and interviews, Martin was greatly impressed with the civil rights actions Vice President and then President Johnson took to advance the course of civil rights.²²² Even if President Johnson was not necessarily “beloved” by everyone at this point in history, Martin still viewed him as an intensely positive figure in the civil rights struggle. Since President Johnson, the numbers kept climbing: “Indeed, if we listen to the failure mongers the 4,500 black elected officials who have come to power in the last decade mean nothing.”²²³ Progress had been made, Martin insisted; however, there was more to be done.

Again and again, Martin told his audiences: “It is clear that we have got to strengthen our political muscle. Recent statistics indicate that we are not climbing the political ladder as well as

²²¹ Ibid., 7.

²²² For more information on President Johnson and his relationship with his African American constituency, see Simeon Booker, “Blacks Remember Civil Rights Role of Lyndon B. Johnson,” *Jet* 08 Feb. 1973: 14-17, 48-54.

²²³ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 9.

we should.”²²⁴ As we have seen, the ladder metaphor surfaced repeatedly in Martin’s speeches. For African Americans to increase their power, they had to become more involved. Martin explained that necessity as follows: “Whether we are talking about economic or civil rights issues, it is important to remember that government policies are made by people. Those who hold the decision making jobs in the federal government have historically established the basic policies, they make the rules which govern all aspects of our lives.”²²⁵ Somebody had to bodily, visibly mind the store. Martin explained,

There is an old saying ‘out of sight, out of mind.’ This axiom has been applied to race relations time and time again. The black presence in decision making councils is still our best guarantee that the interests of black citizens will not be forgotten, ignored or dismissed. The black presence may not work at all times but it is still the best bet.²²⁶

Here, Martin acknowledged that just because Blacks were involved in government did not necessarily mean that all their needs would be addressed. However, he also readily admitted that Blacks’ absence would result in even fewer measurable successes. He argued that African Americans had to lobby consistently both within and outside the system on their own behalf to produce results.

While Martin expressed his trademark optimism, he was also realistic. The reality was that, under President Carter, the members of government were becoming more diverse to better represent all constituents in many different contexts. In fact, “Under the Carter Administration significant gains for the first time have been made in black appointments to the federal judiciary, to the powerful regulatory commissions, to the military, and to the most powerful departments of

²²⁴ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 10.

²²⁵ Louis E. Martin, *Cook County Bar*, 7.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

the executive branch of government.”²²⁷ Segregation was no longer the norm. This was particularly important to Martin given his childhood experiences in segregated Savannah, his work with labor unions, and his work with presidents. Things were changing gradually. He explained, “There are those who say we attach too much importance to the appointment of Blacks. I do not think the importance of the Black presence in the councils of power are [sic] fully appreciated.”²²⁸ There was real work taking place in these various contexts, and this work impacted both Blacks and all Americans.

On the local level, Martin argued, things were really changing for the better. Martin provided evidence for his claims as follows:

Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, Dutch Morial in New Orleans, Ken Gibson in Newark have made a difference. – I think we made a mistake by playing them down – pretending that they do not count – we are making a mistake by failing to hold up the hand of these men who came off the streets to the floors of power – to say that they don’t count is bullshit.²²⁹

Martin sought to give credit where it was merited and to level criticism in the same fashion. That some African Americans climbed and strove and succeeded was worthy of acknowledgement, and certainly not to be disparaged. Martin was particularly insistent on the rising number of African American mayors during this era of his speeches: “There is a new climate to cynicism – of negativism – in the nation. Some of our leaders are knocking and denouncing everything and everybody. They don’t ever give any credit to black political progress. They dismiss or ignore the importance of our black mayors – Detroit will never be the same now that Coleman Young is

²²⁷ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 18.

²²⁸ Louis E. Martin, Savannah Business League, 9.

²²⁹ Louis E. Martin, Speech to unknown audience [In the 60s we waged a long fight...], (1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 15, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979], 3. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Untitled: 60s.

mayor.”²³⁰ Here, Martin contrasted his positive perception of events with that of others. His optimism served as a counter to the defeatism he heard in other public voices. There was success on the local level. And, with President Carter in office, somebody was finally delivering on the promise to make federal government circles more representative. Even better, Martin said, “President Carter has appointed many exceptional Blacks to positions of great influence and a number of them are women.”²³¹ Who were these people Martin was so enthusiastic about? They all played critical roles in his public address of this era. Martin called the roll of influential people—both as evidence of the success of the methods he prescribes and as examples for others in African American communities to look toward and to emulate.

3.4.4.1 *Calling the Roll*

Naming people, or calling the roll of others dedicated to racial justice is an exciting characteristic of Martin’s work. By noting these people Martin mentioned by name we can learn about others who were instrumental in the on-going battle for civil rights but who may have shunned the spotlight like Martin. He consistently and repeatedly named important people in the ongoing struggle to secure first-class citizenship for African Americans. Naming names was part of Martin’s strategy of distributing information—that is, getting the right people connected and communicating as well as extoling the “great political pioneers,”²³² such as “Vernon Jordan, Eddie Williams, and Ben Hooks”²³³ and others who could rally their communities to action. Not only did he name names, Martin also provided anecdotes about these important people in African American politics. For example, Martin explained that Adam Powell interpreted the beeps from

²³⁰ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: 60s, 3.

²³¹ Louis E. Martin, NASP, 5.

²³² Louis E. Martin, Untitled: yesteryear, 1.

²³³ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 1.

Sputnik as meaning “Jim Crow has got to go,”²³⁴ which was received with great enthusiasm.²³⁵ Martin’s editorials from the *Chicago Defender* and the *Michigan Chronicle* offered similar assessments of key African Americans in government, business, and communities across the nation. Martin used any tool at his disposal to distribute information to African American communities nation-wide.²³⁶ In addition, this strategy supported his coalition politics in contrast to other public figures calling for different tactics, including protest and violence.

Even as Louis Martin was busy naming the African Americans who were in the Carter administration in various posts, there was dissent in the media about the real status of some members of the Carter staff. For example, an article in the *Sun Reporter* actually described Martin and other Carter appointees as “ferrets:”

The mistreatment of Blacks by Jimmy Carter for the first two years of his administration was a steady progression of producing the big lie as regards his campaign promises. True, Carter, has appointed many Blacks to the executive branch of the government, but the majority of them have no power, as they are the assistants to the assistants of somebody. Moreover, those Blacks who head agencies are powerless, in that they can do only Carter's bidding, since they have no political constituency of their own: to wit, Eleanor Norton, chairman, EEOC; Pat Harris, secretary of HEW; Jim Joseph, [S]ecretary of the Interior; Cliff Alexander, [S]ecretary of the

²³⁴ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: yesteryear, 2.

²³⁵ Martin told this story often. In his second interview for the LBJ Oral History Collection, he explained that, after Powell’s remark to a group of African American citizens in Detroit, “The goddamn place exploded. People stood up and cheered, you know, because Jim Crow is segregation.” Louis E. Martin, “Interview II,” Interview by Michael L. Gillette, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 12 June 1986, 36. See also, Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Adam Powell Warned Us Before,” *Tri-State Defender* 02 Mar. 1988: 6A.

²³⁶ In Martin’s third interview with Ed Edwin he explained, having an “instrument” to get his message about “race relations” out there, was his main interest in the newspaper business. Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #3, 19.

Army; Ernie Green, [A]ssistant [S]ecretary of Labor; Martha “Bunny” Mitchell, and even Louis Martin. These powerless Black political appointees have been nothing but ferrets for Jimmy Carter, singing the praises of the Carter administration while the economic plight of the 24 million Black masses sinks deeper into economic despair and gloom.²³⁷

For all of Martin’s insistence that Blacks become involved in the political process, some people felt that the presence of Blacks in government circles was still not helping the average African American. Middle-class Blacks were doing well, but their numbers were few compared to those who were still struggling. Again, the propensity to name names was important—establishing both credit and blame. Singling out these appointees, “even Louis Martin,” prompted Martin’s swift reaction. Martin responded to such allegations by saying that people in government regularly left their posts to search for other opportunities. In a 1979 article for the *New York Times*, Roger Wilkins wrote about Martin as being “unaware of any large disaffection by high-level black appointees.”²³⁸ Perhaps Martin was not as aware of this overall perception because that was not his main concern—Martin was concerned with pragmatic day-to-day activities. Some might also suggest that Martin failed to consider adequately events that did not easily mesh with his viewpoint. Forward-thinking Martin was already working on the installation of the next series of Blacks to local, state, and federal posts.

Martin acknowledged that these African Americans who were in positions of power, such as mayors of various cities, were successful precisely because of the coalitions they built around themselves. This focused coalition building was a natural part of the organization which he so encouraged. In an editorial he wrote about three months before joining the Carter team, Martin

²³⁷ “Black Caucus Breaks with Carter,” *Sun Reporter* (1968-1979): 7. Ethnic NewsWatch Mar 08 1979. Web. 24 July 2012 .

²³⁸ Roger Wilkins, “Blacks Are Leaving Top Federal Posts,” *New York Times* 12 Mar. 1979: B10.

asserted, “In every instance in which a black mayor has won the mayoralty of a major city, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Atlanta and Detroit there has been inspired leadership over many months and years by individuals who worked around the clock to build the broadest possible base of support.”²³⁹ Here Martin emphasized the importance of consistent and sustained coalition building. Going out into the communities when elections were in full-swing was not the best way for Blacks seeking office to secure support. Instead, those people the politicians aimed to represent had to have prior knowledge of them, which was distributed by networks of people most familiar with their communities and the troubles therein. Martin made great use of the African American mayors of a number of cities to use as examples of how to begin organizing for positive change at the local level. For example Mayor Richard Arrington of Birmingham, Alabama, was named in six speeches; Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, California was named in seven speeches; Coleman Young of Detroit, Michigan, was named in six speeches; and the list of prominent mayors (and many other local, state, and federal government people) goes on. This tendency to name these people showed how Martin was driven to support and encourage political participation at the local level. Furthermore, it demonstrated that Martin’s incremental, or gradual politics was an effective means to secure eventual, total success. Those people on “the roll” have the most responsibility to attempt to stem the tide of pessimism and defeatism permeating some segments of the African American community.

3.4.5 “Pessimism and Defeatism”

Even as there were still problems and issues in African American neighborhoods throughout the country, Martin’s insistence on a positive attitude in the face of adversity never changed. Martin’s tendency to herald progress was similarly indicative of his incremental

²³⁹ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: The Black Bid for Power in Chicago,” *Tri-State Defender* 07 May 1977: 5.

politics—to see some change was good; to expect complete and sudden change was simply not pragmatic. He regularly coupled optimism with his pragmatic arguments for change. For example, in a speech to the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity he acknowledged the problems faced by people of color at the time and how the cynicism was harming the country as a whole²⁴⁰—rather in the manner of Carter’s infamous malaise speech. Martin remarked, “Pessimism and defeatism seem to be growing among too many of us. We can detect the signs of this malaise in the diminishing support for some of our important institutions.”²⁴¹ Those organizations, such as the NAACP, were critical to the education of the next generation of active community members.

Martin explained that the negative attitudes were especially detrimental to the youth of the country: “There is a conservative wave that is sweeping our country which is disturbing. Even more disturbing to me is the wave of defeatism and negativism which is being encouraged by some of the statements [of] our leaders. This spirit of negativism is dangerous and it is pure poison for our young people.”²⁴² Why, he asked, would the youth aspire to work hard as they are admonished to do when it appeared there was no real benefit to such exertion? Martin contrasted these opinions coming from other prominent African American people and groups with his own. He drew the comparison as a way to acknowledge and then dispel other people’s tactics.²⁴³ He reported, “In some areas we seem to be losing interest in political activity. Some of us are becoming disillusioned because the rewards from political action seem too little and come too late.”²⁴⁴ Martin understood the propensity to want immediate results; the political process, unfortunately, took time. Martin cautioned his listeners: “This ‘nothing is nothing’ attitude is

²⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 1.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Louis E. Martin, SC Black Legislators, 8.

²⁴³ For example, Manning Marable talks about the rise of Black Nationalists and other groups in the 1970s who tried to thwart the formation of coalitions and instead served their own egos. Manning Marable, “The War Against Black Equality,” *The Skanner* 09 Jan. 1980: 5.

²⁴⁴ Louis E. Martin, NASP, 9.

pure poison and what is more it is a big lie.”²⁴⁵ Focus instead, he suggested, on what was going right. Martin’s means of doing so was to communicate to people up and down that political ladder to which he so often referred. These accomplishments were big news and should have been treated as such even though, Martin noted, “Black achievement does not seem to be as newsworthy today as it was a decade ago.”²⁴⁶ Again, both minorities and “whites need to know” the truth—and communication of that truth, in Martin’s vernacular, was constant.

The opinion leaders were central in advancing Blacks’ participation in the political process, and their attitudes were duly noted by Martin, “There is a new climate to cynicism – of negativism – in the nation. Some of our leaders are knocking and denouncing everything and everybody. They don’t ever give any credit to black political progress.”²⁴⁷ Furthermore, “This defeatism has no justification in reality. We who have assumed leadership roles have a responsibility to tell the truth and call for action.”²⁴⁸ The truth, for Martin, was that conditions were improving, however slowly and incrementally. Part of Martin’s mission was to document the progress taking place and counter the prevailing opinion. He asserted, “There is no factual basis for much of the pessimism and defeatism among us.”²⁴⁹ Martin consistently looked to the future with an eye to the past to see how things had changed for the better and to mark that progress, however minimal and incremental.

Martin’s speech to the National Association of Southern Poor is particularly eloquent in regard to the negative attitudes gaining traction in America:

²⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, *SC Black Legislators*, 9.

²⁴⁶ Louis E. Martin, *Cook County Bar*, 8.

²⁴⁷ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: 60s*, 3.

²⁴⁸ Louis E. Martin, *Alpha Phi Alpha*, 10.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

As we face the future, I wish to make a point that I think is too often, in my view, ignored or overlooked. Some of us are infected with a disease, a sickness of spirit, that undermines our efforts to move forward.

For want of a better name, I would call this sickness of the spirit, Black Depreciation. The verb depreciate is the opposite of appreciate. According to the dictionary, to depreciate is ‘to make seem less, belittle, to diminish in value, to underplay or downplay.’

This disease manifests itself in some peculiar ways. Once when we celebrated the victory of a Black candidate for mayor in a major city, I remember some youngsters saying that the victory meant nothing. Indeed there are those among us who seem always ready to belittle and downplay any evidence of Black achievement.²⁵⁰

Martin began with his focus on the promise of the future and what must be countered if that future was to be promising: cure the sickness. Martin’s use of the metaphor of pessimism as sickness suggested that there was a “cure.” First, Martin had to locate the source of the malady, Blacks’ depreciation, which was rooted in past and present difficulties. The best way for Martin to combat the discounting of African Americans was to focus on the very real appreciation of Blacks in terms of numbers of Blacks voting, owning businesses, and representing fellow minority constituents in government. Martin realized that what counts as “evidence of Black achievement” may be dependent upon the generation, the context, and the criteria. Hence, his call on the established influential people to work with the youth to “cure” their cynicism. In any case, as Martin told the Alpha Phi Alpha audience, as the current movers and shakers in the

²⁵⁰ Louis E. Martin, NASP, 12-13.

communities, they were “on the spot” to continue to praise and promote positive advances of minorities up the political and, increasingly, economic ladders.

Martin continued to call for the same means of improving conditions in this period as he did in the early years with an emphasis on voting, coalition building, and the wise application of the dollar. He called on those African Americans who had achieved some measure of success that they would apply their skills to other arenas. The context in which Martin was working led him to emphasize a few additional concepts in the speeches he gave while working for Carter.

3.5 New Emphases

Martin captured the essence of the Carter era in the following statement,

The sixties have been labeled the civil rights decade. Today the dominant issue seems to be equal economic opportunity and economic development. We have won the right to sit on the bus, and we are concerned about the right to a job driving the bus, and before long we want to be in a position to buy the bus.²⁵¹

Martin’s discussions about the economy and the related issues of unemployment, and minority business ownership were prominent in this era.

3.5.1 Unemployment

Before Martin joined Carter, he commented on the linkage between the economic troubles of the day and the pervasive unemployment among African Americans. He regularly discussed the necessity of getting more African Americans into skilled jobs.²⁵² Writing as Dr. Onabanjo, Martin remarked, “You know very well that to be unable to find a job in your

²⁵¹ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 12.

²⁵² Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Trading On Skills Brings Wage Hike,” *Tri-State Defender* 25 June 1977: 5.

capitalistic society is a fate almost akin to a sentence of death. Your black leaders, of course, recognize that unemployment is the top priority issue and they have sought to convince the White House that action on this issue is imperative and urgent.”²⁵³ For Martin, working led to income, which facilitated actual living—even if it was hand-to-mouth. Martin similarly understood that African American employers and employees were not necessarily connected with government leaders on the national level who may have had policies in which they could participate. Poverty, which the lack of sustained employment ensured, was a sure means to social violence and unrest, as Martin had seen over time. Martin’s inclusion in the Carter administration allowed him to speak at length on the subject, detailing initiatives and programs and legislation such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and CETA, which provided government jobs for eighteen months. Martin told his audience, “The President is committed to creating more jobs through stimulation of the private sector and through government job programs.”²⁵⁴ By pointing to Carter’s “commitment” and broad focus on different “sectors” where jobs could be created, Martin emphasized his comprehensive approach. Carter, Martin suggested, was taking a broad approach to solving the problem through “stimulation,” which was largely economic.

Martin was still an enthusiastic partisan: “The Republicans talk a great game about free enterprise but the Democrats are actually opening the doors to black entrepreneurs.”²⁵⁵ Again, Martin employed contrast to show the difference between his proposals and those of others. Democrats’ ability to “actually” open the doors to which Martin so often referred, suggested sure success. Ideally, African American entrepreneurs who were successful would create jobs for others. Martin focused on the long-term aspects of the jobs created in the private sector by Blacks in business. He then explained how these entrepreneurs could partner with government

²⁵³ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Dr. Onabanjo Warns Leaders,” *Tri-State Defender* 19 Nov. 1977: 5.

²⁵⁴ Louis E. Martin, *Energy*, 6.

²⁵⁵ Louis E. Martin, *Alpha Phi Alpha*, 5.

for additional subsidies to create jobs well in to the future. Martin assured his audience that Carter was well-aware of the problems of unemployment in African American communities and that Carter was “tackling this issue head-on.”²⁵⁶ This was in line with Martin’s own tactic of facing problems directly through realistic assessment and practical approach to remedies. While access to secure long-term jobs and the dollars they resulted in were still important to Martin in this era of his speeches, he extended his relentless focus to include the need for Blacks to become producers, not just consumers.

3.5.2 *Producers and Consumers*

With the benefit of living through several decades of civil rights history, Martin explained, “In this period today we are struggling to win economic rights – to get the money to pay for the meal. Yet in my view our task will never be done until we start to buy some of the restaurants – to become producers as well as consumers.”²⁵⁷ This quotation pointed to African American progress in an interesting way: at this time Blacks were not that far removed from the days when they could not go into some restaurants due to the color line. By the late 1970s, that problem was largely resolved, which was clearly progress. However, Martin was always agitating for more: for the next practical step. As he often did, Martin acknowledged the problems, praised the progress, and urgently highlighted to the need for still more action. Martin pointed to successful African American-owned businesses and how they benefited from Carter’s insistence on hiring minority firms and encouraging “black entrepreneurs.”²⁵⁸ Martin said: “I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of the expansion of black business but I think the time is

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 4.

²⁵⁷ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: 60s, 1. Martin repeated this notion again and again throughout the speeches of this decade in precisely this manner, drawing the distinction between the producers and consumers. “We cannot forever be content as consumers. We must become producers too.” Louis E. Martin, Untitled: yesteryear, 7. “We have got to become producers as sell [sic] as consumers.” Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 11.

²⁵⁸ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 5.

here when blacks must be looked upon as job developers, as producers, as well as job seekers and consumers. This is just the beginning.”²⁵⁹ In this as in so many other endeavors, Martin said African Americans were at the start of a process.

Also, as he had in the past, Martin challenged preconceived notions about African American identity in this remark. Blacks were demonstrably capable of running large government agencies, private businesses, and more—as evidenced by the lengthy episodes in his public addresses where Martin calls the roll. By owning and running the businesses, Blacks would have another way to combat the racism still present in some segments of society: “We must become producers as well as consumers. In doing so we will automatically create new permanent job opportunities for many who were denied them because of racism.”²⁶⁰ While Martin advocated involvement in the system, he recognized the limitations of that system and the need, still present, for minorities in positions of power to help each other whenever they could. Martin repeatedly mentioned black-owned businesses that secured contracts with government because of the Carter administration’s policies. The percentage of business conducted by African American-owned companies continued to rise and it was enabling minorities to climb that ladder at a faster, yet sustainable and secure rate.

Martin insisted, “The business world must be penetrated by Blacks if we ever hope to enjoy full freedom in our society. Businesses create the jobs and amass the capital which provides the economic power necessary for survival in our society.”²⁶¹ This was precisely his argument for including more African Americans in local, state, and national government. Money

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.

²⁶⁰ Louis E. Martin, Urban League, 7.

²⁶¹ Louis E. Martin, Savannah Business League, 4.

ensured a person's "survival" first, but also a real measure of power in American society.²⁶²

Martin was eager to secure more power for minorities by this and other reliable means (that is, the vote.)

Martin promoted this recipe for change and had figures to prove its effectiveness: "When we talk of jobs we do not traditionally think of black business. Yet it is becoming apparent that the expansion of over 200,000 black businesses across the nation, however small, can develop more jobs."²⁶³ Blacks proved that they had the needed skills to lead businesses. Martin had personal knowledge of such successful people due to his serving on a number of boards for black-owned banks and insurance companies, for example. Carter was similarly insistent on the importance of minority business success:

The president [Carter] wants to hasten the day when blacks will be job developers as well as job seekers—when we will become producers as well as consumers. This is the wave of the future. I hope this message will be understood by the younger generation who are planning careers. We have got to move into the private sector and get in the mainstream of business and commerce in the days ahead.²⁶⁴

Note Martin's use of the phrase "hasten the day," which was both a rare Martin Biblical allusion as well as, more pragmatically, an indication of the planned pace of progress Carter envisioned. The natural force of the future, as evidenced by the "wave," and change were inevitable. This meant that there was a real need for African Americans to organize and share information about strategies of success. People who had achieved success in business, whom Martin named in these

²⁶² Dr. Onabanjo cautioned, however, "It is nice to have a few extra bucks in your pocket but if you think that it will make you an 'honorary white man', forget it." Louis E. Martin, "The Big Parade: Onabanjo Gives Warning," *Tri-State Defender* 29 Apr. 1978: 5.

²⁶³ Louis E. Martin, *Alpha Phi Alpha*, 5.

²⁶⁴ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 5.

speeches, were responsible for sharing their knowledge with others. The process would not be easy, and part of Martin's job was to communicate how to facilitate the process, complete with information about programs available through which agencies, and most important, who the people were in positions of power to make things happen.

In his blunt and forthright way, Martin suggested that if African American owners of businesses are to do well, they may have to jump through the hoops, distasteful as that may be:

some are angry because you have to fill out some forms, keep some books and account for what you do with federal dollars. The government hotel does not provide room service – it is a buffet of opportunities – you have to pick up your tray, stand in line and make some decisions – the government is picking up the tab at the check out [sic] counter.²⁶⁵

Comparing the government to a cafeteria was an interesting rhetorical move. Like his use of the other metaphors, the government as cafeteria comparison provided an unexpected contrast likely designed to capture the audience's attention. Martin emphasized the public's capacity to act by making purposeful choices and keeping track of the results. Entrepreneurs had accountability—to learn about opportunities available to them, and then to take action to make good on those opportunities. Keeping track of actions and their results was the only sure way to measure progress, as Martin knew from his own research and experience.

Martin saw great things to come on the economic front for African Americans as he worked to distribute information about the many opportunities afforded by Carter's policies, appointments, beliefs, and governing actions: "Today we are on the threshold, I believe, of an economic revolution for the Black community. For the first time a widespread serious bid is being made by Blacks to enter the economic mainstream as entrepreneurs, as producers as well

²⁶⁵ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: 60s, 2.

as consumers.”²⁶⁶ The “threshold” reference was another consistent use of the door metaphor. Even with his emphasis on the power of the dollar in the past era, note too Martin’s insistence that the African American community was still poised just at the threshold. Martin’s focus on the “widespread” and “serious” nature of the actions taken by Blacks in business showed the import of the movement. Martin tracked these accomplishments and published them in the Fact Sheets which were widely distributed to influential people in different communities around the nation. With his contacts in the Carter White House as well as his connections in the journalism industry, Martin could cite facts and happenings consistent with his prescription for change. However, while the economy and Blacks’ successful participation in the economy on all levels was the main issue of the day, there was also work still left to be done from the 1960s complicating the tasks ahead.

3.5.3 *Unfinished Business*

The pressing concerns of the time were largely economic, and yet it was also a characteristic of Martin’s speeches of this time to acknowledge the “unfinished business” in the areas of civil rights that still needed to be addressed, complicating matters further.²⁶⁷ Martin put it plainly, “We know of course that we have much unfinished business in the civil rights arena.”²⁶⁸ While he was still largely optimistic, the new economic context of the time could not overshadow what still remained to be done because, “Blacks do not have it made as some whites believe. Nevertheless, black progress and advancement have been encouraging and we still

²⁶⁶ Louis E. Martin, NMTC, 2.

²⁶⁷ Martin told the Urban League, for example: “Civil Rights was the major issue of [the 60s]. Today in the decade of the 80s it seems that the dominant issue will be equality of economic opportunity. Issues involving minority business, new areas of employment, and consumer concerns are gaining ground, even though we recognize that there is unfinished business in the civil rights arena.” Louis E. Martin, Urban League, 3.

²⁶⁸ Louis E. Martin, Alpha Phi Alpha, 7.

believe that the time will yet come when the American dream will come close to reality.”²⁶⁹ To stay attentive and accountable and communicate about the challenges of the day was imperative: “Civil rights issues were our major challenge in that period. Everyone understood the issues. We won some major victories but you and I know we still have some unfinished civil rights business.”²⁷⁰ This extended to the areas Martin regularly discussed like employment, voting, and business enterprise, but also still extended to issues once thought resolved such as discrimination in housing. Furthermore, the problems were not limited to any one section of the country, “There is plenty of unfinished business in civil rights, North and South.”²⁷¹ Martin talked specifically about housing problems in this section of the speech to the Cook County Bar. Housing was one of those local issues where African Americans had to become involved in order to make a real difference.

For Martin, the unfinished business would be conducted by actual people in positions where they may begin to write policy. He explained,

Thus, as we discuss the unfinished business of democracy in whatever field we choose, it is important to look out for the black presence in key areas of government. I believe that President Carter has done better in assuring black representation in key areas of government than any other president including both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.²⁷²

Carter was hugely instrumental, to Martin’s way of thinking, in this regard: “All of us recognize that there is much unfinished business on the civil rights front. That is why we are proud of the new Omnibus Judgeship Act which creates over 150 federal district and circuit court

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

²⁷⁰ Louis E. Martin, *SC Legislators*, 2.

²⁷¹ Louis E. Martin, *Cook County Bar*, 3.

²⁷² Ibid., 7.

judgeships.”²⁷³ In this area specifically, judgeships, Martin pointed to how the unfinished business could continue to be monitored by people in positions of power to attempt to make positive changes. While Martin used the “unfinished business” angle to focus on matters most important to Blacks—“It goes without saying that we have much unfinished business on the black political agenda.”²⁷⁴—there was, by extension, a benefit to be shared by all Americans.

3.5.4 *Black Americans, All Americans*

As we know from reading Poinsett’s account of Martin’s history as a young man growing up in segregated Savannah, Martin was profoundly influenced by what he perceived as the double-standard between the conditions of Whites and Blacks in America. He consistently communicated to dispel notions that maintained this double-standard. Martin argued that America could live up to its promise of being a place where all people could succeed. Improving the conditions of minorities in America would, by extension, benefit the rest of the country. During his time with Carter, Martin increasingly equated the advance of African Americans with the advance of everybody else. He explained his arrival to the Carter administration as follows: “when I came aboard [the Carter administration] I found a cadre, a group of whiz kids, young black professionals. Black experts who were actively at work on formulating policies and programs that concern the general society, all Americans”²⁷⁵ These young and intellectually gifted African American professionals were doing what Martin advocated: lending their talents to secure the promise of America for all her citizens. While this contradicted Martin’s supposition that African American representatives would be most interested in helping members

²⁷³ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: yesteryear*, 7.

²⁷⁴ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 20.

²⁷⁵ Louis E. Martin, *White House Guests*, 1.

of their own communities, it supported his larger contention that it would take a coalition of diverse people working together to secure the promise of the future for all Americans.²⁷⁶

Martin even called on those members of the roll to illustrate how, over time, it was frequently the case that all people will benefit by helping the poor and struggling. It was part of the American make-up to help our fellow humans, ideally. Martin frequently quoted Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in his speeches, particularly Du Bois' insistence that the “battle of the 20th Century is the battle of the color line.”²⁷⁷ He noted that this struggle is not just of concern to those who would directly benefit, stating: “Winning that battle is important to black Americans. It is important to all Americans.”²⁷⁸ The system, the political process of which he was so enamored, worked best when all the people are involved. For example, Martin told a meeting of South Carolina government officials that, “unless democracy works for all people it will not in work in the long run for anybody. They [SC representatives] know that the most humble among us must have a seat at the table of democracy and until that is so the seat of none of us is assured.”²⁷⁹ The table of democracy was large enough to accommodate everybody, regardless of station. American democracy of, by, and for the people demanded that inclusion. To Martin, “what is good for minorities and blacks is good for all America.”²⁸⁰ He asserted this claim again and again, regardless of audience. With emphasis on the lawyers and the importance of getting African American judges appointed across the nation, Martin said, “You have always known

²⁷⁶ Martin echoed this sentiment to the Alaska Black Caucus telling them that “the future for no American is secure unless it is secure for all Americans.” Louis E. Martin, Alaska Black Caucus, 2.

²⁷⁷ Louis E. Martin, NAACP, 1.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Louis E. Martin, SC Legislators, 1.

²⁸⁰ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the OIC, (12 June 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 13, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, June-July 1979, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, OIC. For more information on the founding of the OIC, see Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Leaders Using New Approach,” *Tri-State Defender* 27 Aug. 1977: 5.

what is good for black people is good for America.”²⁸¹ He continued in providing examples of the many people over the decades who have proven his claims through their actions—these are people to emulate. Martin even invoked their spirits to motivate his audiences, saying many former prominent African American public officials “are all with us in spirit today. They all had a serious sense of mission, a sense of mission which you share. They understood as do you that the future for no American is secure unless it is secure for all Americans.”²⁸² To secure the future, everyone within the sound of his voice and those opinion leaders who took his message to their own audiences must advocate and agitate for full inclusion of African Americans in political process.

3.6 Martin’s Launch Into Academia

Just days after Carter was succeeded by President Reagan, Louis Martin was in the headlines again because of his new position at Howard University as Assistant Vice President of Communications in the University Relations office.²⁸³ Martin gave many speeches at Howard, a renowned HBCU, during his time with Carter. His increasing emphasis on the importance of education for African Americans would be emphasized as Howard hosted many events specific to the concerns of Blacks. Martin also continued the work he started with the founding of the Joint Center for Political Studies, which celebrated Martin on its eleventh anniversary.²⁸⁴ The next series of speeches shows how Martin’s thoughts and rhetoric persist, and change, as he continued to assess the progress of race relations and African American political achievement into the Reagan era and the 1990s.

²⁸¹ Louis E. Martin, Cook County Bar, 1.

²⁸² Louis E. Martin, Alaska Black Caucus, 2.

²⁸³ See “Louis Martin Named To Howard Univ.,” *Atlanta Daily World* 25 Jan. 1981: 5.

²⁸⁴ “Dinner to Honor Louis Martin,” *Atlanta Daily World* 26 Feb. 1981: 3.

4 PARTING THOUGHTS

“We must watch behavior for we cannot trust the rhetoric.”¹

After Jimmy Carter’s defeat in the 1980 presidential election, Martin went to work at Howard University in February of 1981.² He was appointed to lead the University Relations department³ and assumed the title of Assistant Vice President.⁴ Alex Poinsett noted there was not an actual open position for Martin to fill; rather, President James Cheek created one for Martin due to the wealth of knowledge Martin possessed.⁵ Martin was with Howard University until the end of June in 1987 when he returned to Chicago to work for Calmar Communications, a communications firm started by his sister-in-law.⁶ There, he served as Chairman of the Board.⁷ Martin had a “mild stroke”⁸ in April of 1988, but that did not preclude his continued involvement in articulating means to improve race relations in whatever public forums he found himself.

¹ Louis E. Martin, Speech at Kivie Kaplan Retreat, (06 May 1985), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1985-1990, 7. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Kivie Kaplan.

² Martin was awarded an honorary degree, “doctor of humane letters,” by Howard in 1979. See “College Commencement Schedules,” *Washington Post* 10 May 1979, final ed.: DC6. See also “5,000 Degrees on a Rainy Day; 3 Universities Hold Commencements,” *Washington Post* 13 May 1979, final ed.: B4.

³ “Louis Martin Named To Howard Univ.,” *Atlanta Daily World* 25 Jan 1981: 5. See also “Carter Aide Named to Howard Post,” *The Capstone* 2. 1 (12 Jan. 1981): 1.

⁴ Sara Fritz, “White House Record On Minority Hiring,” *U.S. News & World Report* 11 May 1981: 84.

⁵ President Cheek said: “we knew [Martin] would be a mine of information.” Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1997) 200. Hereafter cited as Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*. Martin had a similar experience with the DNC, where he designed the position himself. Martin said, “The job didn’t exist before I got there.” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 02 Dec. 1991, in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 13, Folder 7, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (3 of 3), 40. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Joint Center 02 Dec. 1991 Interview.

⁶ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 10, Howard University, 30 Apr. 1987, 59. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #10. See also “Two Howard Officials Departing,” *The Capstone* 15 Jun. 1987: 3.

⁷ Simeon Booker, “Ticker Tape U.S.A.,” *Jet* 20 Apr. 1987: 10.

⁸ Simeon Booker, “Ticker Tape U.S.A.,” *Jet* 04 Jul. 1988: 8.

In addition to his activities in academic circles, Martin was also involved with other civic, professional, and private organizations in this era, which I call the “late era” of his rhetoric. These affiliations enabled him to maintain his ever-expanding list of contacts and continue to tap the skills of those people in different communities to improve Blacks’ participation in the political process. The Joint Center for Political Studies, which Martin helped found in 1970, was a prime organization for collecting information about all of the most prominent African American politicians around the nation. Alex Poinsett wrote that, after his work with Carter, Martin reassumed his post on the Board of the Joint Center.⁹ This organization was increasingly active in providing the support and resources newly elected African Americans needed to be most effective in their posts.

In addition to his work with Howard University and the Joint Center, Martin was appointed to the Board of Directors of Riggs National Bank in September of 1981 after being placed on the bank’s advisory committee earlier that year.¹⁰ Martin had served on the boards of other banks in the past, and this appointment was one more locus to work with African American entrepreneurs and financiers. We know from the speeches Martin delivered during the Carter years that he was insistent on the increased inclusion of African Americans in economic endeavors. He detailed his plans, as he had in the past, in his numerous newspaper editorials as well as in his speeches to diverse groups. In the late era (post-Carter until his last speech in 1990) as in his early years, Martin was involved in a dizzying array of activities—all of which he used as means to attempt to improve race relations and the lives of minority Americans, particularly Blacks.

⁹ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents*, 200.

¹⁰ Martha M. Hamilton, “Riggs Names 1st Black To Its Board Of Directors,” *Washington Post* 10 Sep. 1981: D11. See also Chapin Wright, “Banking, Finance,” *Washington Post* 10 Aug. 1981, final ed.: 22.

In this chapter, I argue that while Martin continues to promote the same tools he did during the early years and his time with Carter (the vote, the dollar, the role of Blacks in all levels of government), he acknowledges that these tools alone are not enough to secure African Americans' first-class citizenship, which was being threatened anew by power players in Washington D.C. in particular. Martin's rhetoric during the late era reflects a distinct shift in the context in which he spoke. In the past, Martin's public address and the topics therein were determined largely by whom he was working for (the DNC, or Presidents Kennedy, Johnson or Carter.) His late era speeches reveal the same tendency: he addressed the changing American context given the conservative ideology promoted by Republicans who had come back into power in the White House. His optimism, while still intact, devolves into pessimism on occasion as he considers the country's leaders, namely President Reagan, and their policies which could negatively impact Blacks. These features of his late era rhetoric reveal how his strategies for fostering the politics of inclusion were influenced by a new cast of characters in the passing decades.

This chapter proceeds as follows: first, I look at the context in which Martin delivered his final eighteen speeches, including a brief overview of his appointment with Howard University and his subsequent return to the field of journalism. During this time, Martin's texts were heavily influenced by the policies of the Reagan administration. For example, Martin wrote about Reagan's veto of the Civil Rights Restoration Bill and how Congress, in turn, "handed Reagan a splendid defeat."¹¹ In his clear and straightforward style, Martin commented at length on how the policies suggested and implemented by that administration were reversing the progress Blacks had made in decades past. Next, I identify the groups to whom Martin spoke—many of them who came to Howard for meetings and symposia—to extend the reach of his rhetoric in the

¹¹ Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Investigate FBI Scandal," *Chicago Defender* 02 Apr. 1988: 20.

1980s. Then I go into the themes he continues to espouse in this era, such as the important application of the vote and the dollar, the need for organization and communication, and the leaders in positions of power who were making notable contributions worthy of emulating. Finally, I look at some new topics Martin began to consider as America neared the end of the 20th century, most notably his enthusiasm about Jesse Jackson's political success, a renewed emphasis on education, and his calls for an ever-widening circle of inclusion in the political process. I conclude with news accounts of Martin's death in 1997 and the numerous posthumous accolades he received from varying people and groups—journalists, academics, civil rights leaders, organizations, and co-workers, among others.

Martin's work in the late era was focused in many different arenas from the university, to the news room, to private businesses, to social and civic organizations. He continued to use his position in these different areas to promote his ultimate goal of increased inclusion for African Americans in the political process so foundational to American democracy. He continued to strive for this ideal despite the constraints he perceived in the leadership of the country and resultant pessimism in African American communities across the nation. In the 1980s, Martin, Blacks, and other minority individuals found themselves in a different, even hostile environment—hostility which Martin attributed to a conservative shift in the Washington power structure at the hands of President Reagan.

4.1 Losing Ground, or the Reagan/Bush Years (1981-1990)

While Martin conducted public relations business for Howard University, he did not publish his regular newspaper column as he had so reliably in the past. His editorials had been, up until that time, a prime means of leveling criticism at various people, policies, and the climate of race relations in America. Without the editorial column, we can still get his assessment of the

times and how the Reagan administration was changing America from a series of interviews Martin had with Ed Edwin, which are held by Columbia University.¹² Martin often remarked in these interviews that the progress he had seen since his early years in the political arena was threatened given the policies of the Reagan administration which had the potential to negatively impact the lives of African Americans.

Martin anticipated problems with President Reagan as early as the 1980 primary season when Reagan held his first campaign event in Philadelphia, Mississippi where three civil rights workers were murdered in 1964. Martin remarked on Reagan's curious choice of location as follows: "If the guy who's seeking the presidency doesn't understand that [African Americans would likely be offended by Reagan's beginning his campaign in that city], he must have rocks in his head."¹³ Reagan's kick-off in Philadelphia was just the first of a series of moves that signaled to many African Americans that change for the worse was afoot. Martin's harsh characterizations of candidate Reagan persisted into his tenure as president as well.

Once Reagan was elected, Martin continued to voice his opinion that President Reagan, unlike Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter was not particularly attuned to race problems in America. Martin explained that Reagan himself claimed "he [Reagan] didn't understand [the uproar over the treatment of minorities in America]; there was no race problem."¹⁴ Martin suggested Reagan was "sort of ignoring" the reality of life in the United States.¹⁵ Martin continued:

¹² Martin participated in ten lengthy interviews with Ed Edwin from April 1981 to April 1987. See Appendix C for a complete list of Martin's interviews.

¹³ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 5, Howard University, 16 Oct. 1985, 31. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5. Martin also referred to Reagan's starting his campaign in Philadelphia, MS in his speech at a symposium: Mass Media and Blacks, a Post-Election Critique. He even detailed this misstep in an article he wrote in 1988. See Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Carter, Ford Spark Action," *Chicago Defender* 04 Jun. 1988: 22.

¹⁴ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5, 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Now, you can say the guy is a racist, or he's an ignoramus. You can make your choice. I think that we have been set back economically and politically, and every other way because of the presence of this man [Reagan] in the White House. I think we are courting absolute disaster internationally, economically, racially, everything else.¹⁶

Martin's focus was on incremental progress and continual improvement in all aspects of American life for people who had been denied their rights in the past. These rights covered everything from the right to vote to the right to a secure fair employment. Martin's insistence that the nation had been "set back" revealed his concern that instead of continuing to improve and advance, Blacks' participation in American democracy was now threatened. It was even more dire than that as Martin suggested there would be problems beyond America's borders, "internationally," due to Reagan's plans as well. Whether Reagan was a "racist" or an "ignoramus," Martin felt Blacks could expect problems with him in the White House. We know, from his previous speeches, that Martin was concerned about Blacks' economic, political and societal status. He was particularly fearful that Reagan's policies would reverse that hard-won progress. As in earlier decades, Martin's primary concern was with conditions in African American communities around the nation and how the politics in Washington affected people in those communities—particularly the youth who were seeking opportunities in education, employment, and the promise of America in general.

Martin explained that young African Americans perceived Reagan differently than Martin and his contemporaries who witnessed the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. He elaborated on this claim: "What you have, you've got a young generation and this is the post-Civil Rights revolution crowd. They have no personal memory of some of the proscriptions, and

¹⁶ Ibid.

inhibitions, and blatant signs of our race than those of us who are over fifty experienced.”¹⁷ This quotation suggests that, because of young people’s lack of experience with harsh means of segregation and discrimination, they might be less attuned to the more subtle forms of racism implemented by President Reagan and his advisors. This was worrisome for Martin because the generation of seasoned civil rights fighters was going to pass; he wanted the young people to understand clearly the context in which they found themselves. This knowledge, supplemented with an understanding of what had happened in the past would make young people more savvy. Martin suggested this critical approach was necessary given the political and social climate. It was not only African American youth being dazzled and misled by the Reagan administration.

Martin thought the mainstream media’s cozy relationship with the “Reagan crowd”¹⁸ was also part of the problem given their coverage of the politics of the day. For example, Martin was concerned about Reagan’s “conservative philosophy which holds that the federal government’s only role is to create a military defense.”¹⁹ Martin saw in the past how government programs for the poor had positive results that an increase in the military arsenal could not reproduce. Martin further noticed that Reagan often misspoke and then the media was reliant on others in Reagan’s fold to explain what he truly meant: Reagan “makes so many gaffes at this [sic] press conferences that the media have grown accustomed to waiting for explanations and corrections from the White House staff.”²⁰ What Reagan communicated and what he believed and practiced were two different things to Martin’s way of thinking—particularly where Blacks and other minorities were involved.

¹⁷ Ibid., 47.

¹⁸ Louis E. Martin, “Investing In Our Future,” *Chicago Tribune* 12 May 1982: Section 1, page 19.

¹⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Is It Time For Liberals In U.S.?,” *Chicago Defender* 12 Dec. 1987: 20.

²⁰ Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: When Hypocrisy Reigns Supreme,” *Chicago Defender* 30 Jan. 1988: 2.

Martin was extremely concerned, as a journalist and a citizen, that the media were being manipulated by the Reagan administration and others in the Republican Party. Martin remarked: Republicans' "skill in manipulating the media with their screwball ideas is just unbelievable."²¹ He felt that the media had tacitly accepted Reagan's policies and reported on them as the administration framed them without serious critical thought or inquiry.²² Martin viewed the Republicans' successful manipulation of the mainstream press as yet another problem with the general media—beyond problems of segregation in the media he had addressed in the past. Instead of simply parroting Reagan and his aides, Martin expected more direct reporting on policies and proposals put forth by the Reagan team. He even said that the press was "bamboozled by the White House rhetoric."²³ Given the influence of his position as president, Martin was concerned about the impact Reagan's rhetoric was having on the public and the public's perception of reality. He felt Reagan was selling "snake oil" and that his "brand of patriotism and flag waving loyalty" would obscure or overshadow issues relevant to African Americans in the 1980s.²⁴

As in previous years, these issues ranged from minorities' success in politics,²⁵ to the availability of jobs,²⁶ to the ongoing problem of race relations in America,²⁷ to, increasingly,

²¹ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5, 51.

²² Martin had commented in the past that the mainstream media was not at all concerned with the affairs of Blacks, unless they had done something bad. He asserted that there was an inherent bias plainly evident in the mainstream press. See, in particular, Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Laying Bare the Bias in the Press," *Chicago Defender* 09 Apr. 1988: 20.; Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Press Is Always Under Pressure," *Chicago Defender* 27 Aug. 1988: 24.

²³ Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Is U.S. Losing its Financial Grip?," *Chicago Defender* 26 Sep. 1987: 16.

²⁴ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 8, Howard University, 06 Feb. 1987, 3, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #8.

²⁵ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Woman Power," *Chicago Defender* 17 Oct. 1987: 20.

²⁶ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: The Class of 1988 is Stepping Out," *Chicago Defender* 11 Jun. 1988: 26.

²⁷ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Organizing to Help Our Own," *Chicago Defender* 07 Nov. 1987: 22.

Martin's fear about the future of the country given racism and corruption in government,²⁸ changes in social policies,²⁹ and lingering economic problems.³⁰ In contrast to his optimism when the country was run by Democratic presidents, Martin saw cause for alarm in attitude shifts among all kinds of American people in the 1980s.³¹

In a 1985 interview, Martin remarked that society had taken a turn for the worse in race relations: "I think this is a very, to me bad period [...] I think whites have gotten worse, and blacks have gotten worse too. There's less tolerance on both sides. Another thing, it's not limited to the poor. I mean, I've watched, the intellectuals are crazy too, I think."³² Martin was a discerning observer of his surroundings and trends specific to various eras in history. He used his knowledge of race relations in the previous decades to better evaluate the present by means of comparison. He moved between different communities, such as "the poor" and "the intellectuals" to a point that he was well-informed enough to make such dire assessments. Martin insisted from the very beginning that communication and understanding between the minority and majority factions of a public was critical to resolving problems of race and discrimination. While he had seen people of all colors working together in the past to achieve goals he shared and prized, such as increasing the number of registered African American voters, Martin also noticed how the mood of cooperation and compromise had changed in the 1980s.

²⁸ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Investigate FBI Scandal," *Chicago Defender* 02 Apr. 1988: 20.

²⁹ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Investing In Our Future," *Chicago Tribune* 12 May 1982: Section 1, page 19.

³⁰ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Up Front: Is U.S. Losing its Financial Grip?," *Chicago Defender* 26 Sep. 1987: 16.

³¹ Martin was not alone in this assessment. For example, NAACP Executive Director Ben Hooks (whom Martin named as one of the important people on the roll) also commented on the "bleak future for civil rights" as he "look[ed] into the 1980s." Benjamin L. Hooks, "Civil Rights," in "The 80s: What's Ahead for Blacks?," *Ebony* Jan. 1980: 28. Web.

³² Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5, 23.

The gap between Blacks and Whites in America was growing, and it was especially evident in the plans and policies proposed by the powerful people in Washington.³³ Martin remarked: “We’re dealing with people who have had little relationship with anybody but the super rich. They don’t know many ordinary people, let alone minorities.”³⁴ Martin suggested President Reagan and those whom he appointed to various posts around the country were part of an elite group who had not suffered the injustice of second-class citizenship, not been denied access to jobs or public facilities, and not discriminated against based on skin color. The Washington elite simply did not understand the plight of poor and minority Americans.

To Martin, it seemed that those people in power in Washington were not interested in learning more about the continuing needs of poor African Americans, let alone in providing relief from their various struggles in housing, employment, education, and so on. Many people figured that, with the advances in equal opportunity employment and other measures, African Americans were on the road to success and did not need any further assistance.³⁵ To Martin, there was nobody in Reagan’s circle tasked with leading the charge for those disenfranchised people as they had in the past under Democratic presidents. Martin said: “We got no leadership, moral leadership nationwide that anybody respects. Of course, me, I’m blaming it all on Reagan, but it’s more than Reagan.”³⁶ Martin’s distrust of Reagan was pronounced, but even he could admit that race relations in the country hinged on more than just the President’s plans, policies,

³³ See, for example, “Reagan Is Accused on Racism; Rights Leader Says President Widened Black-White Gap,” *Chicago Tribune* 15 Jan. 1987: 13. See also, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., “To Be Equal: The State of Black America,” *The Indianapolis Recorder* 08 Mar. 1980: 15, where he talks about the “widening of the yawning gap between blacks and whites.”

³⁴ Sara Fritz, “White House Record On Minority Hiring,” *U.S. News & World Report* 11 May 1981: 84.

³⁵ For more on opposition to such policies, see Gerald C. Horne, “Who Are the Enemies of Affirmative Action,” *The Skanner* 13 Feb. 1980: 5. Martin leveled this accusation at the “whites who argue that enough has been done for blacks.” See Louis E. Martin, “A White House Perspective on Black Votes,” Symposium: Media and Blacks; A Post-Election Critique, Washington, D.C., (29 Nov. 1984), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 2, Speeches & Writings File, Nov. 1984, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “White House Perspective.”

³⁶ Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #10, 17.

and rhetoric. To shed light on the problem, Martin again used whatever medium he could to expose unfair practices—interviews, speeches, and of course, his reserved space on the editorial pages.

In the Reagan/Bush years, Martin's experience with the ongoing struggle for first-class citizenship, particularly given his association with other presidents, influenced his perception of current events. He documented and interpreted these events, as before, largely in the editorial section of the *Chicago Defender*. Martin returned to writing regular articles for the *Chicago Defender* after he left Howard University. In September 1987, the newspaper announced Martin's return to the editorial pages: "Well-known veteran journalist, and governmental and political leader Louis E. Martin brings his keen insights to the pages of the *Chicago Defender* when he begins a weekly column, 'UP FRONT,' in the Sept. 19th weekend edition."³⁷ Martin's credentials in different arenas made his return to the editorial pages an exciting event. There, Martin used his editorial ethos to recount issues of importance to African Americans the mainstream media often missed, including: lingering economic woes; housing problems; prominent African Americans in politics, particularly Jesse Jackson; education; race relations; and the policies of President Reagan and his successor President George H. W. Bush. What I term Martin's "editorial ethos" was based upon his previous writings for newspapers, which earned him respect and attention as a person who would consistently report on problems specific to African Americans. Martin's editorial commentary was a regular feature of the *Chicago Defender* until his last article was published in 1994.

While Martin was suspicious of the trajectory the country was taking under Republican leadership, he still worked to promote his prescription for improvements in race relations in the 1980s as he had since he began documenting the struggle in the 1930s. Martin's clout and

³⁷ "Martin Column Set To Begin In *Defender*," *Chicago Defender* 05 Sep. 1987: 4.

importance had increased given his tenure with three presidents and that led him, as it had before, to speak before different groups of people.

4.2 Martin's Late Era Audiences

While some of the speeches contained in the Louis Martin files at the Library of Congress are not precisely dated (for example a folder of speeches might be labeled 1981-1983 but the speeches in the file do not indicate delivery dates), approximate dates may be assigned to the works based on content. I have collected eighteen speeches from the time just after his work with President Carter to his last documented speech to the Ford Foundation in 1990. The topics Martin covered, as in the previous two eras, were pointed and appropriate for the audiences to whom he delivered the speeches—particularly given the context in which they were delivered. In what follows, I provide information about the audiences Martin addressed based on their type. These different kinds of audiences included academics and their related organizations, journalists, and other professional and policy-making organizations. This extensive catalog reveals the potential breadth and reach of Martin's rhetoric in his last speeches.

Many of Martin's addresses in this era were delivered to audiences assembled at Howard University. One in particular, dated 12 April 1982, may have been miscategorized as a speech in the Library of Congress files based on its near exact duplication in a *Chicago Tribune* article written by Martin entitled "Investing in Our Future." In any case, this speech (or article) is valuable for the information contained therein, which was largely about the importance of education for African American people. This theme received a lot of attention in Martin's late speeches—likely due in part to his work with Howard University. In this speech (or article), he relays the successes of African Americans trained at Howard in various fields and endeavors—in a bid to promote the institution and encourage his audience. Martin saw the increased need for

Blacks to receive training and develop their skills to work in increasingly complex fields, and Howard was a locus of opportunity, which he always sought, to build those abilities.

In another untitled speech, Martin was apparently addressing a gathering of people at a conference at Howard sometime between 1981 and 1983. In this case, Martin was speaking as a surrogate for Howard University President James Cheek to the conference attendees.³⁸ In this address, Martin did not primarily appeal to the audience to adopt his plans and measures as he had with other groups in previous decades. Instead, he recounted the history of Howard and presented his audience with a picture of a university that was completely dedicated to educating young African Americans, in particular, for the careers as well as the problems of 1980s society. This was important so that African Americans could continue to be integral and productive members of the communities in which they lived. These communities were dependent upon active and involved members who were willing to work with elected leaders.

Martin delivered yet another speech at Howard in March of 1982. The topic of this speech, networking with public officials, was Martin's forte, and he was therefore more than qualified to address the attendees on successful strategies. He spoke to the people about how to form coalitions between "Black educators" and "high elected and appointed officials"³⁹ with his typical pragmatism and realistic assessment of objectives they could hope to accomplish. Based on his commentary in this speech, Martin was addressing a group of people who would put his strategies into practice. The audience was likely composed of precisely the type of movers and shakers Martin wanted to agitate to action. This speech contained abundant information about

³⁸ This speech may have been delivered, based on the content, to the Black Family Conference which was held at Howard University in April of 1981, where Martin was listed as a speaker. See "Black Family Conference," *Washington Informer* 02 Apr. 1981: 2.

³⁹ Louis E. Martin, "Developing Linkages and Networks with High Elected and Appointed Public Officials," Howard University, (26 Mar. 1982), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, "Developing Linkages."

people in key positions to whom audience members could (presumably) appeal to further the relationship between career academics and career politicians. This was precisely the type of information President Cheek was looking for when he hired Martin in early 1981—Martin was useful not only because he had a vast network of contacts he could link to the university but also because he was an enthusiastic proponent of the value of education for minority Americans. Remember from his earlier speeches that Martin emphasized the need for education and understanding about the political process so that rank and file African Americans could secure their right to participate in that system.

In November 1982, Martin delivered yet another speech at Howard entitled “The Political System in America: How Well Does It Work For Minorities?” Based on the text, Martin delivered this speech as part of a panel discussion at the college. In this speech, as others, he counted himself among the audience members by using terms such as “we” and “our” as he made his claims and pointed to future courses of action. Martin closed this address by pointing to the tasks ahead for African Americans and other, increasingly vocal, minorities:

The American political system is built on egalitarian principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which guarantees life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all citizens. We must play our part in translating these principles into reality. Blacks and minorities working through all phases of the political process, elective offices, governing teams and lobbyists, can help. I believe the system gives us the

opportunity to free ourselves. That is the only way we are going to get free.⁴⁰

Martin appealed to the audience members by reminding them of their crucial role in the political system. He emphasized the opportunities in the system as he had in the past. Martin wanted his audience to take the American principles and translate them into concrete actions with measurable results. Martin declared his belief in the system so that his audience members might also believe in the power of the political process. He articulated his well-established position as a political insider as well as an African American outsider to create a sense of identification with the audience. Through Howard, much like his association with the DNC, Martin was able to reach out to many diverse audiences. While some of these audiences were affiliated with Howard, others came to Howard to host their conferences and symposiums. While Martin spoke in a university setting, not all of his audiences were necessarily made up solely of academics, some were actively involved in public affairs and other social concerns.

Martin addressed the Pi Alpha Alpha School of Business and Public Administration in June of 1983. This organization, which is concerned with matters of “public affairs and administration,”⁴¹ was yet another source of qualified and purposed individuals Martin could agitate and activate to make positive changes in their communities. Martin recounted the stories of his learning how public policy was actually designed and implemented when he worked with Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter and their administration officials. As he usually did in these meetings, Martin was careful to name certain individuals who had a large impact on policies specifically of interest to the assembled audience. In this speech, however, Martin did

⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, “The Political System in America: How Well Does It Work For Minorities?,” Howard University, (12 Nov. 1982), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 7. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Political System.”

⁴¹ National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA), “About Pi Alpha Alpha,” n.d. 28 Jan. 2013 < http://www.naspaa.org/initiatives/paa/about_paa/paa.asp>.

not directly appeal to the audience to take immediate action per se. Instead, he presented them with “a brief look at the realities of governance” which they could and should consider as they went on to implement good practices in public affairs in their own communities. The reality he most wanted them to be aware of was that though there was a separation of powers in government, the fact was that there were people in government who had much more power than their titles suggested. Those people had to be handled carefully. Relationships between the president, his cabinet, members of regulatory agencies, and Congress were often complex. How government actions were supposed to proceed and how things actually got done did not always match, or as Martin told his audience: “In government as in many other areas of life there is often a wide gap between theory and practice.”⁴² Martin was pragmatic; while he understood the theory of how the political process should work, he was also realistic about the actual process given the fallible human actors involved.

Martin also addressed a group at Wayne State University for the Millender Memorial Lecture. Robert Millender was precisely the kind of person Martin pointed to as an example of somebody actively engaged in the fight for equality and racial harmony. Millender, like Martin, was instrumental in helping African Americans in Detroit gain and manage political power.⁴³ Martin’s lecture is a particularly good example of his emphasis on the need for action at the local level. In this speech he remarked on the increase of “grass roots registration drives that are taking place in black communities all over the nation.”⁴⁴ These efforts were being funded by Blacks

⁴² Louis E. Martin, Speech at Pi Alpha Alpha Induction Ceremony, Howard University, (23 June 1983), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 6. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Pi Alpha Alpha.

⁴³ For more information see the Detroit African-American History Project (DAAHP), “Biography Search Display, Robert Millender,” 2001. 28 Jan. 2013 < <http://www.daahp.wayne.edu/biographiesDisplay.php?id=59>>.

⁴⁴ Louis E. Martin, “Millender Memorial Lecture,” Wayne State University, (28/29 Feb. 1984), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 1, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Feb.-Oct. 1984, 6. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Millender.”

with businesses—all with the aim of improving conditions in their local areas. Martin, as per usual, provided examples of such deeds to encourage those he was addressing. In recounting his own activities in Detroit in the 1930s, Martin again appealed to the audience at hand—referring to himself as a part of what the lecture attendees were trying to accomplish, namely, enumerating and securing increased numbers of Blacks serving as public officials in the mid-1980s.

Martin was well received by the audience at Wayne State as evidenced by his opening remarks: “Many thanks for that kind introduction. I only wish my wife were here. I have been trying to impress her for decades.”⁴⁵ From this bit of levity, however, Martin quickly transitioned to the business at hand, stating repeatedly what “we” (as in he, himself, as well as the members of the audience) were required to do: “The more political power we win the greater is our responsibility to use it to lift the masses of our people who do not have jobs, do not have true equality of opportunity and who are still penalized because of the color of their skin.”⁴⁶ In this late era of his rhetoric as in the previous two, Martin emphasized accountability of those successful individuals who heard his words to venture out and help others achieve greatness too. He closed with powerful assertions about what they “will” do to rally his audience: “We will eliminate the racists and the bigots from the posts of power. We will build one America, united by the democratic idealism of freedom and equality.”⁴⁷ Martin was certain of success: asserting what he and those who shared his values would, without question, accomplish. This stance would seem to counter his pessimism, which I argue is also prevalent in this era. However, this optimistic outlook was directed at those he was calling to action. Martin believed they would be successful in spite of those at whom his pessimism was directed, primarily President Reagan. Academics, such as those assembled for his speech at Wayne State were just one source of talent

⁴⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

and energy he sought out in the 1980s to combat Republican policies. Martin also continued his association with members of the journalism profession because of their important role in addressing issues of particular concern to Blacks.

In addition to collections of scholars and conference attendees, Martin was recruited to speak to other groups. Given his experience in and ultimate return to journalism, Martin was a natural to address the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Part of this speech was reproduced in the *North Star*.⁴⁸ Martin similarly addressed his concerns about the press in a partial speech, which was not dated,⁴⁹ detailing the role of the black press in the U.S. and abroad. Although the audience for this speech was unclear, Martin addressed the group with attention to the many contributions to the black press by pioneers in the field.⁵⁰ In each case when he was discussing concerns about the press and journalism, Martin was careful to document his predecessors' achievements. He was also apt to discuss the achievements of similarly disenfranchised groups, such as Jewish Americans.

Martin addressed attendees of the Kivie Kaplan retreat in 1985. He had a lengthy relationship with members of the Jewish community dating back to his time in Detroit in the 1930s. In his editorials, Martin often commented on the intersection of African American and Jewish affairs.⁵¹ There we can see how he found some similarities in the treatment of Jews and Blacks. Martin wrote, "Man's inhumanity to man encompasses the history of the Jew throughout the ages and that of the Negro in this country."⁵² As minority groups, Martin believed and acted

⁴⁸ Louis E. Martin, "Catching the Media by Surprise," *North Star* 05 Mar. 1982: 6. This article is also in the files at the Library of Congress. See Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 5, Subject File, Press, 1980-1982.

⁴⁹ This speech was in a folder labeled "Speech File" with contents that ranged from 1981 to 1983.

⁵⁰ These important people include early pioneers of the black press like John Russwurm and modern contributors like John Sengstacke. I discuss Martin's use of these people in the section of this chapter about the leaders, movers, and shakers Martin used as examples of success.

⁵¹ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, "Anti-Semites Like Detroit," *New Currents: A Jewish Monthly* (August 1943): 10-11.

⁵² Louis E. Martin, "Dope and Data," *Chicago Defender* 16 July 1960, national ed.: 10.

upon the notion that Blacks and Jews could and should work together on social issues for their mutual benefit.⁵³ And certainly, this was an important coalition in the civil rights era. Martin even asserted: “There is not a black man in America who is not a direct beneficiary of Jewish interest in, and investment in, liberal causes, liberal legislation, liberal social action and liberal political and governmental leadership.”⁵⁴ Martin’s assertion about how all Blacks had benefited from Jewish involvement in addressing social problems suggested the importance of maintaining that relationship.

One of those liberal Jewish leaders was Kivie Kaplan, who Martin described as follows: “It was Kivie Kaplan who twisted my arm and persuaded me to take out a life membership in the NAACP for myself and for the members of my family. He was a super-patriot and an indefatigable [sic] worker for good causes.”⁵⁵ Martin encouraged those who were in attendance at this retreat that Jewish and African American people should re-forge “closer ties” in the 1980s and beyond since “America has grown meaner and more bigoted in the last four years.”⁵⁶ Martin appealed to the audience by acknowledging the troubled past both groups had endured:

It goes without saying that we have differences among ourselves but we have a bond of suffering that overrides these differences. We have a common cause which no amount of demagoguery from either side should

⁵³ African American and Jewish coalitions have a history dating back to the early days of the civil rights movement. This coalition was not always positive; there was some strife as well. Journalist Irving Spiegel wrote about this often in the *New York Times*. See Irving Spiegel, “Negro-White Ties Are Called Vital; Jews Told Rights Campaign Could Become ‘Narrow,’” *New York Times* 17 Apr. 1964, special to the *New York Times*: 18.; Irving Spiegel, “Civil Rights Role of Jews Outlined,” *New York Times* 28 June 1965, special to the *New York Times*: 20.; Irving Spiegel, “Jews Troubled Over Negro Ties,” *New York Times* 08 July 1968, special to the *New York Times*: 1. See also “Jewish Unit Leaves ‘Reparations’ Group,” *New York Times* 03 July 1969: 24.; James Baldwin, “Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They’re Anti-White,” *New York Times Magazine* 09 Apr. 1967: 26+.; “Split in Coalition Decried by Golar: He Asks Jews and Negroes to Mend Old Alliance,” *New York Times* 12 Feb. 1969: 29. Jerome A. Chanes provides information about the coalition from the 1920s. Jerome A. Chanes, “Jews and the Civil Rights Movement,” Jewish News Archive, 2010, 19 Feb. 2013 <<http://archive.jta.org/topic/jews-and-civil-rights>>.

⁵⁴ Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Anti-Semitism? Hogwash, It’s A Christian Delight,” *Chicago Daily Defender* 15 Feb. 1969, big weekend ed.: 3.

⁵⁵ Louis E. Martin, Kivie Kaplan, 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

be permitted to obscure. We must stand together and combine our resources to fight the common enemy. In this effort we will be strengthening our democracy and assuring the survival of the values that the founding fathers cherished.⁵⁷

Even in the 1980s, Martin characterized the on-going quest for first-class citizenship as a battle. He softened that assessment, however, with his assertion that minorities' success in this battle would surely reinforce the power of democracy for all Americans. Martin referenced the hardships shared by African American and Jewish people to establish identification between the groups and to prompt his audience to act.⁵⁸ He encouraged them to join forces and organize to work against institutions resistant to change. He also provided information about sympathetic groups, people, and businesses the members of the audience could engage to force change. One institution that facilitated change even when it was unpopular to do so was the Ford Foundation.

Martin's last speech was delivered "through the eyes of a camera"⁵⁹ to the Ford Foundation in March of 1990. The Ford Foundation, started in 1936 by Henry Ford, was designed to promote social justice by providing grants to people and organizations to improve their communities.⁶⁰ Martin's activities with Ford began when Martin was involved with labor in Detroit. His continuing relationship with Ford, via the foundation, dovetailed nicely with Martin's vision for the Joint Center as well as his political, academic, and journalistic pursuits. The Ford Foundation describes their aims as follows:

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ For more on how the African American and Jewish coalition had suffered problems in the 1980s, see the following sources: Tony Brown, "Blacks and Jews: Friends or Foes?," *Atlanta Daily World* 12 Aug. 1980: 3.; A. J. Parker and Allen C. Brownfield, "Black-Jewish Split: How Real Is It?," *The Skanner* 09 Jan. 1980: 7.; Sam Roberts, "Black and Jewish Leaders Trying to Revitalize Coalition of the 60s," *New York Times* 12 Dec. 1984: A1.

⁵⁹ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Ford Foundation, (23 Mar. 1990), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1985-1990, 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation.

⁶⁰ Ford Foundation, "History," 2013, 31 Jan. 2013 <<http://www.fordfoundation.org/about-us/history>>.

We believe the best way to achieve these goals is to encourage initiatives by those living and working closest to where problems are located; to promote collaboration among the nonprofit, government and business sectors; and to ensure participation by men and women from diverse communities and all levels of society. In our experience, such activities help build common understanding, enhance excellence, enable people to improve their lives and reinforce their commitment to society.⁶¹

The individuals at the Ford Foundation, based on the mission statement above, shared the same mindset as Martin. That is, the Foundation felt that local attention to local problems provided by similarly local people with different skill sets would produce a comprehensive approach to solving issues most important to them. They emphasized “understanding” between different people, much as Martin had. Binding disparate groups together to solve local problems had proved effective in the past, such as when African American and Jewish leaders worked together during the height of the civil rights movement. Martin remarked to this group that “when we come up against difficulties inherent in struggles for power among ourselves or in relation to the interests of others, we must be big enough to draw a wider circle and bring others in.”⁶² This was precisely Martin’s tack—that the more talented people who became involved in addressing issues of social justice, the more likely the possibility that problems could be effectively addressed and resolved.

Martin’s activities with the Ford Foundation extended back to 1970 when the Foundation supported the newly-formed Joint Center for Political Studies. In an editorial celebrating twenty years of the Joint Center which appeared shortly after he delivered this last speech, Martin wrote:

⁶¹ Ford Foundation, “Mission,” 2013, 28 Jan. 2013 <<http://www.fordfoundation.org/about-us/mission>>.

⁶² Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation, 2.

“Credit must be given to the courage of the Ford Foundation for supporting [the Joint Center] from the beginning. Twenty years ago, most foundations were afraid to provide financial support to anything in the field of politics. They were afraid of the reaction in the Congress when there was no interest in Black political development.”⁶³ Martin praised the Foundation for its brave involvement in and support of the political process and minorities’ involvement in that process despite obstacles. The Foundation funded unpopular activities with little concern for eventual payoff but instead out of community concern. The Ford Foundation remained a strong force in the activities of the Joint Center into the 1980s and 1990s, and Martin’s speech to the assembled people reflected that consistent support: “I also want to pay tribute to the Ford Foundation for the courage to support us at the beginning and its steadfast support ever since.”⁶⁴ Martin was an advocate of sustaining relationships and the Foundation’s support showed a similar disposition. The Ford Foundation was one of many that had similar aims and motives regarding minority individuals in America. Naturally, Martin discovered this affinity and set about forming a bond with the group as he had so many others.

Based on the texts he delivered to them, Martin’s audiences in the 1980s and 1990 were composed of people who could begin to agitate and act in their own personal arenas for change and progress in race relations. Martin’s speeches to various groups reveal his continuing pragmatic approach to solving society’s ills: to assemble as many talented people as possible to organize and share their skills and ideas in the resolution of social problems. These coalitions could then go out into their communities and begin distributing information about programs and policies that could benefit them, as minority Americans, in the last decades of the twentieth century. Some of the prescriptions Martin had to offer had their foundation in his early speeches.

⁶³ Louis E. Martin, “Key Anniversary for Valued Group,” *Chicago Defender* 31 Mar. 1990: 25.

⁶⁴ Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation, 2.

These themes and ideas still had traction in the 1980s though the context in Washington had certainly changed.

4.3 Recurring Themes

In these last speeches, Martin continued to be a relentless proponent of the importance of getting minorities involved in the political process. Of course, Martin insisted upon African Americans' registration and voting and their wise use of the dollar. He was still a tireless advocate of organization and communication and networking. He was similarly still intent on disputing myths and stereotypes about African Americans which had persisted despite progress in many different fields and endeavors. Even with the trouble he perceived in Washington due to Republican rule, Martin was still at heart an optimist when he addressed these groups. His audiences were the ones who could begin to act to thwart whatever obstacles to advancement they encountered on the local, state, and national scale. He believed in the promise of the political process for all Americans. Minority Americans had to make the commitment to become informed about and involved in that process. Those who had successfully navigated the political maze, such as Martin himself, were obligated to help others get involved. The political process was still, and increasingly, complex. Martin had suggestions for his minority audience on how to enter that process and make it work for their benefit.

4.3.1 The Political Process in the 1980s

Martin delivered one speech devoted to the political process—specifically about how minorities were faring within that system. Participating on a panel held at Howard titled “The Political System in America: How Well Does It Work For Minorities?”, Martin began his remarks by establishing identification with his audience: “I feel certain that all of us agree that

the system is not working well enough.”⁶⁵ He asserted that he shared with them the assessment that the system was in need of improvements and thereby counted himself among their ranks as one who was obliged to act to fix the system. This assessment was characteristic of his pragmatic style of argument where he first acknowledged the issues at hand and then formulated means to address them. First, he had to identify the source of the problem. Martin continued by sourcing the system’s problems in the still prevalent racism in American politics. In his characteristic way, Martin used metaphor to make a point: “Racism is the sand in our political machinery.”⁶⁶ This instance was not the first time Martin explained the political process in terms of a machine. He noted how Blacks had first become involved in the political machines prevalent in the Northern cities, particularly in places where ward precincts were all-powerful, like Chicago.

He went on to tell the audience that they, and he counted himself among them, “have no realistic, practical choice but to try to make the American political system work well for us.”⁶⁷ Martin did not advocate a total overhaul of the system that America had been using for so long, however flawed. He did not tell his audience that total reform of the system was possible by applying force and protest from outside that system and hoping those within it would agree to their proposals. The only acceptable course of action was to engage the system in hopes that it could then be changed. Martin championed pragmatic actions. For Martin, Blacks’ failure to engage the system at all was a sure way to fail utterly. Martin believed, and had witnessed, that the system was “flexible, adaptable and subject to change. It is not encased in concrete.”⁶⁸ Again, Martin took an abstract idea, the political process, and gave it tangible characteristics, “encased

⁶⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 1.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

in concrete,” to illustrate his point. Telling his audiences that the political process was accessible and malleable was the first step in persuading them to get involved.

In this same speech on how the political system was working for minorities, Martin complained, as he had in the past, that those who could participate in politics were not doing so. He explained that the Joint Center for Political Studies found that “over 17 million Blacks were eligible to participate in the political process in 1980, a little over 10 million registered and only 8 million went to the polls. Anyway [sic] we look at this picture it is unacceptable.”⁶⁹ Martin’s speeches were full of such figures to present to his audience a measure of their progress, or lack thereof. He continued to call on minorities to exercise the power they had in numbers, while also acknowledging some barriers to their participation—ranging from minority voters’ focus on more immediate needs (the need for good jobs and housing, for example) to their lack of education about how the political process worked.

Martin argued that education and the sharing of information specific to the political process were critical: “It is obvious that our educational institutions have a major role to play in all phases of the political process. Our American political system requires, as others have often said, an informed electorate and well qualified office holders supported by intelligent governing teams.”⁷⁰ For Martin, the institutions of higher learning were not only designed to train young African Americans in specialized fields. They were also repositories of knowledge about social justice and the political process. Those individuals who were primed to work in politics had greater success because of their education and enthusiasm.

Martin explained that success in the following way: “Many elected officials, white as well as Black, are beginning to open their doors to minority aides who can provide technical

⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 6.

assistance and who understand the political process.”⁷¹ Here, Martin used one of his many metaphors for the inclusion of minorities in the process: the door. African Americans and other minorities had to walk through the open doors to access and realize greater opportunities. A person’s value was measured, in part, in terms of his or her knowledge—particularly in the increasingly technology-driven political process.

Martin, even with passing years and Republican presidents, sought minority representation in all levels of government and public affairs: “Representation both in public offices and in governing teams is essential to the development of a political system that will serve us well.”⁷² Minority involvement in all aspects of politics would naturally lead to having those minorities’ concerns addressed. This was a prime feature of Martin’s overall argument: he wanted to make changes so that what America promised and what it delivered to her minority people was the same as for the majority constituents. He wanted to make the system work fairly, not to change the system. Minority people in positions of power were obligated to start making their voices and concerns heard. This was part of the communication and organization Martin so prized in the continuing effort to secure first-class citizenship.

Martin urged his audience to use the tools already at their disposal. Martin also advocated the need for lobbying and how effective lobbying of people in powerful positions “can work miracles.”⁷³ In his characteristic style, Martin pointed to other lobbying efforts that had resulted in great successes, such as that of the “Jewish lobby in Washington.”⁷⁴ The political process in the 1980s called for an altered recipe of voting, spending, electing minority representation, and, in accordance with the times, lobbying on behalf of African Americans. Other groups had

⁷¹ Ibid., 5.

⁷² Ibid., 6.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

individuals whose sole purpose was to appeal to the powers in Washington for their support. Martin suggested Blacks, who in the past had mainly lobbied the president for action, needed to focus on the “leaders of the [S]enate and [H]ouse” as well.⁷⁵ Lobbying, Martin argued, was perceived by some Americans as “an ugly word,” but he insisted that lobbying was “an essential dimension of the functioning of public and private institutions in our society.”⁷⁶ Lobbying was another essential tool that Blacks had to learn to use effectively to agitate for their needs. Professional lobbyists working in support of other groups were not going to disappear, and Blacks would benefit from employing some of their techniques to agitate for programs and policies that mattered most to them.⁷⁷ To support his proposal, Martin pointed to an example of a successful lobbyist for the audience’s consideration, Clarence Mitchell who was with the NAACP. While this speech was dedicated to the political process and the increased need for African Americans to lobby on their own behalf as part of that process, many of the other speeches of this era also revealed Blacks’ declining interest in that process as a means of improving their daily lives.

Martin was attuned to the issues and attendant mood of the times, and he acknowledged that African Americans’ enthusiasm about political process was waning. He described the decline in this way:

Today there is considerable disillusionment among us over the political process. The euphoria of a few years ago after the enactment of the Voting

⁷⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy,” Howard University, (27 Oct. 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 14, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Oct-Dec 1979, 16. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics.”

⁷⁶ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 5.

⁷⁷ Martin explained this in an editorial: “For a long time, I have favored Blacks (or why not all minorities?) setting up a lobby in Washington. The lobby I envisage would have sufficient staff to analyze, then to support or oppose, as the case may be, legislation that affects minorities.” See Louis E. Martin, “Challenges of the New Year,” *Chicago Defender* 11 Jan. 1992: 18.

Rights Act has begun to subside. There are those who feel that the political process is too slow, too complex, too costly and too unrewarding.

This is especially true of some of our citizens who thought the political process was like an automatic elevator. All you had to do was walk in, push a button and you would automatically and quickly rise to the level of your expectations.⁷⁸

Much like he used the metaphor of the ladder to communicate African Americans' climb to first-class citizenship and the doors of opportunity, Martin also often employed the elevator metaphor. The difference between the two was in the effort exerted: to climb a ladder required personal action and agency; to rise up in an elevator, one just had to push a button. Martin's comment suggested that there was more persistent and purposeful action required on the parts of individuals. He told his audience: "I do not believe that we have given the political process a fair trial. We have only put our feet on the first rung of the political ladder."⁷⁹ This quotation points to a rhetorical problem of sorts. When Martin delivered this speech in 1984, the people he was trying to agitate into action were, he argued, still only on the "first rung of the political ladder" twenty years after the Civil Rights Act passed. He celebrated the progress and then discounted it in nearly the same breath. This was problematic in that he suggested all the progress had still only landed African Americans on the first rung of the ladder. In this way, he prompted his listeners to work harder; but this tactic may have been discouraging as well. How Martin measured Blacks' political progress and rung-climbing was apparent in his propensity to count heads.

⁷⁸ Louis E. Martin, "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy," (n.d., [Feb-Oct 1984]), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 1, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Feb.-Oct. 1984, 6. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, "1980 Election."

⁷⁹ Louis E. Martin, "1980 Election," 6.

In his speech on the future of African American colleges, Martin cited statistics provided by the Joint Center. Martin used the figures to count an increase of 250,000 employed Blacks in government jobs from 1973 to 1984. He explained the phenomenon of growth, which reflected successful implementation of strategies he endorsed: “the growth [in numbers of Blacks in government jobs] can be largely attributed to black political activity more black elected officials and greater black interest in the political process.”⁸⁰ People in African American communities around the nation were becoming more involved in politics, which indicated that, despite the cynicism Martin often criticized, there were still pockets of real, measurable progress as evidenced by the number of people of color involved in the political process. The Joint Center, which was designed to measure such progress, was an invested authority in this gradual change. The Center was designed to facilitate Blacks’ participation in politics and had been since it was founded in 1970. Therefore, record keeping on participation over time was essential—both to measure progress and to identify successful strategies for implementation in other cities and states.

African Americans who were more business- than government-minded could realize additional opportunities as well, he explained: “It should be pointed out lthat [sic] the political process has significance for all of us who are trying to move in the fields of business and commerce.”⁸¹ Remember his admonition in his 1979 speech to the Urban League that Blacks who had gotten the right to ride the bus should progress to be in the position to buy the bus company. The increasing success of African American-owned businesses was precisely what Martin had envisioned. Notice his emphasis on movement. This concept goes hand in hand with

⁸⁰ Louis E. Martin, Untitled Speech about black colleges and the future, Howard University, (05 Oct. 1984), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 1, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Feb.-Oct. 1984, 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Untitled: black colleges.

⁸¹ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: black colleges, 6.

his insistence on agitation to change course and make progress. Change would no longer come with passive resistance. Instead of marching in the streets, Blacks and other minorities had to engage and change the system from the inside. A person could access the inner workings of the system in many ways, from voting, to securing election to a political office, to providing a good or service necessary to the process. This latter means was most lucrative with the government contracts still being offered to minority businesses.

Martin himself witnessed the success of entrepreneurial Blacks who had capitalized on the opportunities afforded them by government contracts: “It is because of these developments [black entrepreneurs receiving billions of government dollars in contracts] that I look with great hope on the political process and I believe that our black colleges have a unique role to play in this arena.”⁸² Martin saw how economics, education, and politics all worked together in a complex system he often called a machine. He made this observation not only as one of the minorities he was attempting to rally to action, but also as a former government insider. He gave his audience information about organizations invested in minorities’ participation in the political process so that they might make progress too. One of those institutions dedicated to assisting African Americans, which had been doing so since 1970, was the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Martin regularly promoted the Joint Center as a resource for people to begin to learn about the political process and how it worked as well as a means to contact their political representatives. He also referred to other organizations involved in similar efforts, such as the National Association for Equal Opportunity (NAFEO). Martin told his audience that “In addition to NAFEO, the Joint Center for Political Studies, which has internships and fellowships, represents a very important resource. They are concerned with policy formulation as well as the

⁸² Ibid., 7.

mechanics of the political process.”⁸³ Statements like this not only told the audience members where they could turn for general information, they also provided them with potential resources they could tap for use specifically in their own communities. Unlike those politicians who had enjoyed a long history serving in government, many of the newly elected African Americans did not have the luxury of established networks where they could turn for assistance. The Joint Center and groups like NAFEO could provide direction and support to minority legislators and communities alike.

This was similarly the case with the Ford Foundation, another organization Martin promoted as a means to facilitate minority Americans’ involvement in the political process. He reminded the Ford Foundation audience of the struggles African Americans had faced in the past: “The old concept was that the road to our salvation lay in two areas: in the courts with judges, and in the streets with marchers. What we have learned, particularly after the 1965 Voting Rights Act, is that we could mobilize our own potential by using the political process.”⁸⁴ Martin had witnessed the “old” ways and was instrumental in promoting the “new” ways, which featured individual agency and involvement. His use of “the road to salvation” indicates the import and gravity of the tasks at hand. Martin advocated full involvement in the system, which he insisted had not been “fully tested.”⁸⁵ He scolded those people who “only half-ried to make the system work” and were “too easily satisfied with a few noteworthy victories.”⁸⁶ African Americans securing the right to vote but then failing to use it to their full potential by voting en masse was such an example.⁸⁷ The lack of more equitable representation of minorities in

⁸³ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 5.

⁸⁴ Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation, 1.

⁸⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ In his discussion of civil rights in the 1980s, NAACP Executive Director Hooks explained the phenomenon as follows: “[Young Blacks] may have the *right* to vote but not the inclination.” Benjamin L. Hooks, “Civil Rights,” in “The 80s: What’s Ahead for Blacks?,” *Ebony* (Jan. 1980): 28. Web. Emphasis original.

government was another example. Martin was insistent on full participation in the system from the bottom, where local politics were key, up to the national level.

Part of the political process entailed working with local representatives. Martin explained that it was the public's sustained pressure upon a local elected official that could yield some real progress. He told his audience: "All public officials have constituencies to whom they are responsible, and they are responsive to the pressures brought to bear on them by effective interest groups. This is not strictly a numbers game, since intense pressure from small groups may outweigh sporadic pressure from larger groups."⁸⁸ Organized groups presenting a united front on issues of concern to them could not be easily ignored by elected officials. Martin continued, "There is no substitute for personal contacts."⁸⁹ The interaction between elected representatives and ordinary people was part and parcel of the democratic political process. Everybody had a right and an obligation to participate.

In this as in previous eras, Martin remarked frequently on how he had to convince his various audiences that the political process was worth their involvement: that it was the means by which they could improve race relations and civil rights to gain equality for all Americans. He consistently sold this idea, even as far back as his 1930s efforts in Detroit with the labor leaders. Back then, Martin explained: "You had to convince them that politics was a realistic and viable ladder to climb, that they were not just wasting their effort."⁹⁰ Martin was "selling" the necessity of Blacks' involvement in the political process.⁹¹ Minorities' sheer avoidance of the system

⁸⁸ Louis E. Martin, "Abstract: Developing Linkages and Networks with High Elected and Appointed Public Officials," Howard University, (26 Mar. 1982), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 2. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, "Abstract."

⁸⁹ Louis E. Martin, "Abstract," 2.

⁹⁰ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 7, Howard University, 18 Sep. 1986, 5. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #7.

⁹¹ Martin referred to his job of "selling" policies, plans and proposals as "propaganda." Contrary to the pejorative sense of the term, Martin saw his propaganda as factual and true. He contrasted his brand of propaganda with others like myths about Blacks' inferiority which were "trotted out in the propaganda of the white

would accomplish nothing. Not engaging with the system at all was the way that the status quo was perpetuated. Despite the positive changes in civil rights since the 1960s, Martin was still having to persuade the rank and file that participation in politics was necessary and ultimately productive. While Martin advocated involvement in the political process, he was most insistent on the fact that the best way to become a factor was for African Americans to register and vote.

4.3.2 The Persistent Importance of the Vote (and the Dollar)

In the 1980s, Martin continued to call for African Americans to cast their votes and to spend their dollars wisely. Even as late as the 1980s, he insisted that minorities were still at the beginning of the process to advance in the U.S. This was problematic and incongruous: even in this late era, Martin was still calling for votes and dollars as he was in his speeches in the 1960s. How was it that if the tools he advocated for all this time were put to use that African Americans still found themselves at the bottom rung of the ladder? Martin explained it this way: “The fact is that our Black and minority leadership is just beginning to make use of the tools of our democratic system, the vote and the dollar bill, that we know can make basic political and socioeconomic changes in the status quo.”⁹² He assigned the blame to the minority people themselves for not doing what they were entitled by law to do to affect policy—namely, electing officials who were attuned to their needs. He believed that the status quo would necessarily change if more minorities demanded a chance to participate, then became involved, and lobbied their representatives.

supremacists.” Louis E. Martin, “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter,” North Carolina College, Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers and the Annual Meeting of Sigma Rho Sigma Honorary Society, Durham, NC, (26 Apr. 1963), In Roy L. Hill, *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope*, ([S.I.: s.n.] Buffalo: University Press, 1976) 130. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Emancipation Proclamation.”

⁹² Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 3.

Martin argued from experience that legislators and other elected politicians were very interested in knowing how Blacks were voting. He provided personalized evidence for his insistent claim that the Blacks' votes mattered and that the community members could convey their desires and demands via the vote. Martin spoke with authority based in his experience working for politicians: "Most politicians, elected and appointive officials, at every level, from the city hall to the White House, do not lose sight of the ballot box. Votes make them and votes break them. Voters are always on their minds."⁹³ This sentiment was indicative of the perpetual campaign many government leaders faced whereby their actions were largely dependent on securing votes for the next election. In fact, Martin looked to the presidential election of 1960 to prove that the career politician "knows that the Black vote often provides the margin of victory in tight contests at every political level."⁹⁴ From the local government to the national government, minorities could make an impact if they regularly exercised their right to vote. People in all areas of society, not just government circles, could get involved in this effort. For example, Martin called on the "academic community" to register voters so they could enact their full voting potential since "the registration in the Black college communities could represent a bloc of several hundred thousand voters."⁹⁵ Numbers mattered.⁹⁶

Martin explained that people were beginning to see the results of targeted minority voting: "Strategically located in states with large electoral votes, the Black voting blocs have

⁹³ Louis E. Martin, "Developing Linkages," 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁶ While the number of votes Blacks cast was important, large numbers did not necessarily guarantee success for the candidate they endorsed. In 1960, the black vote likely helped Kennedy. Most Blacks similarly voted for the Democratic candidate in 1980 (83 percent according to the Roper Center), but they did not secure the second win for Jimmy Carter. Because Blacks did not support Reagan, he did not "owe" them anything as Kennedy had. Roper Center Public Opinion Archives, "US Elections: How Groups Voted in 1980," 2013, 19 Feb. 2013 <http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/elections/how_groups_voted/voted_80.html>. For a discussion of the impact of Reagan's election, see Sheila Rule, "Blacks, Reacting to Vote, Seek Way to Keep Gains," *New York Times* 08 Nov 1980: 8. See also, Adam Clymer, "Black Republicans Want Reagan To Remember Them," *New York Times* 07 Dec. 1980: 42.

great influence in close elections. Keen and intense rivalry between the candidates magnify the importance of minority bloc voters.”⁹⁷ Candidates had to appeal to all of their constituents with programs which would benefit those constituents. Voters would then cast their votes with the person who best represented and addressed their needs. Even with acceptable candidates for whom Blacks could vote for their ultimate benefit, Martin still worried about the lack of purposeful voting in this time period. He explained that in the 1980 election only 40 percent of those African Americans who were able to vote actually went to the polls.⁹⁸ For Martin, the lack of turnout was a sure way to secure defeat. Again, he turned to facts and figures to explain the phenomenon of why Blacks had not advanced further:

When we examine our level of progress, we are struck with one startling statistic. There are 17 million Blacks of voting age in the United States yet 10 million of them have never set foot in a voting booth. When we reflect upon this fact it becomes obvious that we have a long, long way to go. We must face two cold, hard facts – First we are a minority in a society where the majority rules, secondly, we have not registered nor organized half of our voting potential.⁹⁹

Martin often referred to half measures in civil rights and race relations—how it would take more than half-hearted effort to secure equality.¹⁰⁰ He stated the facts, as he perceived them, in a bid to agitate those to whom he spoke. He acknowledged the problem of their minority status, but then

⁹⁷ Louis E. Martin, “1980 Election,” 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ For example, in Martin’s discussion of civil rights in the 1950s, he referred the efforts as “half loaf,” “Half a step,” and not even “half enough.” Louis E. Martin, “Interview I,” Interview with David M. McComb, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 14 May 1969, 7. In a speech at Howard University, he asserted: “In some areas we have only half-tried to make the system work for us [...]” Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 2. In a 1990 editorial, Martin asserted that “emancipation was a half-measure and that the Civil War has not come to an end.” Louis E. Martin, “No End to the U.S. Civil War,” *Chicago Defender* 03 Mar. 1990: 26.

he pointed to a positive action to take in the face of that fact: register more than half of the voters so that the minority voice could at least be “louder.” This required organization: first on the local level. Since his editorial days in the 1930s, Martin called for sustained mobilization of Blacks to the voting booths. Martin even used the force of religious language to suggest the importance of the task at hand. He asserted: “our crusade for registration will pay rich dividends.”¹⁰¹ His use of this mixed metaphor featured a religious component, the “crusade,” and an economic metaphor, the “dividends.” Martin characterized registration as a crusade to increase its importance. The emphasis on dividends indicated his continued emphasis on economic affairs. With these metaphors, he encouraged participation in the political process. He clearly instructed his audience to continue their efforts in registration “in our neighborhoods, in our own backyard.”¹⁰² This suggestion reflected his sustained emphasis on how individuals acting in their communities would best be able to address problems, such as the need for registration drives and the resultant lack of voting, in their neighborhoods. In a 1991 interview, Martin explained his enduring strategy: “We were always after registration. That was one of the basic things about our operation. We encouraged registration.”¹⁰³ Registration, of course, did not guarantee a corresponding trip to the polls to vote. However, lack of registration certainly precluded a vote.

Compounding the problem, Martin also acknowledged that there were not always candidates for whom African Americans should vote: “Blacks often find that they have to choose the lesser of two evils in many elections.”¹⁰⁴ This sentiment pointed to the related necessity, also one of Martin’s proposals, that more minorities get involved in politics at the local, state, and national levels. Martin was personally responsible for recommending such qualified candidates

¹⁰¹ Louis E. Martin, “1980 Election,” 7.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Louis E. Martin, Joint Center 02 Dec. 1991 Interview, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 3.

given his time working with presidents. Martin conceded, however, that even with qualified and courageous minority candidates aplenty, there was still work to be done to challenge the status quo and continue improving conditions for African Americans. He used the example of the conditions of some of the nation's cities to illustrate his point.

Martin often referenced the numerous African American mayors who had been elected to major cities throughout the years. He used them, like other individuals he named, as instructional examples. Martin told a Howard University audience:

We have begun to recognize, however, that a Black mayor with a shrinking budget, a shrinking tax base, and shrinking assistance from the state and federal government cannot produce fiscal miracles. It has become clear that electing our candidates to public office is not the whole story, and does not automatically produce the changes we seek.¹⁰⁵

This quotation reveals a distinct shift in Martin's thinking since his early speeches, where in the 1980s he tells his audiences that the vote, the dollar, and minority representatives are not enough, there was also a need for well-planned policy measures. These policies will be drafted by people, and therefore the need for smart people with experience and dedication will only increase. The colleges and universities, which also figure heavily in this era of Martin's work, will be crucial in producing those learned individuals who can contribute to such heady discussions on all political levels.

Martin still believed that "The most successful march a black person can undertake is the march to the voting booth. That's where we are truly effective."¹⁰⁶ Note his reference to the "march," which harkens back to the strategies of the marches in the 1960s. A purposeful march

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰⁶ Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation, 1.

to the polls, per Martin, was equally courageous as a march on Washington streets and increasingly necessary. To coordinate the effort, Martin called on his audience members and the organizations, businesses, and groups they represented to work together—just as he had in the past.

4.3.3 *Organization and Communication*

Organization, particularly given what Martin perceived as the hostile environment toward minorities, was especially critical in the 1980s. Martin's insistence on coordinated action was evident in the speech he delivered at Howard on how to network with government officials. In that address, Martin explained: "a more systematic and organized approach to develop linkages and networks is required in this complex period in which we live today."¹⁰⁷ He emphasized the need to communicate not only with the people in positions of power, but also and perhaps more so with those individuals who worked *with* the elected officials. These individuals, as Martin knew well having been a gatekeeper of sorts himself, were the sentinels controlling access to the so-called higher-ups. Remember that Martin served in that same capacity as a gatekeeper cum liaison for presidents. Martin often coordinated meetings with leaders from African American communities and presidents, so he knew the process well. A person's ability to work with those gatekeepers was an essential component of successful political networking: "There is no substitute for personal contacts if your goal is to establish networks and linkages with high elected and appointed officials."¹⁰⁸ Establishing regular communication with political leaders and their staff resulted in familiarity and a long-term relationship. Consistent and clear communication on a steady basis fostered trust between politicians and, as in this example, academics interested in joining forces with politicians sympathetic to their cause.

¹⁰⁷ Louis E. Martin, "Developing Linkages," 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

For example, Martin noted that the networks of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) including educators and students “are developing linkages and networks with their white colleagues in city halls, in county courthouses and in Washington.”¹⁰⁹ Martin urged cooperation with other minorities in particular, but he certainly did not exclude cooperation with white people.¹¹⁰ To aid in the coalition-building effort, Martin told his attendees to take advantage of “ready-made resources,” including not only the new social justice organizations but also “traditional civil rights organizations.”¹¹¹ Martin encouraged the audience to act by equating their potential with that of successful pioneers, such as Frederick Douglass, who made frequent appearances in Martin’s speeches. Martin suggested that his audience members capitalize on the successes of those people who came before them, and use the tools already at their disposal. Martin explained it to them in his typical direct style: “You don’t have to invent the wheel.”¹¹² Martin sought to link the existing civil rights organizations with the new coalitions being formed. The audiences Martin addressed and rallied in this way were functioning in 1980s America, which meant subtle differences in race relations as compared with audiences of previous eras, like the 1960s when Martin first started speaking in public. While the context had changed, the need for communication, information, and organization had not. In Martin’s early years as a public speaker, as in this late era, he consistently asserted that sharing information between organized groups was essential to the battle for civil rights and first-class citizenship.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁰ Martin said in an interview that he had learned to work with white people while at college in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Martin said: “You had to get along with people. You could fight them, but you still had to get along with them.” Furthermore, he said “this whole black-white thing was bullshit, and I was going to do what the hell I pleased.” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 01 Dec. 1991, in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 13, Folder 5, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (1 of 3), 22, 24.

¹¹¹ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 3.

¹¹² Ibid.

Martin explained that the process of getting rank and file African Americans to support a candidate and his or her policies must be started early, not just when it was campaign season. He said, “Somebody has got to get people together at a level where you can operate and work on them. And you’ve got to do this every day. You can’t do this at campaign time. He’s [Reagan] right now trying to get the media—trying to think of a slogan or some goddamn catch phrase that’s going to work. That’s bullshit.”¹¹³ Martin, as this quotation suggests, advocated consistent, persistent, and honest communication with the masses. Take, for example, Martin’s publication of the Fact Sheets while he was working with President Carter. That publication was distributed to thousands of community leaders to explain, specifically, what steps Carter had taken of interest to them as representatives of African American communities around the nation.

Martin’s comment about the media and how Reagan was attempting to manipulate them with rhetoric was also telling. He understood and was therefore wary of the role of the media in providing information framed in intentional ways. Martin had used his own media savvy in the past to promote policies and people.¹¹⁴ Media coverage of candidates, government officials and their policies facilitated the knowledge and political involvement at the local level. Martin saw such grassroots organization as a critical means to share information and get more people involved in the political process. Much of that work was accomplished on a local scale via publications such as the *Chicago Defender*. Martin explained: “You can’t keep your distance from everybody and expect people to support your operation. You’ve got to get down there with them somehow.”¹¹⁵ Coalition building was best conducted in close quarters, not remotely.

¹¹³ Louis E. Martin, “Interview II,” Interview by Michael L. Gillette, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, 12 June 1986, 51. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Gillette Interview II.

¹¹⁴ Martin’s entry into politics began when he covered Roosevelt’s 1944 campaign. Then he learned that “In the public relations politics, the black press and the media were especially important.” Martin’s characterization of FDR’s activities was designed to garner support for his reelection. See, for Martin’s discussion of that campaign: Louis E. Martin, “Blacks, Presidential Politics,” 9.

¹¹⁵ Louis E. Martin, Gillette Interview II, 52.

Martin's assessment of how to create an effective coalition was based on his many years of working with varied coalitions in public and private enterprises. In his speech where he evaluated the 1980 election, Martin asked his audience to consider the importance of people who are part of different minority groups to work together:

We hear a great deal about the need for coalitions with other minority groups. I think coalitions are important. The question is what can each group bring to a coalition? How many votes can we count on as a contribution to a coalition. [sic] Anyway [sic] we slice it, we have to organize our own resources to be effective with or without a coalition.¹¹⁶

Martin's interest in coalitions was conditional: to the extent that he saw their efficacy and how it blended with his own interests, he believed in joining forces. Martin was constantly assessing people and programs to see how best to apply resources. To capitalize on cooperative endeavors, the audiences he addressed had to have their own affairs in order. Coalitions, he noted, were dependent on effective communication between participants.

In his trademark practical style, Martin also cautioned his audience about another aspect of communication between coalitions: there may be unwritten codes or rules for interaction in these groups. Martin understood this well given his success in venues ranging from the White House to Auburn Avenue in Atlanta. Some people, Martin knew, had a great deal of authority and hired and fired people at will—their will was law, in a sense. To participate in the system, Martin said a person had to know how to work that system. Successful participation hinged on both a clear understanding of the issues at hand as well as access to information. Martin told his audiences about “the realities of governance:”¹¹⁷ There are cabals of power, people have

¹¹⁶ Louis E. Martin, “1980 Election,” 7.

¹¹⁷ Louis E. Martin, Pi Alpha Alpha, 6.

differing levels of clout in different circumstances, and so on, to educate the audience on the reality of the system. With that knowledge they could, in turn, find ways to navigate that system for their benefit.

Knowing the subtleties of the political process was particularly important since, Martin explained, “In government as in many other areas of life there is often a wide gap between theory and practice.”¹¹⁸ Martin focused on pragmatic strategies that worked in different local contexts. Part of his matter-of-fact approach included “regular” communication not only with opinion leaders, but especially with people who worked for the officials. Consider, for example, Martin’s role in facilitating meetings with presidents and other national officials during his time with Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter. Martin explained the importance of inclusive communication as follows:

To ensure that your concerns are not sidestepped in the face of competing claims for the attention of elected officials, it is advisable to cultivate regular channels of communication with the deputies and aides who customarily surround high elected officials and who, incidentally, form protective barriers to direct access to such officials.¹¹⁹

Martin understood the importance of accessing the “established channels” to get to the high-powered personnel. He further promoted the importance of how information was distributed to minorities who could then use it to their advantage. Martin said that plentiful contacts will not help if people “do not know and understand what is happening”¹²⁰ in their local communities and beyond. He urged his audience members to deepen their understanding by reading publications

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 2.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 6.

he named specifically, like the *Congressional Record*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and so on.

Martin was insistent on face-to-face communication, but he was also an advocate of the importance of written communication. Remember this emphasis on written texts was evidenced during his years with Carter by his publication of the Fact Sheets, which were distributed to African American leaders around the country. In his constant bid to communicate exactly what various parties were thinking and doing, he suggested to an audience at Howard, “Position papers that are thoughtful and sensitive to the myriad pressures on public officials give needed reinforcement to the personal contacts.”¹²¹ Strategic communication was imperative. Martin was still advocating communication by means of “clear, and specific policy positions on a range of relevant issues, especially government grants, and aid”¹²² so that the people who were most in need of programs had the opportunity to learn about them. This pointed to Martin’s insistence on cultivating existing relationships and connecting people in positions of power to begin to make policy.

4.3.4 Leaders, Movers, and Shakers

Throughout the speeches Martin delivered in the 1980s, he continued his tactic of celebrating and providing names of African Americans who had successfully moved into positions of power, authority, and decision making in all areas of American life—the political realm, courts of law, educational institutions, entrepreneurial business, and so on. However, Martin and others faced a problem: how to successfully identify those people who were really influential in their communities. In a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors he commented that, in the past, “Any young black who sounded extreme and radical enough was

¹²¹ Ibid., 3.

¹²² Ibid.

quickly played up as a leader.”¹²³ Presumably, the “playing up” was done by the media and this coverage gave those Martin considered extremists more clout than they deserved. Volume and vitriol were not enough; instead, Martin preferred plausible policies and plans. Recall from his early speech to the University of Chicago that Martin said “the Ghetto is full of [B]lack generals without armies.”¹²⁴ To Martin, the media still promoted generals who had not commanded “armies” to some purposeful action like registration drives. In particular, Martin criticized the media’s creation of “new civil rights ‘generals’” who had no experience, let alone “followers.”¹²⁵ In short, Martin said, “A political general can’t capture an ant hill without an army.”¹²⁶ This pointed to his regular insistence on the strength in numbers approach.

Being able to identify the actual generals from the posers required the kind of information Martin regularly provided to his audiences in the form of names and titles and areas of responsibility. Those people mentioned by Martin were not necessarily the same people the media promoted. The movers and shakers in African American communities were regularly courted by those politicians in power precisely because they (the movers and shakers) were able, in many cases, to rally those they worked with to support candidates and causes. Securing the allegiance of the rank and file voters, however, was not guaranteed. Martin countered the belief that “the masses of blacks are easily manipulated by a few clever leaders. This is nonsense.”¹²⁷

Martin shared his insight, saying many politicians “want to know upon first meeting you how

¹²³ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors Communications Conference, (17 Feb. 1982), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 4. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, ASNE. Martin could have been talking about any number of people in this quotation, perhaps even Malcolm X or Louis Farrakhan. In an interview with Martin, interviewer Ed Edwin suggested that the media “created” Farrakhan, and Martin did not disagree. Martin similarly asserted that Malcolm X “was invented by Haley,” the author of Malcolm X’s autobiography, and that Malcolm X was “just another jerk around with a loud mouth.” Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #5, 43.

¹²⁴ Louis E. Martin, “How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community,” University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, (19 April 1971), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 10, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977, 1.

¹²⁵ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 4.

¹²⁶ Louis E. Martin, “1980 Election,” 7.

¹²⁷ Louis E. Martin, Kivie Kaplan, 1.

much of the Black electorate you represent or how much of that electorate you can influence.

These questions are rarely asked, but you can be sure they are in the mind of the politician.”¹²⁸

This quotation points to the pragmatic side of Martin: while he constantly promoted the inclusion of minorities in the political process, he simultaneously told them that politicians may pander to them for votes. This led to the need, therefore, for more appointed and elected minority representatives who were more likely to provide results after the election than pander for votes before the election.

Martin explained:

On the political front, Blacks have up to now focused primarily on Black representation in the predominantly Black areas, substituting Black faces for the white ones who have traditionally held all the power and privileges of public office. This process is still foremost in our approach to politics and it should continue. We have a representative form of government and Blacks have a long way to go to win equitable representation.¹²⁹

Again, note his insistence that there was still “a long way to go.” This sentiment was similar to his saying that Blacks were still on the first rungs of the economic and political ladders.

Remember that in this era, post-Carter, Martin did tell audiences that they were still on the first rungs of the political and economic ladders. In the same way, in this quotation Martin told them they were still on the first rung of the “equitable representation” ladder. There was always more climbing to do. Martin simultaneously championed the successes he had witnessed over decades, and still he asserted they were not enough: Blacks had not yet enjoyed the full promise of first-class citizenship and equitable race relations. Even though he was not satisfied with current

¹²⁸ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 2.

¹²⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 3.

conditions and therefore not ready to call for an end to the ladder-climbing, Martin continued to carefully document improvements—particularly in the Southern states.

In his speech about the 1980 election, Martin enthusiastically mentioned that “over half of the 5 thousand Blacks who hold elected offices today are from those Southern states”¹³⁰ which made up the Old Confederacy. In the South and in the nation as a whole, Martin argued that “there is a growing acceptance of black political leadership by the white majority. Thus, despite all the bigotry and racism in the society, blacks are beginning to penetrate the precincts of political power that heretofore seemed closed.”¹³¹ Success was evident in the “growing acceptance” of Blacks; yet obstacles such as “bigotry and racism” were apparent as well. Those African Americans, like Martin, who had found a measure of success were obligated to help others and provide “nurturing leadership,” which Martin believed was “very much needed still.”¹³² Contrary to some opinions, young Blacks in particular were in need of role models who challenged stereotypes and encouraged participation in an increasingly diverse American experiment. These young people were so critical because they would continue to hold those in power accountable and continue the fight.

4.3.4.1 *Stereotypes Persist*

Into the 1980s, there was still an ongoing discussion about the stereotypes of Blacks in America.¹³³ Much of Martin’s commentary on the problems of stereotyping of African Americans focused on their representation in the mainstream media. This was especially

¹³⁰ Louis E. Martin, “1980 Election,” 3.

¹³¹ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 6.

¹³² Louis E. Martin, Untitled: black colleges, 3.

¹³³ See, for example: “Stereotype Will Persist Until More Blacks Involved With TV,” *Atlanta Daily World* 24 Aug. 1980: 2; Fawn Vrazo, “Study Disputes Stereotype of Black Teen Mothers,” *Philadelphia Inquirer* 31 Mar. 1986: E1; “Shadowed by Stereotypes, Image of Black Men Hurt; Seminar Looks To Media,” *Tri-State Defender* 24 June 1987: 1; Joleen Colombo, “Bold Statements on Black Stereotypes,” *The Skanner* 20 Apr. 1988: 3.; and Lee May, “Stereotypes Haunt Black Achievement,” *Los Angeles Times* 09 Jan. 1989: I1.

apparent in his 1982 speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Stereotypes in the media surfaced, according to Martin, due to those who produced the media. The general media, typically run by Whites, was not interested in happenings in African American communities.¹³⁴ On the rare occasions when they did cover stories about Blacks, Martin quipped, “it is amazing and disgusting to see how quickly the media tends to spot a brother under every rotten woodpile.”¹³⁵ That is, Blacks were covered in as much as they were the source of some problem. The members of the mainstream media’s lack of interest resulted in lack of coverage, or even biased coverage: “I believe that one of the chief reasons the boat was missed [i.e., mainstream media did not see the civil rights movement coming] lay in the fact that the media was, for the most part, a lily-white, middle-class, male-dominated institution. Most of the journalists were created in the same cultural and racial mold. They had a blind side.”¹³⁶ For example, Martin explained that he went back through old editions of the general U.S. newspapers published during his stint in Nigeria to see what the mainstream press was reporting *about* since they did not foresee the coming civil rights movement, or what he called the civil rights “revolution.”¹³⁷ Many Blacks supplemented the news they got from the African American press with that of the white press, and Martin found that could be problematic.¹³⁸ He cited, in particular, the

¹³⁴ Martin described the problem as follows: “But we’ve always historically had a problem, you know the black, the invisible man. What has happened is we used to say that the general press, blacks were never born, never got married, never died, as far as the media was concerned. Well, that’s not quite true. You do not, or have not until recently, you begin to get a little more of it now, any picture of the black middle class at all.” Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 9, Howard University, 11 Mar. 1987, 50. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #9.

¹³⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Illegitimacy in Black and White,” *Chicago Defender* 28 Nov. 1987: 22.

¹³⁶ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 2.

¹³⁷ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 3.

¹³⁸ Martin explained this in an early interview: “You must remember that the so-called Negro media is a supplement to the general press; a lot of those who read the Negro weeklies also read [sic] the daily paper.” Louis E. Martin, “Second Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin,” Interview by Ronald J. Grele, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program, 07 Apr. 1966, 15.

stereotypes Blacks were subject to in the general media and how detrimental that was given the “hate and hostility” those stereotypes perpetuated.¹³⁹

He told newspaper editors what they already knew:

All of us recognize that the media has a profound impact upon the social and racial attitudes and behavior of the citizenry. We know the psychological damage of stereotypes. Protest against racial stereotypes has a long history. We have seen blacks portrayed too often as either dangerous or funny or as clown or criminal.¹⁴⁰

Here, Martin was obviously talking about the mainstream media. The typical characterizations of African Americans led society consistently to regard them as fringe elements. The media was just one culprit in perpetuating myths and stereotypes about Blacks. Martin said, “The whites were literally reared on stereotypes.”¹⁴¹ Such education was not limited to the media but also included teachings at “mother’s knee.”¹⁴² Stereotypes, like family heirlooms, were passed down from generation to generation. Those teachings, coupled with what Americans saw in the press, reaffirmed the typecasting. Stereotypes were promoted by the coverage of African American affairs in the mainstream press well into the 1980s.

In a speech to the Kivie Kaplan retreat participants, Martin explained that,

as far as the white press was concerned, blacks were invisible. They were never born, they never got married and they never died. They did, however, commit crimes. There has been some improvement of black

¹³⁹ See for example, his editorial, Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Laying Bare the Bias In the Press,” *Chicago Defender* 09 Apr. 1988: 20 where he says the news professionals do much damage by keeping the stereotypes “alive.”

¹⁴⁰ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 10-11.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁴² Martin said in an interview: “The truth is, as you well know, that the whole concept of white supremacy which has been sold to white America, was sold to all America. Kids brought up, they learned from mother’s knee that white is right.” Louis E. Martin, Edwin Session #8, 39.

coverage in the mass media but many racial stereotypes and misrepresentations still crop up in coverage of blacks.¹⁴³

While this quotation would seem to suggest Martin is contradicting himself, it does not. As a business, the media covered crimes and other sensational happenings because they sold copy. Positive coverage of African American affairs was not sensational enough to merit mention. Violence and crime, however, would appeal to the readers and watchers of mainstream media. Martin worked hard to counter these stereotypes throughout his editorials as well as his speeches by focusing on the “new” African American identity—remember his usage of the “New Negro” term from Alain Locke’s book. The need to combat generalizations about Blacks was still important in the 1980s. Blacks, of course, were not the only group subject to stereotyping, and Martin sought to do away with stereotyping of all kinds: “I think the elimination of minority stereotypes and the distortions that result from them would be a giant leap forward.”¹⁴⁴ The power of the media was great to combat stereotypes as well as to perpetuate them. Martin argued that integration of the “general media”¹⁴⁵ was the most promising approach to the challenge of combating racism in media coverage of events.

So, into the 1980s, Martin was still eager to combat the stereotypes about African Americans for the harm they perpetuated not only on those who were typecast, but on the country as a whole. While he worked to combat such typecasting since his early years as a journalist, Martin was still an enthusiastic proponent of addressing and dispelling these stereotypes directly because he still saw the problems such characterizations heaped upon Blacks in communities around the nation. With the increasing number of appointed and elected black officials, Martin could provide new characterizations of the group wherein they were dedicated,

¹⁴³ Louis E. Martin, Kivie Kaplan, 2.

¹⁴⁴ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

smart, and perfectly capable of contributing to problem solving in the 1980s and beyond. Martin regularly challenged the stereotypes and combatted such characterizations in his own texts by naming those individuals who challenged and revealed the lie of stereotyping in general and white supremacy in particular.

4.3.4.2 *Members on the Roll - 1980s Edition*

In his time with Howard, Martin called attention to the great men and women—not necessarily only Americans—who matriculated there. He named those individuals—often the same people he mentioned frequently in his speeches, including: Nnamdi Azikiwe, Ed Brooke, Ralph Bunche, Charles Drew, Patricia Harris, Vernon Jordan, Thurgood Marshall, and one of his apparent favorites, Andrew Young.¹⁴⁶ In this way, he made an argument by example¹⁴⁷ as he had in previous eras: he pointed to successful people to combat the typecasting and to encourage his audience to follow their predecessors' lead. Because Martin gave speeches to different types of groups, that meant that he had a number of people from various fields he could hold up as examples of excellence. In this way, he prompted his audience to consider Blacks' achievements beyond the “usual” arenas in which they excelled, such as sports and entertainment. Furthermore, this showed how African Americans were entering into diverse fields and applying their talents successfully—there was no area in which Blacks could not excel and contribute to their communities.

Martin used special occasions, such as his speech on assessing the role of the black press specifically to mention those people who were most involved with that particular endeavor. In an

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix D for a full list of individuals named in Martin's speeches. For each individual named, I provide a list of Martin's speeches in which that person appears.

¹⁴⁷ In this type of argument, examples are used to “support factual claims about the existence of a condition of some sort.” James Jasinski, “Argument,” in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 31.

unfinished speech¹⁴⁸ about the black press, Martin paid homage those who led the way: John B. Russwurm, Marcus Garvey, Claude Barnett, George Padmore, and Robert S. Abbot. Martin called on press members following in that tradition to report something other than “editorial commentary,” which was ironic considering his voluminous editorial writing, to include “breaking news and events.”¹⁴⁹ He asked the audience in his address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors Communications Conference in 1982 to do the same: cover the breaking news and events which were relevant to the communities they served. He used the clout of newsman John Sengstacke to support his demand for such coverage. Martin’s continued emphasis on media into the late era of his public address revealed Martin was still a journalist at heart. This matters because it influenced how he interpreted events around him. Martin was a finder of facts and an inquisitor and challenger of the status quo. Regardless of his current title, Martin sought out facts and presented them to others in a bid to further understanding—particularly about things he valued, such as the political process. His activities as a journalist reporting on all aspects of African American communities throughout the country provided him with a list of all those people he could offer up as examples of success, all the while leveling criticism of the “general media” who had “missed the boat” in reporting on affairs in the African American community over the years.¹⁵⁰ In this way, he not only leveled well-deserved criticism at the mainstream and largely white-run media; he also praised the African American press, of which he was an integral part.

¹⁴⁸ This speech ends abruptly, in mid-sentence, on page three. It is directly followed by a flyer advertising Martin’s speech at the Millender Memorial Lecture in the Library of Congress files.

¹⁴⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Assessing the Role of the Black Press,” (n.d., [1981-1983]), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Black Press.”

¹⁵⁰ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 2.

Like the specialized media context, Martin also tapped other contexts to find people he could use as examples of success. For example, Martin's speech about the importance of developing relationships between African American academics and government officials contains a long list of prominent people in both education and government. Not only did he mention instrumental individuals in this speech, he also named the organizations with which they were associated, thus connecting people and services. This was characteristic of his ongoing coalition building. For example, he named the head of the Congressional Black Caucus, Walter Fauntroy, as well as the head of the Black Judicial Council, W. Eugene Sharp. Martin continued in this speech to name other groups relevant to the assembled audience. These groups were specifically established for the benefit of African Americans, including the NAACP and PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

Again, Martin made clear to his audience that the changes they witnessed—the successful integration of African Americans into the fields of politics, education, justice, and so on—*did* count. He insisted on the importance of these achievements in order to counter the pessimism he saw around him. As part of his overall strategy for securing first-class citizenship, Martin was first to mention the people who were making positive changes in various levels of government and the judiciary where the number of Blacks kept increasing. The increase in appointments and the numbers of minority officials was cause for celebration: “The election of Blacks to Congress, to major city mayoralty posts, city councils and state legislatures in the past two decades has had a profound impact upon Black leadership. The changes are astonishing.”¹⁵¹ Martin compared the appearance of many talented Blacks in politics to that of actors on a stage, “center stage,” of politics where they could begin to “establish the national Black agenda.”¹⁵² That agenda was

¹⁵¹ Louis E. Martin, “Political System,” 2.

¹⁵² Ibid.

being enacted in local communities by talented people he had surveyed for many years.¹⁵³ He focused, in particular, upon the increasing number of Blacks serving as mayors of major cities, including Coleman Young of Detroit, Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, and others.¹⁵⁴

Even with such success, Martin's praise was somewhat tempered: "The expanding list of Black elected officials has been encouraging despite the fact that comparatively speaking Blacks have fewer than one per cent of the elected posts in the nation."¹⁵⁵ As certain as Martin was to see progress, Martin always also saw areas that needed attention and improvement. He urged his audiences to do the same by examining their surroundings. Because Martin had, by this time, witnessed approximately sixty years of civil rights progress, he could assess conditions in an honest, forthright, and realistic manner while still maintaining his trademark optimism.

4.3.5 Optimism, Still Intact

Martin saw cause for celebration and optimism in many of the functions he attended. One in particular led him to happily recount his experience. In one of his speeches to an audience at Howard University, Martin commented on his attendance at a recent awards banquet where African American students were receiving awards for their competition in intellectual endeavors. He described how he had worried about maintaining an interest in the event given the fact that he was not involved with the organization distributing awards, the National Institute of Science and the Beta Kappa Chi Scientific society. Martin said:

¹⁵³ While this statement implies that African Americans are a unified lot all agreeing on the same policies with the same ultimate goals in mind, Martin did not advocate that view. In an editorial, for example, Martin explained: "It must be clearly understood that Blacks are not monolithic. All of us do not think alike and never will. The media does not understand this." Louis E. Martin, "Planning for the 21st Century." *Chicago Defender* 28 July 1990: 24. He also phrased this sentiment as follows: "As others have often said, Blacks are not monolithic. They are going to promote their own interests, irrespective of partisan propaganda." Louis E. Martin, "A Republican Black In House," *Chicago Defender* 08 Dec. 1990: 24.

¹⁵⁴ Louis E. Martin, "1980 Election," 5.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

The fun began when Dr. Garrison began to call out the names and the winners proceeded to the dais to receive the awards. Cheers began to fill the ballroom and guests at the table from which the winner came stood, loudly hailing their winner. Suddenly I realized the intensity of the competition between the colleges [and] the rivalry among the students. The scene was joyous. The cheering would not have surprised me at an athletic awards clambake but here were intellectual winners in the spotlight.¹⁵⁶

Martin often remarked how the public at large expected African Americans to be gifted in the areas of sports and entertainment, but now he was witness to success in intellectual endeavors—which he heavily promoted—especially once he got involved with Howard University. Martin still held on to the belief that many Americans were no longer buying into the myth of white supremacy:

Despite widespread racism which is now institutionalized in our society, I think most intelligent Americans want to build a future in which there is racial peace and tolerance for racial and religious differences. We don't want to leave for our children a society torn by violent tribalism. We don't want a society dominated by racial and religious bigots who feel they have a right to play at being God.¹⁵⁷

This quotation reveals Martin's consistent agitative technique as well as his optimism. First, he pointed to "institutionalized" racism, which was fundamental, entrenched, and difficult to

¹⁵⁶ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled Speech at Howard University*, (12 Apr. 1982), in *Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers*, Box 7, Folder 17, *Speeches & Writings File, Speech File*, [1981-1983], 2-3. Hereafter cited as *Louis E. Martin, Untitled: Howard 1982*.

¹⁵⁷ Louis E. Martin, *ASNE*, 12.

eradicate. He was simultaneously encouraging his audiences and African Americans as a whole to become involved in that system. He encouraged them to make changes from inside the system, or at the very least from the periphery of the system by simply casting an informed vote. He believed Americans were largely decent, “tolerant” people. Martin used the phrase “right to play at being God” to emphasize, first, the concept of “rights,” as in entitlements. Unlike other well-known civil rights leaders, Martin used religious rhetoric sparingly, but in this case he even called on God to supplement his argument. This quotation also revealed Martin’s argument that if Blacks continued to find intellectual success and their achievements were duly noted, then the myth of white supremacy would lose some of its power. He assumed that those who promoted the superiority of Whites would be convinced by Blacks’ demonstrating their own superiority. Despite his beleaguered insistence that America was changing and readily accepting and welcoming the talents of African Americans in all kinds of business, political, and judicial environments, Martin did acknowledge the prevailing pessimism of the time, which was one of a few new emphases in the late era.

4.4 New Emphases

While Martin maintained much of his trademark optimism in his later speeches, he also focused on the prevailing feelings of disillusionment shared by many minorities in the 1980s—perhaps in a bid to dispel them. He also combatted what he saw as negativity and political apathy in African American communities with a focus on one person he found particularly encouraging, Jesse Jackson. Jackson made frequent appearances in his editorials of this time. Furthermore, perhaps because of his association with Howard University, Martin regularly extolled the merits of higher education for African Americans and how that would train them not only for specific fields, but also to work in community coalitions. Finally, this last era of his speeches reveals his

increased insistence on widening even further the politics of inclusion—bringing in all sorts of minorities, particularly the “Browns” who were gaining strength in the nation. Before he could trumpet the positive, Martin faced the negative head-on and with his signature direct style.

4.4.1 Just a Pinch of Pessimism

While he was still largely positive about the progress African Americans had made and were poised to make in America, even Martin had his grim moments. In his speech about the 1980 election, which Jimmy Carter lost, Martin faced a harsh reality: “On balance we have made progress but our gains have always been hard to hold.”¹⁵⁸ Here, Martin was referring to the first African Americans elected to public office in 1866, and how their accomplishments were followed by a “rising tide of racist reaction which effectively denied the ballot to blacks” due to the actions of President Rutherford Hayes.¹⁵⁹ He went on to trace the “ups and downs of Black politics in the 20th Century”¹⁶⁰ to illustrate that change was often incremental instead of swift. Martin consistently looked at the big picture of how far race relations had come in America when he became disillusioned with the minutiae of modern race relations. As a student of racial relations since beginning his journalism career in the early 1930s, Martin was qualified to discuss both the progress and the regress he saw in African American relations with the rest of the country’s people. He noted both successes as well as failures in a bid to present a complete picture to his assembled audiences. Considering the good and the bad was a strong feature of his pragmatic argument style.¹⁶¹ For Martin, the bad during this time was due in large part to the occupant of the Oval Office.

¹⁵⁸ Louis E. Martin, “1980 Election,” 1.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶¹ For more on pragmatic argument, see: Ch. Perelman, “Pragmatic Argument,” *Philosophy* 34.128 (Jan. 1959): 18-27. See also Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California, 1945) 276, 277. For a case study of pragmatic argument, see Denise M. Bostdorff and Steven R. Goldzwig, “Idealism and

Martin was particularly harsh in his assessment of President Reagan's policies that could potentially negatively impact Blacks, particularly the poor, during this era. He said: "Historically we have always been knee-deep in tragic dilemmas, but today we are [up] to our eyeballs."¹⁶² This is yet another way he helped his audience to visualize the conditions he was so concerned about—to be up to one's eyeballs was to be fully enveloped in problems to be sure. Martin provided details about the troubles of the day, not only because of Reagan, but also due to problems like "a resurgence of the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan,"¹⁶³ to convey the magnitude of the problems and rally his troops to action. He presented the facts to fully assess the context in which he and others were working so that they could begin to formulate means to combat the problems and challenges unique to the end of the twentieth century.

In his Millender Memorial lecture, for instance, Martin looked back to his early days in Detroit and the horrible race riots and other racial problems the city suffered. He used his experience there as a means of comparison, and noted: "Here we are almost a half century later and the clouds of racism and bigotry still darken our horizon."¹⁶⁴ Martin was a fan of metaphor, and the cloud metaphor was particularly useful to communicate the darkness that continuing problems of race relations cast over the country. Martin combatted the clouds of negativity in the way he had before: by vigorously defending and promoting positive achievements where and when he could. Martin had acknowledged the problematic clouds in his earlier speeches and

Pragmatism in American Foreign Policy Rhetoric: The Case Of John F. Kennedy and Vietnam," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24.3 (Summer 1994): 515-530.

¹⁶² Louis E. Martin, "1980 Election," 6.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Louis E. Martin, "Millender," 3.

attempted to dissipate them in the same way: by focusing on the sunny achievements gained by the hard work of Blacks across the country.¹⁶⁵

He saw that there were people in positions of power who wanted to revert back to the way things had been in the past: “At the same time today we are faced with a monumental challenge from those in and out of government who seem determined to turn the clock back, determined to kill affirmative action, determined to give new life to the bankrupt doctrine of white supremacy.”¹⁶⁶ Martin wanted his audience to match their determination with those who would oppose their gains, opportunities, and rights as American citizens.

Martin placed the blame for failure to progress beyond the racial stigmas and the problems they produced squarely in the nation’s capital and the people currently in power. Martin’s 1984 speech “Straws In the Wind: Contemporary Politics” focused at length on his and others’ assertion that the people in power in Washington were not capably handling domestic policy relevant to African Americans and, by extension, all Americans. His insistence on the power of lobbying on behalf of African Americans could force attention to the issues at hand, particularly Blacks’ limited inclusion in the power structure. He warned his audience: “we cannot ignore this debate over the inability of the present system to deal effectively with the serious issues that threaten the future of all Americans should not be ignored.”¹⁶⁷ To avoid being ignored, Martin urged his audience and those with whom they might work—to be fully present—to be bodily involved and participate in the struggle. He encouraged his listeners to evaluate the

¹⁶⁵ In an editorial, Martin talked about Mary McLeod Bethune’s assessment of the clouds she saw. She was one of the people Martin put on “the roll.” Martin wrote: “Perhaps what fascinated me most about her then was her emphatic assurance that if we Black people got up off our duffs and put our shoulders to the wheel, the dark clouds of racism would dissipate and the sun would break through. The stories she told to make her point were graphic and gripping. You had to believe her.” Martin used this same approach: work hard and the clouds would disappear on their own. Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Woman Power,” *Chicago Defender* 17 Oct. 1987: 20.

¹⁶⁶ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 4.

¹⁶⁷ Louis E. Martin, “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics,” (May 1984), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 1, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Feb.-Oct. 1984, 7. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, “Straws.”

system in which they found themselves, and look for potential ways to promote positive changes when that system failed to deliver on its promise. Some African Americans who had been successful inadvertently signaled to the bigots that all was well and no further action, affirmative or otherwise, was required.

Martin commented in the past that some Whites who saw African Americans gaining great success and recognition in various fields (such as the comedian Bill Cosby¹⁶⁸) believed that enough had been done to help them.¹⁶⁹ Martin worried about the many, many more Blacks who were still being hindered by the vestiges of racism. He explained: “the whites who argue that enough has been done for blacks and that the social programs they support are no longer needed, may begin to believe their own arguments. The truly ‘invisible man’ will be the black poor, jobless, and alienated. Their number is increasing.”¹⁷⁰ Here, he called on his audience’s knowledge of Ralph Ellison’s 1952 book, *Invisible Man*, to illustrate that the problems had not dissipated with the passage of time and laws. Still, there was a danger of more African Americans and other groups of minorities being unseen and unheard in an increasingly callous society.

For Martin, the myth that Blacks had “overcome the historic racial barriers as a result of the civil rights laws of the 60s” was still prominent, when, in reality, “The facts of contemporary life belie that view.”¹⁷¹ Martin only had to look as far as the newspapers he once ran to read stories about problems African Americans and other minorities were contending with in this late

¹⁶⁸ Here, Martin was referring to Bill Cosby as an entertainer. Martin wrote about Cosby again in an editorial after Cosby gave \$20 million dollars to Spelman College in 1988. Cosby’s action meshed with Martin’s insistence on the necessity of education. Martin wrote: “Without education, coming generations of Black Americans will forever be lost.” Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Bill Cosby Sends A Signal,” *Chicago Defender* 03 Dec. 1988: 26. See also Lee A. Daniels, “\$45 Million Contributed to Negro College Fund,” *New York Times* 28 Dec. 1988: B9.

¹⁶⁹ Martin editorialized: “The black middle class has expanded to the point where some whites feel that blacks have ‘got it made.’” Louis E. Martin, “The Big Parade: Secretary Califano Makes A Point,” *Tri-State Defender* 28 Jan. 1978: 5.

¹⁷⁰ Louis E. Martin, “White House Perspective,” 4.

¹⁷¹ Louis E. Martin, Kivie Kaplan, 2.

era. Again, he sounded the call to his audience for their urgent participation and counted his efforts among theirs: “Those of us who are concerned about human relations and civil rights cannot depend upon established institutions who sustain the status quo to deal adequately with the issues that concern us.”¹⁷² Martin encouraged diligent surveillance of the power elite. He also encouraged watching their actions and the resultant effects upon the minority publics of America. He warned: “The mood of America has grown meaner and more bigoted in the last four years. The signals from the administration have encouraged the bigots. We must watch behavior for we cannot trust the rhetoric.”¹⁷³ This quotation reveals an irony: while Martin himself was a proponent of rhetoric in that he used it to motivate his audiences to action, he was also wary of the power of words to sway opinions and obscure truths. Part of combating rhetorical untruths put forth by leaders of dubious character and challenging the pessimism and defeatism was to take a role in “building greater sensitivity in the general media to the dangers of virulent racism and intolerance.”¹⁷⁴ Martin saw the rise of Jesse Jackson in the political sphere as a positive sign that, problems aside, African Americans were still on the right path to securing their first-class citizenship and equal rights.

4.4.2 The Promise of Jesse Jackson

Throughout the 1980s, Martin paid a lot of attention to Jesse Jackson’s activities and his significance to African Americans in the nation. In 1984 Jackson was very much on Martin’s radar since he was leading what Martin called, “Perhaps the most widely publicized registration effort”¹⁷⁵ in the nation. Jackson’s candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination was even more exciting. Martin believed that that there was a greater focus on “black political

¹⁷² Ibid., 7.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 12-13.

¹⁷⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 7.

development” in the country as well as “greater black interest in the political process”¹⁷⁶ due, in part, to Jesse’s accomplishments. Martin began his speech “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics” by talking about the “dramatic and spectacular race of Jesse Jackson for the Democratic nomination.”¹⁷⁷ Jackson’s success, as well as others’ triumphs, were hardly a fluke. Martin saw genuine progress in the fact that there were over “5,600 black elected officials and some of the greatest cities in the country have black mayors.”¹⁷⁸ Jesse Jackson was one of a constellation of increasingly active and influential African Americans making contributions to the nation as a whole while simultaneously supporting minority advancement.

The nation was beginning to take notice of Blacks’ increased involvement in the politics of the country. According to Martin: “Black candidates, including the charismatic and eloquent Jesse Jackson, are forcing their way to national attention as never before.”¹⁷⁹ Note his use of the term “forcing,” which suggests the purposeful action Martin had been promoting all along. It also suggests a violent approach to recognition, which Martin did not advocate. Remember, for example, his assertion that radical Blacks’ angry rhetoric would frighten Whites. By “forcing” recognition of African American candidates instead of waiting for the elusive opportune moment, Jackson was agitating and moving ahead in a way Martin himself promoted. Jackson had been involved with the civil rights movement for a long time and a natural next step was to seek the Democratic nomination. Martin had a lot of faith in Jackson and in the progress Jackson represented. He felt the impact Jackson’s success was having on African Americans at the time was on parallel with that of Martin Luther King in the 1960s:

¹⁷⁶ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: black colleges, 4.

¹⁷⁷ Louis E. Martin, “Straws,” 1.

¹⁷⁸ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: black colleges, 4.

¹⁷⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 4.

Not since the days of Martin Luther King, has any black leader captured the imagination and support of the black masses as has Jesse Jackson. His candidacy for the Democratic nomination for President has provided him with a platform that is certain to have profound political repercussions in the general society. Part of his rationale for making the race as a long shot, dark horse candidate was to inspire registration efforts across the country.¹⁸⁰

Martin was qualified to make such assessments because he witnessed, participated in, and documented events when Martin Luther King was at the pinnacle of his power. He worked with King and others in his entourage in the 1960s and knew them, and their tactics, well. Jackson was doing what Martin had suggested others do: participate whole-heartedly in the process.

Martin evaluated that process again after the 1984 presidential election. In his speech at a symposium on the media and Blacks after that contest, Martin again pointed to Jackson as a driving force, explaining that even with some “hostile” media coverage, “Jesse vastly expanded his name recognition world wide and established his legitimacy as a credible candidate, fully able to hold his own in any debate and in any forum.”¹⁸¹ Martin used Jackson’s success to support his contention that African Americans could participate in politics the same way he pointed to Blacks’ success in previously unavailable positions, such as Cabinet posts.

Jesse Jackson’s portrayal in the media in the 1984 elections, according to Martin, “upset the black stereotypes and images to which so many whites cling. Jesse played a dramatic role on the national stage that, as one observer said, literally ‘blew the white mind.’”¹⁸² White people, Martin argued, had not fully considered the possibility that a minority individual could be so

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸¹ Louis E. Martin, “White House Perspective,” 3.

¹⁸² Ibid., 4-5.

successfully engaged in national affairs. Martin continued, “Jesse exhibited the kind of political leadership that has no parallel in our political history. His exploits made his rivals look dull and uninteresting. Further Jesse’s handling of the issues, foreign and domestic, revealed an intellectual capacity that astonished even the most hostile critics.”¹⁸³ As Martin had proclaimed all along, skin color was in no way indicative of mental abilities, and he found ample and remarkable evidence in Jesse Jackson. Jackson was going out into communities and educating the rank and file about the political process—teaching those people he encountered such that they could contribute their talents to solving community problems. While some may consider Jackson’s efforts a seedy part of campaigning, still the result was what Martin advocated: informed members of the community participating in the political process on the local, state, and national level.

Just as the rank and file voters needed to be educated about the political process so that they could become fully involved, Martin also saw how many Blacks needed education they could get from colleges and universities, specifically HBCUs, dedicated to training the next generation of young Blacks to solve social problems. Martin’s insistence on the importance of teaching and education was sporadically present in his early speeches, but his affiliation with Howard University in the 1980s led him to emphasize the importance of higher education for African Americans. It also afforded him an opportunity interact with other intellectuals who shared his goals.

4.4.3 Education

Martin spoke at Howard University a number of times during his assignment with President Carter. He joined Howard University in 1987. Martin’s speaking engagements at and

¹⁸³ Ibid., 5.

eventual job with Howard may have been the impetus for Martin's increased insistence on the importance of higher education to African Americans. He readily applied his knowledge of political circles to the educational environment—networking with a wide array of individuals who shared his sense of mission. Howard University is located in Washington D.C. Therefore, not only was Martin able to turn his attention to facilitating public relations with the University, he was also in a position to keep a close eye on the happenings in the political arena.

While he was at Howard, Martin was again acting as a rhetorical surrogate, but this time for Howard University's President, James E. Cheek. Martin was regularly dispatched to address audiences assembled at the college for different events, symposia, and conferences. In one speech to an assembly of people at Howard, based on a request from President Cheek, Martin began his remarks by telling the crowd about the university, since "so many Americans know Howard by name only."¹⁸⁴ Martin explained the history of the university and how "it was conceived as a true university" for the "newly freed men and women and their descendants"¹⁸⁵ since its founding. Note Martin's use of the word "true," which conveys the legitimacy of the institution. Martin used this argument by definition¹⁸⁶ to characterize Howard in this way to affirm the quality of the education there. This enhanced not only his assertion that education was a critical component of future success, it also helped Howard compete in matriculating promising Blacks since the mid-1980s when applications to HBCUs were on the rise.¹⁸⁷ Martin even opined to a group assembled at Howard that it was the "only true comprehensive black university"¹⁸⁸ with a plethora of different kinds of majors and added amenities like TV and radio stations—

¹⁸⁴ Louis E. Martin, Untitled speech at Howard University, (n.d., [1981-1983]), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Untitled: Howard n.d.

¹⁸⁵ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: Howard n.d., 1.

¹⁸⁶ For more on definition, see James Jasinski, "Definition/Definition of the Situation," in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001) 151-160.

¹⁸⁷ Steve Curwood, "Black Colleges Draw New Interest," *Boston Globe* 18 May 1986: 1.

¹⁸⁸ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: Howard n.d., 2.

significant to Martin due to his journalism background and knowledge about the power of media. Martin's use of the term "comprehensive" is also important because it points to the whole measures which he so consistently advocated.

Martin used his speaking opportunities at Howard as platforms to show that there were many qualified African Americans from different disciplines¹⁸⁹ who could lend their expertise to addressing the difficulties of the era. Martin at this time was still insisting upon the need for genuine opportunities for African Americans, and he found an opportunity in the education provided by Howard: "It has been demonstrated on this campus that where there is opportunity, there is progress."¹⁹⁰ As he had in the previous two eras of his public address, Martin analyzed the problems encountered by African American communities around the nation, but he continued to emphasize the fact that walking through the opened doors to take advantage of genuine opportunities afforded by a slightly less racist America was a means by which conditions would ultimately improve.

As he was when working with the Democrats, Martin was a partisan during his time at Howard, referencing it as the place where the careers of many exceptional African Americans and international luminaries were trained. Those he mentioned joined the ranks of those on the roll whom Martin regularly invoked as examples, including dignitaries such as Patricia Harris and Vernon Jordan. Howard's reach was broad and this reflected the import and relevance of the institution, as Martin explained: "beyond our national borders."¹⁹¹ An education from Howard was applicable on a world scale. What students learned at Howard was not only instrumental in America, but in other countries as well. The more minorities could learn from such institutions—

¹⁸⁹ Martin names "physicians, dentists, engineers, pharmacists, lawyers, architects and scholars in all fields" in this untitled speech at Howard University.

¹⁹⁰ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: Howard n.d., 5.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 2.

and there were “105 historically Black colleges in the country”¹⁹² at that time—the better. Martin warned his audience: “There is simply no substitute for intelligence. The old adage that what you don’t know won’t hurt you is, in my view, utterly incorrect.”¹⁹³ Martin advocated the importance of a person’s securing his or her education which would then facilitate communication with and understanding of other individuals. For example, remember Martin’s promotion of the Peace Corps as a way for young Blacks to learn pragmatic and communication skills they could call upon for the rest of their lives. Skilled, educated, and effective communicators were essential to begin to remedy problems in the nation. In fact, Martin said, if ever there were a time “when American needs more brains it is now.”¹⁹⁴ In this statement, Martin momentarily allows a moment of pessimism tempered with some cheek. Martin’s synecdoche, substituting a part, “brains,” for the whole, people, conveyed his basic message on the need for smart Blacks to be involved in solving the country’s problems while also supporting his insistence on the necessity of education, or “brains.” Martin was involved in sharing facts and knowledge from the very beginning of his career as a journalist, which actually started in high school. Howard was just one more lucrative venue he used to distribute knowledge. He tapped the talents of “cadres of academic experts”¹⁹⁵ just as he had people from other areas in public life. Academics from HBCUs, in particular, must act to ensure their own survival—just as Martin advised the rank and file African Americans.

In a planning session at Howard, Martin encouraged and supported the attendees by amplifying the importance of their work in the 1980s environment. He conveyed the importance of the task as follows: “Your agenda is of utmost importance to the survival of black colleges

¹⁹² Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: Howard 1982*, 2.

¹⁹³ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 6.

¹⁹⁴ Louis E. Martin, *Untitled: Howard 1982*, 3.

¹⁹⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Developing Linkages,” 5.

and universities in these times of economic cutbacks. If the majority of black students are denied financial assistance, not only their individual aspirations and goals are in jeopardy, but also the entire country is imperiled for the future.”¹⁹⁶ Cuts to education were just one of a series of policies Martin identified as problematic in the 1980s. Such cuts jeopardized the futures of the communities graduates might go on to serve. Martin suggested that HBCUs, in particular, would be instrumental in preparing future generations of African Americans to help struggling communities: “I believe that students who have the black college experience understand readily the political forces at work in black communities [sic] and they often get first hand experience on their college campuses. In the first place most our black elected officials are graduates of black colleges.”¹⁹⁷ Martin was a fan of reading and book learning, but he was also an astute observer of human behavior from a very young age. He suggested, therefore, that students’ hands-on participation in their communities would prove gratifying as well as educational. What they learned in the college context could then be applied to wherever they found themselves post-graduation. At that time, ideally, they would be responsible for continuing to expand the grassroots network of talented and concerned citizens.

4.4.4 The Politics of Inclusion, Expanded

In this era of his speechmaking, Martin was more likely than in past decades to talk about accomplishments of minority groups other than African Americans. In his speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Martin explained that the general media, in addition to their shoddy coverage of Blacks’ affairs on the national and international scale, were similarly

¹⁹⁶ Louis E. Martin, Speech at Planning Session on Networking Black Churches and Black Colleges/Universities, Howard University, (30 June 1982), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1981-1983], 1. Hereafter cited as Louis E. Martin, Planning Session.

¹⁹⁷ Louis E. Martin, Untitled: black colleges, 6.

asleep at the switch and did not notice the increasing influence of other, non-whites, namely “yellow people.”¹⁹⁸ In an editorial, Martin suggested these people, and others, were forces to be reckoned with as they outperformed “in many basic ways the industrial and technological efforts of the Anglo-Saxon nations.”¹⁹⁹ Martin’s mention of this showed yet one more of the many ways the general press failed to inform the public about the happenings of non-white communities. This points to Martin’s increasing interest, in this era, in the problems experienced by other minorities in America.

The failure of American mainstream journalists to report on these events served to prove Martin’s assertion that they failed in providing the most basic coverage, both before and after events, to be expected “from professional journalism.”²⁰⁰ These other minorities, like African Americans before them, were suffering from the “invisible man” or “out of sight out of mind” syndrome against which Martin fought. The reason people were uninformed was that “the media have been dominated exclusively by white males who come out of the same intellectual and cultural mold in a society that looks with some contempt upon the non-white world.”²⁰¹ Even as late as 1982, Martin called for integration to begin to remedy such oversights: “With blacks and other minorities in the news rooms, at least there would have been a greater sensitivity to the forces at work among minorities and among non-white people in this dynamic, changing world.”²⁰² Martin, in this case, was calling for “at least” some sensitivity, which contrasts to his usual insistence on full measures. This points to his pragmatism as well as the increase in his giving voice to pessimism. Martin witnessed change happening slowly, incrementally. In

¹⁹⁸ Louis E. Martin, ASNE, 7.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 9.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid., 10.

institutions such as the media, change was very slow indeed, but Martin still applauded the progress, and sought more. Martin named the groups to watch.

Martin was especially encouraged about the increase in involvement in the political process by other so-called minorities. He even pointed to other disenfranchised groups who were doing well to advance: “Other ethnic groups I [sic] have profited financially and otherwise by climbing the political ladder and we maybe [sic] a little late but we are going to climb that ladder too.”²⁰³ Again, Martin invoked the ladder metaphor to accompany his assessment. Martin promotes the pragmatic approach as always: to climb late is better than not at all, in this case. The point was to move, to act, to begin. Martin predicted:

I believe that we shall see a greater mobilization of black and minority voters in 1984 than at any time in American history. The magnitude of this growing political power will make it impossible for either major party to walk away from their responsibility to support the principles of equality and freedom which undergird our democracy.²⁰⁴

Martin held both parties to account. He did not give Democrats a pass. Regardless of party, Martin still sought politicians, judges, and civil servants too who would equitably apply the established laws.

Martin got even more specific when he told his audience about “the rise of Hispanic political consciousness and the upsurge of women for greater political clout.”²⁰⁵ Martin saw the spirit of these groups and the strides they had made as another possible coalition. The potential network had expanded beyond the traditional civil rights and urban groups so influential in previous years. Martin saw great potential in the increase in bodies: more voters,

²⁰³ Louis E. Martin, “White House Perspective,” 7.

²⁰⁴ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 9.

²⁰⁵ Louis E. Martin, “Straws,” 1.

In addition to the ideological groups, Blacks, Hispanics and women are pushing their special interests with more vigor and their numbers in the political system are growing astronomically. The political power of these groups is bound to grow. Under the leadership of black elected officials and charismatic candidates like Jessie [sic] Jackson, the political clout of blacks in the days ahead cannot be estimated.²⁰⁶

These groups were “pushing,” or agitating for change. They were gaining political significance because they demanded involvement. There were purposed people like Jackson who helped to rally enthusiasm.

Ultimately, Martin found cause for optimism during this era: “At long last the political train is moving and everyone is getting on board.”²⁰⁷ Martin had been agitating for movement, for progress all along, and he foresaw promise in the future. Success could be measured in the fact that “everyone” was finally on the train. That success led to an increase in Blacks’ responsibility to get and keep others on the moving train as well. Martin still encouraged his African American listeners to participate in the political process and become involved: that they were no longer getting “the short end of the stick.”²⁰⁸ Full measures, he assured them, were forthcoming, but there was still work to do. Martin reminded his audience: “The more political power we win the greater is our responsibility to use it to lift the masses of our people who do not have jobs, do not have true equality of opportunity and who are still penalized because of the color of their skin.”²⁰⁹ In an interconnected network such as the one Martin envisioned, people helped each other to succeed so that the entire community reaped the benefits. Martin saw this as

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 6.

²⁰⁷ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 7.

²⁰⁸ Louis E. Martin, “White House Perspective,” 7.

²⁰⁹ Louis E. Martin, “Millender,” 8.

fundamental to democracy. Making conditions better, even equitable, for the most downtrodden souls could do nothing but improve conditions for everybody else. In each era he found himself, Martin dared “to draw a wider circle and bring others in.”²¹⁰ This was consistent with his early aim to get all of the horses in the race: the more people with different gifts involved in American democracy, the more legitimate and genuine that democracy would become.

Martin’s last speeches demonstrate how his prescription for change stayed largely the same as in the two previous eras of his public address, but did evolve in accordance with the decades in which he was working. Martin was so forthright and honest that he could not help but express his concern for the change in the tone of America once President Reagan entered the White House. Ultimately, he was slightly more optimistic about George H. W. Bush than Reagan, but still ever watchful. To give voice to his and others’ pessimism was simply to acknowledge the climate in which he and others had to work. He pointed to examples of people engaging the system peacefully to attempt to engender change, such as Jesse Jackson, and saw hope. He now knew, having spent time on the other side of the desk, how valuable education was not only to gain technical skills, but also to gain people skills. It would take all kinds of individuals with similar ideas about social justice and equality working together to make real progress and begin, as he asserted they were still at the beginning, to “move this mountain of racism.”²¹¹ The “mountain” had, indeed, been moved under Martin’s watch, but foothills remained that still needed focused attention.

4.5 After the Last Speech...

Martin’s last available speech to the Ford Foundation in March of 1990 was followed by a flurry of editorials for the *Chicago Defender*. He looked at the presidential election of 1992

²¹⁰ Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation, 2.

²¹¹ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 3, Howard University, 02 May 1985, 18.

with a measure of skepticism: “Blacks have been fooled by phony leaders, white and Black, for so long that today it is not easy to win their support.”²¹² Martin continued: “There is a new skepticism that asserts itself whenever cooperation between races is suggested. Deeds, not words, count more than ever.”²¹³ Martin was still agitating for action and used pointed rhetoric in that exercise. Regarding Bill Clinton, who would become America’s so-called “first black president,”²¹⁴ Martin began cautiously, writing that Clinton “has to prove he admires and likes Blacks.”²¹⁵ Candidate Clinton succeeded in this regard based on exit polls among African American voters at the time.²¹⁶ As he had with the other presidents he closely watched in office, Martin similarly kept abreast of President Clinton’s activities. Clinton made regular appearances in Martin’s editorials along with other key figures both of the time and from times past.²¹⁷

Louis Emanuel Martin died on 27 January 1997 at the age of 84 in California. His passing was detailed and mourned in many different publications.²¹⁸ Martin’s biography, written

²¹² Louis E. Martin, “Candidates Must Be Accountable,” *Chicago Defender* 21 Mar. 1992: 16.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Toni Morrison, “Talk of the Town: Comment,” *New Yorker* 05 October 1998, <http://www.newyorker.com/archive/1998/10/05/1998_10_05_031_TNY_LIBRY_000016504?currentPage=1>. Of course, this characterization of Bill Clinton as the nation’s first black president is contested. See, for example: George E. Curry, “Bill Clinton Was Never Our First Black President,” *Chicago Defender* 30 Jan. 2008: 10. George Curry asserts: “Toni Morrison started this nonsense.”

²¹⁵ Louis E. Martin, “The Gravediggers and ‘Spin Doctors,’” *Chicago Defender* 04 Apr. 1992: 14.

²¹⁶ See, for example, “Blacks Support Clinton,” *Sacramento Observer* 18 Mar. 1992: A-1.

²¹⁷ See, for example, Louis E. Martin, “Clinton Looks Back On King,” *Chicago Defender* 20 Nov. 1993: 16.

²¹⁸ See the following: Larry Aubry, “Journalist Louis Martin: Multifaceted Legacy,” *Sentinel* 29 May 1997: A, 7:1.; Bart Barnes, “Louis E. Martin Dies at 84; A Leader in Black Politics,” *Washington Post* 29 Jan. 1997: B08.; James Booker, “All About People,” *New York Voice, Inc. Harlem USA* 30 Apr. 1997: 3.; David S. Broder, “Adviser To Presidents,” *The Sacramento Bee* 20 Apr. 1997, metro final ed.: FO.4.; David S. Broder, “A Journalist, Democratic Activist, and ‘Inside Agitator,’” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* 20 Apr. 1997, final a.m. ed.: 5.; David S. Broder, “An ‘Inside Agitator’ for Blacks,” *The Record* 21 Apr. 1997: A12.; David S. Broder, “Another Hero Noted As Leader,” *San Antonio Express-News* 22 Apr. 1997, Alamo ed.: 7B.; David S. Broder, “Louis Martin: A Tiger in the Democratic Party,” *Tulsa World* 20 Apr. 1997, final home ed.: G6.; David S. Broder, “Louis Martin, Inside Agitator,” *Washington Post News Feed* 20 Apr. 1997: C7.; David S. Broder, “Reflections on a Tiger, Louis Martin, Overlooked Hero,” *Denver Post* 20 Apr. 1997: G03.; Edward L. Cardenas, “Louis Martin, Newspaper Editor, Adviser to Democratic Presidents,” *Detroit News* 31 Jan. 1997, final ed.: 2C.; “First Chronicle Editor Dies,” *Michigan Chronicle* 05 Feb. 1997: 1A.; “Godfather Of Black Politics Dies,” *New Pittsburgh Courier* 01 Feb. 1997: A1.; “‘Godfather of black politics’ Louis Martin dies,” *Chicago Defender* 29 Jan. 1997: 5.; Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart, “The Reliable Source: Remembering Louis Martin,” *Washington Post* 15 April 1997: D03.; Kenan Heise, “Louis E. Martin, 84, Adviser to Presidents,” *Chicago Tribune* 30 Jan. 1997: 2C, 11: 2.; Neil A. Lewis, “Louis E.

by Alex Poinsett, was published and released shortly after Martin's death to much acclaim. In the tributes to Martin, people remembered him for his forthright demeanor, consistent hard work, and his capacity to work with all kinds of people. Martin consistently promoted other people for positions of power while demanding nothing for himself. He consistently contributed to local, national, and international communities with the ultimate goal of extending the promise America to all Americans, particularly those who had been denied first-class citizenship. Martin watched, documented, and considered the progress of civil rights from his time as a boy growing up in segregated Savannah until he was in his 80s living in California. While Martin always saw that there was more to be done, he knew change for the better was at hand, telling his final audience, "Time is on our side."²¹⁹

Martin, 84, Aide to 3 Democratic Presidents," *New York Times* 30 Jan. 1997: 21.; Neil A. Lewis, "Louis E. Martin, Age 84, Liaison to Blacks for JFK, LBJ, Carter," *Rocky Mountain News* 31 Jan. 1997: 14b.; "Louis E. Martin, 84, Influential Political Adviser," *Orange County Register* 31 Jan. 1997, Morning Ed.: B07.; "Louis E. Martin Adviser to Three Presidents, Earned the Nickname of 'Godfather of Black Politics,'" *The Sacramento Bee* 30 Jan. 1997, metro final ed.: B.5.; "Louis E. Martin, 'Godfather of Black Politics,' Dead at Age 84." *Sentinel* 06 Feb. 1997: A, 14:1.; "Louis E. Martin, Presidential Adviser," *Chicago Sun-Times* 30 Jan. 1997: 57.; "Louis Martin, 84 NNPA Founder," *Afro-American Red Star* 12 Apr. 1997: A, 9:1.; "Martin, 84, Adviser to Three Democratic Presidents," *Daily News* 30 Jan. 1997: N16.; "Memorial Service April 19th for HU Administrator," *Atlanta Daily World* 13 Apr. 1997: 5.; Askia Muhammad, "Martin, Goodlett: Good Bye, Good Men!," *Washington Informer* 19 Feb. 1997: 18.; "Opinions on Current Reading: Remembering the Godfather of Black Politics," *The Journal of Blacks In Higher Education* 30 June 1977: 135.; Samuel F. Yetts, "Carlton Goodlett, Louis Martin Leave Their Mark," *Philadelphia Tribune* 07 Feb. 1997: 2-A.

²¹⁹ Louis E. Martin, Ford Foundation, 1.

5 LOUIS E. MARTIN IN PERSPECTIVE

“In my experience, perseverance is more important than passion for political success.”¹

In the preceding chapters, I have presented Louis E. Martin’s rhetoric chronologically. From his first available speech in 1961 to his last in 1990, Martin consistently promoted strategies he believed would empower African Americans and other minorities to participate more fully in the political processes fundamental to American democracy. Regardless of the era and the problems the country was facing, Martin was at heart an optimist. We can see how he used that optimism to prompt his audiences to action to improve race relations and secure genuine first-class citizenship for African Americans. He did so through what he called agitating, or agitative rhetoric.

This type of rhetoric is designed to produce movement, or action. Martin used words to persuade and motivate people to take on the tasks and responsibilities that would improve conditions not only for themselves but for other minorities in America. Some of what he proposed was linked to policies put forth by the presidents he served: FDR, but primarily Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter. He promoted, or “sold,” the programs that would most benefit those to whom he spoke. Martin referred to what he was selling to various audiences as propaganda. His particular brand of propaganda had its foundation in historical truths: that African Americans had been treated unfairly throughout the country’s history due to the dominant, yet fatally flawed, myth of white supremacy. Martin recounted the history of Blacks in America not because they needed to be reminded of that hard history, but rather to encourage them to act to capitalize on increasing opportunities. Martin was in the business of distributing

¹ Louis E. Martin, “Up Front: Now Is The Time To Get Excited,” *Chicago Defender* 15 Oct. 1988: 24.

information and facts about opportunities to people who had few opportunities on which to capitalize. He was most concerned about the “rank and file” African Americans still struggling to succeed in America well after the civil rights movement.

From the very start, Martin wanted to provide details about policies, plans, and actions undertaken by lawmakers and other community organizers. In this way, the people he was agitating for could, ideally, begin to realize success and the American dream. Martin’s own dream of genuine equality for all Americans was fueled by his ardent belief in the power of the political process, which he expressed throughout his life and texts. Martin characterized the political process by focusing on registration and voting, and the appointment and election of people of color, specifically African Americans, to positions of power in local, state and federal government. These elected officials were particularly important due to their capacity to make policy. The representatives, of course, were put in office by the voters. Martin was particularly insistent on the necessity of voting. Throughout the decades, Martin wanted to increase the number of votes cast by African Americans.

The foundation of the political process, for Martin, was the vote. He advocated the importance of African Americans implementing the very real power of their strength in numbers by getting to the polls on election days. He not only suggested this action; he also participated himself by talking to various groups about the registration process and encouraging them to look to other successful ventures to begin or better organize their own vote drives.

Combined with the power of the vote, for Martin, was the power of the dollar. As time progressed and the American economy became more of a topic of conversation, Martin’s texts naturally tended to include that focus as well—particularly as it impacted African Americans. From the beginning, he urged his audience members to spend their money wisely. He discussed

the need for education about financial matters. His focus on the economy and the dollar naturally led him to address issues like the need for jobs for Blacks across the nation. Martin found successes in the numerous African American entrepreneurs who had started and maintained successful businesses—some even benefitting from government contracts.

In addition to voting and spending wisely, Martin was similarly emphatic throughout these speeches about the need for minority representation in government. It was one of Martin's noteworthy accomplishments that he facilitated the placement of many African Americans into government jobs Blacks had never before held. Martin's original call for representation of minorities in government was to begin to remedy the out-of-sight out-of-mind problem he felt characterized Blacks' issues. That is, because there was limited minority representation in the halls of government, there was a corresponding lack of attention to issues most important to minority populations. Had African Americans, in particular, been more involved in policy making, he reasoned, then more attention would necessarily have been paid to their concerns.

Martin relentlessly agitated for the inclusion of Blacks in all levels of government as well as the judiciary. He began, of course, with the local level and grassroots organization so characteristic of the civil rights movement. In his speeches, he regularly honors those people who had made great contributions to their communities. As time and opportunities progressed, Martin's focus was not only on installing lawmakers, but also in the appointment of African Americans to judicial positions. These jobs were particularly thrilling for Martin because they often represented lifelong appointments. Again, with minority figures in positions of power, the chances for attention to those issues that most concerned communities of color was all but guaranteed.

Martin communicated with his audiences using a style of pragmatic argument that was particularly well suited to the task at hand: employing proven methods to continue to secure real equality and first-class citizenship for African Americans. Instead of platitudes about what America was supposed to deliver to her constituents of color, Martin promoted and detailed pragmatic strategies whereby those who heard and read his views could get involved in the political process and start to challenge the status quo. While his concern was mainly for African Americans, Martin bolstered his pragmatic argument by pointing to the fact that what he suggested would be beneficial for all Americans, not just Blacks.

He used argument by example to show how some African Americans had already succeeded in their fields—from educators to legislators to writers to entertainers. By naming people who had made great strides, Martin accomplished a few things. First, he praised those who deserved to be noticed. As Martin often said, the accomplishments of African Americans were largely uncovered by the mainstream press. A journalist by trade, Martin used the many channels at his command to provide people the recognition they had earned and deserved. Also, by naming these people, Martin expanded the potential network of interconnected officials. By identifying people and their roles in government, or law, or communities, those who heard and read his addresses after the fact could begin to seek out those people and apply their talents to problem-solving efforts. Martin addressed those problems, such as the consistent struggle for progress, using vivid rhetoric.

Based on the content of his speeches, people in Martin's audiences were likely very familiar with and invested in the process of "moving the mountain of racism."² These individuals were members of groups Martin regularly consulted for their leadership and wealth of human resources. Martin addressed American audiences composed of young, middle-aged, and old

² Louis E. Martin, Interview by Ed Edwin, Session 3, Howard University, 02 May 1985, 18.

warriors (consistent with his frequent battle metaphors) in a bid to enlist as many people as possible to participate in his vision of the political process. Martin's naming of these pioneers may be characterized as "calling the roll." Those esteemed people on the roll were both examples and evidence of Martin's contention that skin color was an absurd measure of a person's potential and was most certainly not an impediment to a person's success in whatever endeavor he or she chose. Martin did not necessarily count himself as part of the roll, but he did impress upon his various audiences that he, like them, was interested in making real sustained progress in the ongoing civil rights struggle—even as late as 1990 when there was still work to be done. Martin impressed upon his audience the obligation they had, as leaders from political and fraternal and civil organizations, to help others up the ladder—to get far past that first rung upon which he repeatedly claimed they were always poised.

This points to a rhetorical problem of sorts in Martin's addresses. While he was certainly a great proponent for the nation's African Americans, it seemed that no matter the decade, he often suggested that they were still at the very start of beginning to secure real equality in America. Even as late as 1990, Martin was still encouraging his listeners and readers to take the step through the door or up the ladder to begin to make things better for themselves. He pointed to people and organizations and programs that could help along the way. But, to Martin, the individual and his or her agency were particularly important. He often said that Blacks could not just hop on an elevator and "rise to the level of their expectations."³ Instead, it would take personal fortitude, commitment, and, above all else, persistence to get ahead.

³ See Louis E. Martin, Speech to Alpha Phi Alpha, (06 Jan. 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 12, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Jan-Apr 1979, 10. See also Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Cook County Bar, (23 June 1979), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 13, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, June-July 1979, 13. See also Louis E. Martin, "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy," (n.d., [Feb-Oct 1984]), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 8, Folder 1, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Feb.-Oct. 1984, 6.

Obviously, I greatly admire Louis Martin and his consistently direct, pragmatic, and optimistic style of addressing and dealing with persistent problems of race relations in the United States. However, if pressed to name weaknesses in Martin's approach (in addition to his perpetual first-rung of the ladder rhetoric), I might point to his limited association, based on the collected speeches, with actual rank and file Blacks; his own skewed views of racism in America based on his experiences; and his tendency to ignore things that did not support his own personal vision, such as more militant approaches to "Black Power."

First, aside from his speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League, these speeches suggest Martin really only dealt with movers and shakers—again, as far as these speeches reveal. Perhaps he did work more directly with average African Americans, but we cannot tell from the texts. This suggests he expected those to whom he was speaking to work with the rank and file to implement all the policies and procedures he detailed. His possible lack of direct access to those people he most wanted to help may be considered a weakness. That is, maybe Martin did not really understand the rank and file as well as he thought.⁴ Remember that as the son of a doctor, albeit in Savannah, Martin's experience was necessarily different than those Blacks who were less well-connected to their communities. Martin's assessment of the real conditions of the rank and file was informed by his life experience of those people, which leads to another possible limitation in Martin's rhetoric: his own views on racism.

Remember from Martin's first entry into the academic world in Michigan that he admitted he was rather confused on matters of race—that he regularly came and went without regard to which places may still be segregated, or at the very least unwelcoming to Blacks.

⁴ Similar criticism has been leveled at W. E. B. Du Bois, whom Martin often quoted. David Levering Lewis wrote about a review of Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk*, where the reviewer asserted, "The fatal flaw [...] was said to be that its author was a sophisticated Northerner with only a superficial understanding of Southern black people and the history of the South." David Levering Lewis, Introduction to the Centennial Edition of *The Souls of Black Folk*. *The Souls of Black Folk*. By W. E. B. Du Bois. (New York: The Modern Library, 2003) xxx.

Martin's optimism may have also done a disservice to his overall assessment of the real nature of racism in the U.S. over the years he was writing. That is, he often asserted that Whites no longer believed Blacks were inferior based on the very real strides Blacks were making in various areas of public life. Such a stance assumed not only that Whites were paying attention, but also that racism was gradually fading in United States' communities. Perhaps this was true in the circles Martin found himself, largely composed of elites who had, for the most part, overcome racism with their own wits, savvy, and determination. While he was quick to point fingers at people in positions of power who were wearing racist beliefs on their sleeves, perhaps he was not as quick to notice the lingering racial disgust and distrust among some of the Whites in the United States—not just in the South. This points to another potential weakness—Martin's sometimes selective focus on events and issues.

Remember that Martin chose to emphasize the progress he saw around him. While he did not ignore the major events of the times in which he wrote, he did sometimes ignore things that did not fully support his vision. For example, when he reported on a contentious meeting between president Johnson and the black press and chose to focus on the positive aspects of that meeting rather than the heated discussions on the topic of Vietnam.⁵ Another example was his insistence that Malcolm X was largely created by Haley and the media, and he therefore did not give much weight to Malcolm X's suggestions for implementing change. Similarly, he realized the import and real progress of Martin Luther King's strategies of non-resistance, but Martin himself consistently agitated for purposeful agitative action to secure results. That said, Louis

⁵ Lawrence Allen Eldridge mentions an episode where Martin characterized a meeting between LBJ and the black press with a "very positive spin," while utterly neglecting to mention "rancorous exchanges" in the meeting about Vietnam. Eldridge writes, "Vietnam was a discordant note, which Martin elected to omit from his summary." Lawrence Allen Eldridge, *Chronicles of a Two-Front War: Civil Rights and Vietnam in the African American Press* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011) 147. For more on Johnson's seeking Martin's help on Vietnam, see "Two in One," *St. Louis Argus* 28 Apr. 1967: 12.

Martin was not necessarily a huge fan of the incremental politics best applied to bring about change in Blacks' lives, but he realized the necessity of those politics. He focused on those portions of the system which could be changed and which held the most promise for improving the lives of Blacks in the United States and left the other elements to be sorted out by other political players and civic watchdogs. The key was, in all the eras he spoke, to get all Americans involved, particularly Blacks, in the political processes of American democracy.

Martin called for the inclusion of "all our horses on the track,"⁶ by which he meant that he wanted to secure the involvement of every major and minor player he could in his strategy for improving race relations, civil rights, and establishing a more equitable political process. This call for all the "horses" was in line with his consistent insistence on a genuine politics of inclusion. Diversity among people participating in the political process was imperative to beginning to secure genuine equality in the United States. Furthermore, the inclusion of more diverse minority Americans in political and judicial circles could challenge those interests largely championed by Whites that had for far too long exercised absolute influence upon American politics.

Martin himself was instrumental in increasing the scope of African Americans' involvement in the political realm due to his association with United States presidents. From his brief stint with FDR to his long association with Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter, Martin used his extensive network of contacts to populate the posts of government and even the judiciary with qualified African American candidates. His expertise in finding the right person for any job was sought out not only by presidents but also by educators and other groups long after he left Washington D.C. Martin exercised his talents in settings from the Oval Office to the streets of

⁶ Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1997) 83.

Detroit and other major cities. In any environment, one of Martin's strengths was his ability to communicate and work with people from many different backgrounds. His forthright demeanor and agitative techniques were always implemented in the service of the ultimate goal: more inclusion, equality, and access to the American dream for African Americans.

Martin's consistent insistence on the power of the political process and his never ending plea to get African Americans involved in political and judicial venues did not abate over time. From the 1960s to the 1990s, he continued to press for registration, voting, the wise use of the dollar, and the appointment or election of Blacks to public office and the courts. While the civil rights movement and race relations in general may have gotten better over his eighty plus years of life, Martin would assert even today with our first African American president, President Barack Obama, that there is more work to be done.

5.1 Locating Louis Martin

This dissertation on the rhetoric of Louis E. Martin began as a study of President John F. Kennedy and civil rights. The more I consulted the civil rights literature, the more I realized that Kennedy did not make much headway in the advance of civil rights for a number of reasons. I also noticed that Martin's name kept appearing in various contexts—some of them quite important to the overall civil rights struggle, such as when he persuaded Kennedy to call Coretta Scott King about Martin Luther King's imprisonment in Georgia, which then led to a larger share of Blacks' votes for candidate Kennedy in 1960. My subsequent research showed that Martin had not yet been considered by a rhetorical critic. Unfortunately, there has been little scholarly attention to Martin at all. Alex Poinsett, of course, detailed Martin's career and influence in his book *Walking with Presidents*, and while there were mentions of Martin's one published speech and journalistic accounts therein, Poinsett largely focused on Martin's biography—how he went

from a boy growing up in segregated Savannah, Georgia to a presidential advisor in Washington D.C. to an academic to serving on various boards and organizations. Poinsett's book was obviously essential to my study of Martin.

As far as I have been able to determine, Martin's published public address was limited to the one speech on the one hundred years since the Emancipation Proclamation in Roy L. Hill's book *The Rhetoric of Racial Hope*. Fortunately, there were many more original Martin speeches to discover. By bringing these speeches out of the Library of Congress and the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library files and into my project, I have completed an act of rhetorical recovery. Martin's speeches are worthy of analysis for many reasons. First, they contain a record of civil rights history over the course of four decades from a perspective both inside and outside the Washington establishment. Martin's speeches are similarly worthy of analysis due to his profound effect on the lives and careers of many other African Americans who were catapulted to positions of power due to Martin's networking and promotion of their talents. Because Martin was not in the business of "selling" propaganda on his own behalf, and because he was sincerely more interested in improving the lives of the so-called rank and file African Americans, he was decidedly absent from the spotlight, unlike many of the more flamboyant and controversial orators also related to the civil rights and Black Power movements. Therefore, information about Martin is slim while his influence on black politics and civil rights is profound. I hope that my dissertation and the appendices listing Martin's editorials as well as his public address may serve as a resource for future scholars of public address, civil rights, and Louis Martin himself.

My analysis of Martin's texts was necessarily informed by my own life experience, as I explained in the first chapter when I covered Edwin Black's emic approach to rhetorical criticism. Because of my experiences, I necessarily view Martin's main points through my own

“lens.” Granted, this lens is largely influenced by my majority demographic. What I have detailed here is what is most apparent to me about Martin’s rhetoric. I look forward to other scholars’ interpretations of his work from their own perspectives. For me, the focus fell naturally on the power of his spoken rhetoric to convey his ultimate and pragmatic plan for securing first-class citizenship for African Americans. There were many characteristics of his rhetoric worth highlighting.

5.2 Rhetorical Features

The rhetorical features I chose to foreground in this study included the themes Martin consistently used, his pragmatic argument about the best tools for the messy job of political participation, his use of metaphors, his calling the roll of influential persons, his unabashed assessment of events around him, and his heart-warming optimism.

Martin’s speeches from 1961 to 1990 reflect consistent themes he used most often to convey his message. Those themes featured, first and foremost, his ardent belief in the efficacy of the political process for African American advancement. Martin must have believed in the power of the process or he would not have been such a relentless advocate of getting as many African Americans as possible registered and to the polls on election days. The vote, one of the tools he called upon, and the dollar were other features of his rhetoric that were impossible to overlook as often as they came up. This repetition was act of rhetorical amplification—a hallmark of Martin’s rhetoric. Over the course of forty years of speeches, he consistently and regularly called on his audiences and those they represented to move, to act, to agitate on their own behalf and get involved in the process. While that prescription was not necessarily as simple as he may have made it sound, and while the system was still full of bigots and racists adverse to change, Martin prescribed active engagement to change the system from the inside.

While Martin was anxious to include all African Americans in the political process from voting to holding office and optimistic about their doing so, he still had to attend to practical matters. His use of pragmatic argument and argument from example are also strong features of his public address. Martin did not rely on platitudes about what America was supposed to offer to all her citizens. Instead, he presented the facts and figures of daily life for people of color in America and how they were consistently getting short shrift—well into the end of the twentieth century. He recognized the shortcomings and suggested practical measures to overcome the problems in the very system he encouraged Blacks to become a part of. He had to challenge myths of African Americans' identity and the lie of white supremacy in the process. Calling on those in his audience and beyond to act on their own behalf was his consistent tactic. He made his proposals accessible to his audience with the use of metaphors.

A prominent feature of Martin's idiolect was his consistent use of metaphor. From winds of change, to ladders of success, to doors of opportunity, to elevators of expectations, Martin employed these metaphors to make abstract concepts he was selling to his audience more concrete. He also used these metaphors because of the movement they suggested. For example, to "climb" the political ladder required personal agency and action. While Martin did acknowledge the successes of the protests of the 1960s, he also recognized that climbing could not be accomplished by means of a sit-in or other passive tactic. To agitate, as Martin did with his words and actions, is to move and induce changes. By comparing the struggles of minority Americans to purposeful actions like climbing a ladder or walking through a door, Martin made his calls for action more understandable. Instead of focusing on the nebulous concept of the political process and how his audiences should get involved, Martin had concrete examples he

used to promote his plans. Better still, he had names of African American men and women who had successfully entered that process and all other aspects of American life.

In his regular coverage of what Blacks should be doing to secure greater advantages, Martin was always willing to tell others about the successful African Americans, men and women, who were already working to make changes to the status quo, which had failed to serve the needs of minority and poor Americans adequately. By “calling the roll,” Martin accomplished a few different things: first, he gave credit where credit was due, which was so important to him, particularly because, as he asserted, the mainstream press was not terribly interested in announcing the gains and achievements of people of color. Also, he provided those who heard his speeches with real human contacts they could tap to access resources for their own benefit. Martin regularly commented on how the lack of knowledge and understanding precluded Blacks’ seizing opportunities that were available to them. By naming names and explaining where these people were in spheres of influence, he continued to build that network of souls necessary to begin to challenge the status quo. He also called on these influential people to impress upon his audience that they were an integral part of a long tradition of striving for equality and justice in America. Their contributions were just as great, important, and necessary as those of Martin Luther King, W. E. B. Du Bois and myriad others he called upon to lend their ethos to his plans.

One of the most interesting features of Martin’s idiolect, consistent with his propensity to name the important players who he used as positive examples of what could be done in the ongoing struggle for civil rights, was his straightforward and sometimes blunt style. From the early days when he was a journalist in Detroit and Chicago to his later years in Washington D.C., Martin rarely sugar-coated the issues he saw before him. He used his own voice to assess those

issues; but he also made use of a Nigerian persona, Dr. Onabanjo, to fully exploit the realities of race relations in America. Those issues were costing many African Americans their guaranteed freedoms and status as equal citizens in the country. The problems of employment, housing, violence, and so on, and the people they impacted were far too important for a gentle approach. Given the seriousness of his goal of radical inclusion for all Americans in the country regardless of skin color, he took the direct and sometimes abrasive approach.

Martin systematically recounted the often troubling facts of the African American condition in the U.S. from the 1930s to the 1990s in the journalistic style in which he was trained. He acknowledged the barriers and obstacles keeping African Americans from enjoying the fruits of America to which they were clearly entitled. He provided pragmatic strategies and identified talented individuals who could, had, or were poised to make a difference in overcoming those difficulties. He encouraged the downtrodden and disenfranchised to recognize their profound worth, and he acted in their best interests by becoming involved in the very system that oppressed them. Martin was an enthusiastic cheerleader for many people and causes. He was an unrepentant optimist and found cause for celebration at every turn, even when others were giving in to cynicism. These are the features most apparent to me in Martin's rhetoric. Other scholars will surely, hopefully, find different features for analysis which resonate with them. I look forward to many more interpretations of Martin's texts.

5.3 Directions for Future Study

Over his lengthy career, Louis E. Martin produced a staggering amount of written and spoken material. As evidenced by the lists of his speeches, articles, and interviews contained in the appendices of this document, there is plenty of material for other scholars to consider.

First, I have covered Martin's speeches in a very broad way here. In the future, a more sustained and detailed analysis of *a* speech or a smaller group of speeches would certainly be merited. Next, Martin's journalistic texts would lend themselves to increasing knowledge about the African American press in general, and the black press' role in facilitating political involvement in particular. Martin's editorials could similarly be mined for information about other key yet unsung heroes in the sustained struggle for civil rights. His lengthy and numerous interviews could be analyzed for information about the political process and African American politics over the course of time. Martin's hand-written memoirs, held by the Library of Congress, could provide us with more information about him to supplement Alex Poinsett's work. Again, I hope the information I have provided in this project may assist somebody else in his or her own study of Louis E. Martin.

5.4 Martin's Vision...Still Worth Seeking

In an interview Martin gave with Alex Poinsett at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Martin revealed his ideal conception of an inclusive American democracy. He said: "But all my political life, there was always a Rainbow Coalition concept in the back of my mind. I figured, in this whole civil rights movement, unless we had some whites and blacks together we wouldn't get nowhere. And we did that."⁷ Due to Martin's efforts, many African Americans "got there." With his help, countless individuals entered into the public sector and gave their talents to America and all the different kinds of people who live here. Martin was a doer—he called upon numerous individuals from many areas of the country to work with him to build coalitions with the ultimate goal of improving conditions for Blacks in America.

⁷ Louis E. Martin, Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 02 Dec. 1991, in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 13, Folder 7, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (3 of 3), 46.

While he was ruthless in his assessment of people, goals, and methods, Martin did not preclude teaming up with individuals based on their race, particularly the “liberal whites” he so often talked about in his editorials and speeches. In his calls for action, he was realistic, explaining that successful coalition building was rooted in civility.⁸ Martin had witnessed and documented the tactics of Malcolm X, Louis Farrakhan, members of the Black Panthers, student activists, and other so-called “radicals” and realized, “Blacks are not going to win the support of whites with loud, strident, frightening rhetoric.”⁹ Just as harsh words would not do much to force change, Martin believed that passive resistance would not continue to work either. Martin used the power of agitative rhetoric and persuasion for his own purposes—to begin to draw that ever-wider circle of inclusion, words must be supplemented by actions. People had to work together for understanding and find common ground to solve societal problems that affected all Americans. Martin stressed the importance of everyone’s involvement: “The politics of inclusion is more likely to bring victory than a policy of divide and conquer.”¹⁰ From Martin’s vantage point, division had for far too long plagued American society.

Though Martin was privy to the power of the presidency given his close association with presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter, he recognized the limitations of what the president could do to secure civil rights for all of his constituents. He understood the political process was difficult to navigate and one’s status did not always guarantee positive and progressive results. Therefore, Martin suggested that the disenfranchised people work to capitalize on the opportunities at their disposal and secure their rights themselves—not to wait or to “sit on their hands.” He saw the real possibility of fulfilling his ultimate dream through the hard work and dedication of every American: “We can win first class [sic] citizenship for ourselves and

⁸ Louis E. Martin, “Sensible Politics,” *Chicago Defender* 15 Apr. 1989: 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

strengthen democracy for everyone, regardless of race, color or creed.”¹¹ While Martin was, first and foremost, and advocate for Blacks, he wanted America to flourish as a whole—all her citizens.

Were Martin alive today, he might be encouraged about the election and re-election of the nation’s first African American president, President Barack Obama. African Americans turned out for Barack Obama in the numbers Martin consistently hoped for: in 2008 approximately 16.6 million African Americans cast their votes in the election, and ninety-five percent of them voted for Obama.¹² In the presidential election of 2012, 16.68 million African Americans voted¹³ and of that number ninety-three percent of them voted for Barack Obama.¹⁴ Even with the successful re-election of our first African American president, we continue to have episodes of racial violence, discreet and overt racism, and growing stratification between the haves and have-nots in twenty-first century America. Martin would most certainly say there is still more work to do to improve race relations and secure first-class citizenship for American minority constituents. We must all be involved in securing the promise of America for each one of her citizens, regardless of color. We can look to the words of Louis E. Martin, a great American rhetor, to identify a few promising areas where we can focus our collective effort.

¹¹ Louis E. Martin, Speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League, Atlanta, GA, (25 Jan. 1962), in Library of Congress, Louis Martin Papers, Box 7, Folder 9, Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968, 6.

¹² David A. Bostis, “Blacks and the 2008 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis,” December 2008, 15 Feb. 2013 <<http://www.jointcenter.org/research/blacks-and-the-2008-elections-a-preliminary-analysis>>. See also Tasha S. Philpot, Daron R. Shaw, and Ernest B. McGowen, “Winning the Race: Black Voter Turnout in the 2008 Presidential Election,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73.5 (2009): 995.

¹³ David A. Bostis, “Blacks and the 2012 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis,” Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, December 2012. 15 Feb. 2013 <<http://www.jointcenter.org/sites/default/files/upload/research/files/Bostis-Election%202012%20-%20merged.pdf>>.

¹⁴ Freddie Allen, “Blacks Key to Obama’s Victory,” Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 13 Nov. 2012, 15 Feb. 2013 <<http://www.jointcenter.org/newsroom/in-the-news/blacks-key-to-obamas-victory>>.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Speeches By Louis E. Martin

This is a list of Louis Martin's speeches I have identified and collected to-date. It is arranged chronologically.

Appendix A.1 1960s

Martin, Louis E. "Along the New Frontier." Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo. 12 April

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---. Speech in St. Louis. 30 September 1961. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 9. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1961-1968.

---. Speech to the Atlanta Negro Voters League. 25 January 1962. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 9. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1961-1968.¹

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¹ The original document has a notation about the date of this speech: [1961?]. Articles in the *Atlanta Daily World* suggest he may have delivered the speech in 1962. See "Louis Martin To Address Meeting of Voters League," *Atlanta Daily World* 16 Jan. 1962: 1.; "Louis Martin To Address Voters League Annual Meet Thursday Night at Central," *Atlanta Daily World* 21 Jan. 1962: 1.

- . Speech to the DNC Minorities and Nationalities Division. 1967. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 9. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1961-1968.
- . Untitled speech on “social crises unique to our nation,” n.d. [1968?] In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8, Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated.
- . “Remarks by Louis Martin Deputy Chairman Democratic National Committee at the Colorado State Young Democrats Convention. Denver, Colorado. 27 April 1968. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 9. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1961-1968.

Appendix A.2 1970s

- Martin, Louis E. Untitled speech to the National Association of Market Developers. n.d. (24 Apr. 1970?). In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Undated.
- . “Winds of Change.” Annual meeting of the Associated Harvard Alumni, Harvard Commencement. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 11 June 1970. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 10. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1970-1977.
- . “How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community.” University of Chicago. Chicago, IL. 19 April 1971. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 10. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1970-1977.
- . Untitled speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. n.d. (1977?). Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Undated.

- . Untitled speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. n.d. (1977?). Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Undated.
- . Speech to the National Urban League Midwestern Region. 24 July 1977. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 10. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1970-1977.
- . Speech to the National Conference of Black Mayors. Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. 03 November 1978. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 11. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978.
- . Speech to the NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner. 25 Nov. 1978. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 11. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1978.
- . Speech to the National Association of Black Manufacturers. Sheraton Park Hotel. 05 Dec. 1978. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 11. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1978.²
- . Speech welcoming guests to the White House. 1978. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 11. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1978.
- . Speech to Alpha Phi Alpha. 06 Jan. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 12. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Jan-Apr 1979.³

² See also a draft of this speech incorrectly filed in: Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979].

³ See also a draft of this speech incorrectly filed in: Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 11. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1978. See also another draft of this speech which begins “No group in Black America...” in Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, [1979].

- . "Foreign Affairs, Black Affairs." 25 January 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 12. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Jan-Apr 1979.⁴
- . Speech to the South Carolina Black Legislators. 09 June 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 13. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. June-July 1979.
- . Speech to the OIC. 12 June 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 13. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. June-July 1979.
- . Speech to the Cook County Bar. 23 June 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 13. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. June-July 1979.
- . Remarks to the National Insurance Agencies Convention. 17 July 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 13. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, June-July 1979.
- . "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy." Howard University. 27 Oct. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 14. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Oct-Dec 1979.
- . Speech to the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. Washington Hilton. 30 Nov. 1979. Address. in Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 14. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Oct-Dec 1979.
- . Speech to the Savannah Business League. Savannah, Georgia. 01 Dec. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 14. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Oct-Dec 1979.

⁴ See also a draft of this speech entitled "Roots & History" in Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 12. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Jan-Apr 1979.

- . Speech to unknown audience [In the 60s we waged a long fight...]. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1979].
- . Speech on Energy. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1979].
- . Speech to Atlanta University. Atlanta, Georgia. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1979].
- . Speech on Banking. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1979].
- . Speech to Urban League. 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1979].
- . Speech to unknown audience [The introduction reminds me of yesteryear...]. CA 1979. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 15. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1979].

Appendix A.3 1980s

- Martin, Louis E. Speech to the Council of Assemblies for the National Association for Southern Poor. 28 June 1980. Address. In Jimmy Carter Presidential Library. Staff Offices. Louis Martin. Special Assistant to the President. Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1]. Box 58. Folder Martin, Louis—Speech 6/28/80 Norfolk, [Va].
- . Speech at the Second Annual Solidarity Day Greater Fairbanks Alaska Black Caucus. 11 July 1980. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 16. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1980.

- . Speech to the National Minority Telecommunications Conference. 11 Sep. 1980. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 16. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1980.⁵
- . Speech to the Voter Participation & Development Workshop. 25 Sep. 1980. Address. In Jimmy Carter Presidential Library. Staff Offices. Louis Martin. Special Assistant to the President. Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1]. Box 58. Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches.
- . Speech to the National Association of Black Journalists. 01 Oct. 1980. Address. In Jimmy Carter Presidential Library. Staff Offices. Louis Martin. Special Assistant to the President. Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1]. Box 58. Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches.
- . Speech for the FDIC, Student Jobs Program. 22 October 1980. Address. In Jimmy Carter Library. Staff Offices. Louis Martin. Special Assistant to the President. Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1]. Box 58. Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches.
- . Untitled speech at Howard University. n.d. [1981-1983]. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].
- . Speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors Communications Conference. 17 Feb. 1982. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].

⁵ This speech is also located in the files at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library. See also, In Jimmy Carter Presidential Library. Staff Offices. Louis Martin. Special Assistant to the President. Martin, Louis—Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1]. Box 58. Folder Martin, Louis – Speeches.

- . Untitled Speech on Black Participation in Foreign Policy. n.d. (post 1981) In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8, Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated.
- . Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media. n.d. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8, Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, Undated.
- . "Developing Linkages and Networks with High Elected and Appointed Public Officials." Howard University. 26 Mar. 1982. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].⁶
- . "Abstract: Developing Linkages and Networks with High Elected and Appointed Public Officials." Howard University. 26 Mar. 1982. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].⁷
- . Untitled Speech at Howard University. 12 Apr. 1982. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].
- . Speech at Planning Session on Networking Black Churches and Black Colleges/Universities. Howard University. 30 June 1982. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].
- . "The Political System in America: How Well Does It Work For Minorities?" Howard University. 12 Nov. 1982. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].

⁶ This speech is detailed in abstract form in the following, undated entry.

⁷ This abstract seems to go along with the speech dated 26 March 1982 to Howard University, the first line of which begins: "The effort of Black educators to develop linkages and networks with high elected and appointed officials has a long and fascinating history."

- . Speech at Pi Alpha Alpha Induction Ceremony. Howard University. 23 June 1983. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].
- . "Assessing the Role of the Black Press." n.d. [1981-1983]. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 7. Folder 17. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. [1981-1983].
- . "Joint Center Speech, Early 1980s." 1984. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 3. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. CA 1984.
- . "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy." n.d. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 1. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Feb.-Oct. 1984.
- . "Millender Memorial Lecture." Wayne State University. 28/29 Feb. 1984. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 1. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Feb.-Oct. 1984.
- . "Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics." May 1984. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 1. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Feb.-Oct. 1984.
- . Untitled Speech about Black colleges and the future. Howard University. 05 Oct. 1984. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 1. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. Feb.-Oct. 1984.
- . "A White House Perspective on Black Votes." Symposium: Media and Blacks; A Post-Election Critique. Washington, D.C. 29 Nov. 1984. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 2. Speeches & Writings File. Nov. 1984.

---. Speech at Kivie Kaplan Retreat. 06 May 1985. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 4. Speeches & Writings File, Speech File, 1985-1990.

Appendix A.4 1990s

Martin, Louis E. Speech to the Ford Foundation. 23 Mar. 1990. Address. In Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8. Folder 4. Speeches & Writings File. Speech File. 1985-1990.

Appendix B Writings by Louis E. Martin

This appendix contains Louis Martin's articles from newspapers and journals. They are arranged chronologically. Martin was such a prolific writer that there are likely additional writings to be listed here which I was unable to locate.

Appendix B.1 1930s

Martin, Louis E. "Naughty Antillean Queen." *Challenge: A Literary Quarterly* 4.1 (January 1936): 31-34.⁸

---. "The National Negro Congress." *Challenge* (June 1936): 30, 32.

---. "U. of M. Pres. Urges Brotherhood of Man." *Chicago Defender* 26 June 1937, national ed.: 20.

---. "The Green Bottle." *The Crisis* (July 1937): 200, 208.⁹

---. "CIO Issue Disrupts Peace of NAACP Meet." *Chicago Defender* 03 July 1937, national ed.: 1.

---. "Detroit's 9-Man Council May Be Invaded By Race." *Chicago Defender* 14 Aug. 1937, national ed.: 2.

---. "The Big Stick in Detroit." *The Crisis* 44 (December 1937): 364, 378.¹⁰

---. "Judge Frees Couple Sought by Dixie." *Chicago Defender* 23 July 1938, national ed.: 2.

---. "Detroit Mob Locks Out 2 Race Firemen." *Chicago Defender* 06 Aug. 1938, national ed.: 10.

⁸ See also: Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8, Folder 6, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, Articles, 1931-1942.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Appendix B.2 1940s

- Martin, Louis E. "The Ford Contract: An Opportunity" *The Crisis* 48 (September 1941): 284-285, 302.
- . "Phillip Murray, CIO Head Hits Race Discrimination." *Chicago Defender* 22 Nov. 1941, national ed.: 2.
- . "CIO to Organize South." *Chicago Defender* 29 Nov. 1941, national ed.: 1.
- . "CIO Condemns Labor Stand of 3 Packer." *Chicago Defender* 29 Nov. 1941, national ed.: 5.
- . "The Curse of Racism." *New Masses* (March 3, 1942): 15-16.¹¹
- . "Races Riot Over Detroit Housing Project." *Chicago Defender* 07 Mar. 1942, national ed.: 1.
- . "Tokyo Looked at Detroit." *New Masses* (17 March 1942): 13-14.¹²
- . "Storm Detroit City Hall For Project." *Chicago Defender* 21 Mar. 1942, national ed.: 1.
- . "The Truth About Sojourner Truth." *The Crisis* (April 1942): 112-113, 142.¹³
- . "Democracy Wins." *The Negro Quarterly* 1.2 (Summer 1942): 141-144.¹⁴
- . "Auto Workers Weigh 16 Resolutions on the Negro." *Chicago Defender* 08 Aug. 1942, national ed.: 1.
- . "Fifth Column Among Negroes." *Opportunity* 20 (Dec. 1942): 358-359.
- . "Behind Detroit's Terror." *New Masses* (06 July 1943): 4-6.
- . "The Negro in the Political Picture." *Opportunity* 21 (July 1943): 104-107, 137-139.
- . "Anti-Semites Like Detroit." *New Currents: A Jewish Monthly* (August 1943): 10-11.
- . "Prelude to Disaster: Detroit." *Common Ground* (Autumn 1943): 21-26.

¹¹ See also, Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 8, Folder 6, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, Articles, 1931-1942.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

- . "Negro Housing in Detroit." *TASK 4: A Magazine for Architects and Planners*. (1943? 1944?): 18-21.¹⁵
- . "Detroit—Still Dynamite." *The Crisis* 51.1 (January 1944): 8-10, 25.
- . "Profiles: Detroit." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 17.5 (1944): 279-288.
- . "Blood, Sweat, and Ink." *Common Ground* (Winter 1944): 37-42.
- . "Newsman Flies to Germany, Cites Postwar Conditions Abroad." *Chicago Defender* 10 Apr. 1948, special to the *Chicago Defender*: 3.
- . "Newsmen Find Great Need For More Negro Army Officers Abroad." *Chicago Defender* 24 Apr. 1948, special to the *Chicago Defender*: 5.
- . "Tan Yanks in Germany Destroy Last of Nazi 'Culture.'" *Chicago Defender* 08 May 1948, national ed.: 5.
- . "Editors Agree Strong Force In Europe." *Chicago Defender* 15 May 1948, national ed.: 2.
- . "Negro Publishers Meet Old Friends In Germany." *Chicago Defender* 05 June 1948, national ed.: 4.
- . "Dewey-Warren Liberal Ticket: Negro Delegates Rout Old Guard Candidates." *Chicago Defender* 03 July 1948, national ed.: 1.
- . "Sidelights: Off the Convention Floor." *Chicago Defender* 24 July 1948, national ed.: 3.
- . "Real Estate Brokers Hold First Annual Meet in Atlantic City." *Chicago Defender* 31 July 1948, national ed.: 2.
- . "Million Dollar Truman Fund." *Chicago Defender* 07 Aug. 1948, national ed.: 1.
- . "Willard Townsend, UTSEA Proxy, Cites Gains in Dixie Drive." *Chicago Defender* 02 Apr. 1949, national ed.: 4.

¹⁵ See also, Library of Congress files Louis Martin Box 8, Folder 7, Speeches & Writings File, Writings, Articles, 1943-1944.

- “Nation’s Top Liberals Meet to Push ‘Fair Deal’ Program.” *Chicago Defender* 09 Apr. 1949, national ed.: 2.
- . “Liberals Pledge Crusade for Enactment of Civil Rights.” *Chicago Defender* 16 Apr. 1949, national ed.: 1.
- . “Irvin C. Mollison Rounds Out Fourth Year as U.S. Federal Judge.” *Chicago Defender* 30 Apr. 1949, national ed.: 13.
- . “Wm. Green of AFL Warns Congress: Asks Action Now On Rights Bills.” *Chicago Defender* 07 May 1949, national ed.: 3.
- . “Chicago’s \$64 Million Question.” *Chicago Defender* 14 May 1949, national ed.: 1.
- . “Who will take their places?: Leadership of Race Sets Grueling Pace.” *Chicago Defender* 21 May 1949, national ed.: 1.
- . “New ‘Boom’ See In Numbers Racket.” *Chicago Defender* 04 June 1949, national ed.: 3.
- . “Fair Deal Dems Fight Truman Foes: Map Purge Plans At Convention.” *Chicago Defender* 18 June 1949, national ed.: 3. [See also, *Chicago Defender* 25 June 1949, national ed.: 3.]
- . “Insurance Delegates Battle Over Use of Word ‘Negro.’” *Atlanta Daily World* 30 June 1949: 1.
- . “Word ‘Negro’ Stirs Row At Insurance Confab.” *Chicago Defender* 02 July 1949, national ed.: 5.
- . “NAACP Plans ‘War’ On Dixiecrats.” *Chicago Defender* 16 July 1949, national ed.: 3.
- . “There Are No Jim Crow Dollars.” *Chicago Defender* 06 Aug. 1949, national ed.: 13.
- . “Rap Dixiecrats For Anti-Labor Stand.” *Chicago Defender* 17 Sep. 1949, national ed.: 3.
- . “How Love + Color = Dynamite.” *Chicago Defender* 01 Oct. 1949, national ed.: 1.

---. "Detroiters Has Race's Biggest Drug Chain." *Chicago Defender* 15 Oct. 1949, national ed.: 13.

---. "Chicago Hails NEHRU." *Chicago Defender* 05 Nov. 1949, national ed.: 13.

---. "Map New Strategy In National Meet." *Chicago Defender* 12 Nov. 1949, national ed.: 13.

Appendix B.3 1950s

Martin, Louis E. "Jamaica Plans Its Own Hollywood." *Chicago Defender* 22 Apr. 1950, national ed.: 3.

---. "Harlem Leaders Push Averell Harriman Boom." *Chicago Defender* 12 July 1952, national ed.: 1.

---. "Political Fireworks in Chicago Draw Puns, Laughs On Broadway." *Chicago Defender* 12 July 1952, national ed.: 2.

---. "Wright Angels By Thomas Wright." *Chicago Defender* 23 Aug. 1952, national ed.: 11.

---. "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 30 Aug. 1952, national ed.: 11.

---. "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 06 Sep. 1952, national ed.: 11.

---. "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 13 Sep. 1952, national ed.: 11.

---. "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 20 Sep. 1952, national ed.: 11.

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- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 22 Nov. 1952, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 29 Nov. 1952, national ed.: 11.
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- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 13 Dec. 1952, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 20 Dec. 1952, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 27 Dec. 1952, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 10 Jan. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 24 Jan. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 31 Jan. 1953, national ed.: 10.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 07 Feb. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 14 Feb. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 21 Feb. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 28 Feb. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 07 Mar. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 14 Mar. 1953, national ed.: 5.
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- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 15 Aug. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 22 Aug. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 29 Aug. 1953, national ed.: 3.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 05 Sep. 1953, national ed.: 7.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 12 Sep. 1953, national ed.: 7.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 19 Sep. 1953, national ed.: 4.
- . "Dope and Data." *Chicago Defender* 26 Sep. 1953, national ed.: 11.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 03 Oct. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 10 Oct. 1953, national ed.: 3.

- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 17 Oct. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 24 Oct. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 31 Oct. 1953, national ed.: 3.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 07 Nov. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 14 Nov. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 21 Nov. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 28 Nov. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 05 Dec. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 12 Dec. 1953, national ed.: 5.
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- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 26 Dec. 1953, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 02 Jan. 1954, national ed.: 3.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 09 Jan. 1954, national ed.: 3.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 16 Jan. 1954, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 23 Jan. 1954, national ed.: 5.
- . "What Ickes Said About Negroes." *Chicago Defender* 23 Jan. 1954, national ed.: 9.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 30 Jan. 1954, national ed.: 5.
- . "Dope 'n' Data." *Chicago Defender* 06 Feb. 1954, national ed.: 5.
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¹⁶ Author identified as Louis H. Martin, which is probably a typo.

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- . "Sensible Politics." *Chicago Defender* 15 Apr. 1989: 24.
- . "Hail Black Women." *Chicago Defender* 22 Apr. 1989: 18.
- . "New Ethics Era." *Chicago Defender* 29 Apr. 1989: 26.
- . "Rangel Hits a Home Run." *Chicago Defender* 06 May 1989: 20.
- . "Leaders Wanted." *Chicago Defender* 13 May 1989: 26.
- . "Atlanta: Too Busy to Hate." *Chicago Defender* 20 May 1989: 28.
- . "'Talking Heads.'" *Chicago Defender* 27 May 1989: 22.
- . "Monkey Blood." *Chicago Defender* 03 June 1989: 20.
- . "World Hatred." *Chicago Defender* 10 June 1989: 22.²¹
- . "Congress, War." *Chicago Defender* 17 June 1989: 24.
- . "Crime Is the Issue." *Chicago Defender* 24 June 1989: 26.
- . "No Revolution Without the Peasants." *Tri-State Defender* 28 June 1989: 4.
- . "HUD Scandal Is Not Racial." *Chicago Defender* 01 July 1989: 26.
- . "Color No Factor in Va. Guv Race." *Chicago Defender* 08 July 1989: 28.

²¹ Same text as "No Revolution Without the Peasants."

- . "Mandela and Botha Meet." *Chicago Defender* 15 July 1989: 26.
- . "Some Good News." *Chicago Defender* 22 July 1989: 18.
- . "Troubling Advice." *Chicago Defender* 29 July 1989: 24.
- . "Ronald Reagan Must Not Prevail." *Chicago Defender* 05 Aug. 1989: 18.
- . "A New Era In Race Relations." *Chicago Defender* 12 Aug. 1989: 30.
- . "Parents Need Cash Support." *Chicago Defender* 19 Aug. 1989: 24.
- . "The Poison of Prejudice." *Chicago Defender* 26 Aug. 1989: 24.
- . "Hispanics Hit Television Bias." *Chicago Defender* 02 Sep. 1989: 24.
- . "New York City: The Hate Capital." *Chicago Defender* 09 Sep. 1989: 22.
- . "America's Best Bet." *Chicago Defender* 16 Sep. 1989: 26.
- . "Dan Dinkins Is King of the Hill." *Chicago Defender* 23 Sep. 1989: 26.
- . "Two Kinds of Role Models." *Chicago Defender* 30 Sep. 1989: 26.
- . "How Racism Is Taught in U.S." *Chicago Defender* 07 Oct. 1989: 24.
- . "Freedom's Move." *Chicago Defender* 14 Oct. 1989: 26.
- . "Adjusting to the Winds of Change." *Chicago Defender* 21 Oct. 1989: 26.
- . "Let Us Cheer Common Sense." *Chicago Defender* 28 Oct. 1989: 26.
- . "Athletic Heroes Boost Morale." *Chicago Defender* 04 Nov. 1989: 26.
- . "A Woman Lawyer Makes History." *Chicago Defender* 11 Nov. 1989: 32.
- . "An Explosion of Freedom." *Chicago Defender* 18 Nov. 1989: 26.
- . "Second Thoughts." *Chicago Defender* 25 Nov. 1989: 30.
- . "Browns, Blacks Need Each Other." *Chicago Defender* 02 Dec. 1989: 26.
- . "Doug Wilder and Jefferson." *Chicago Defender* 09 Dec. 1989: 26.
- . "1989 Was A Very Wonderful Year." *Chicago Defender* 16 Dec. 1989: 26.

---. "Everyone A Stranger Here." *Chicago Defender* 23 Dec. 1989: 32.

---. "Time For A Second Coming." *Chicago Defender* 30 Dec. 1989: 24.

Appendix B.7 1990s

Martin, Louis E. "Pro Basketball For U.S. Women." *Chicago Defender* 06 Jan. 1990: 26.

---. "Today's Racists Are Desperate." *Chicago Defender* 13 Jan. 1990: 22.

---. "Secret of Martin Luther King Jr." *Chicago Defender* 20 Jan. 1990: 24.

---. "Trouble Clouds the New Decade." *Chicago Defender* 27 Jan. 1990: 24.

---. "The Two Faces Of Latin America." *Chicago Defender* 03 Feb. 1990: 22.

---. "Black History Month 1990." *Chicago Defender* 10 Feb. 1990: 26.

---. "The Free World Salutes Mandela." *Chicago Defender* 17 Feb. 1990: 26.

---. "Must There Be Armed Struggle?" *Chicago Defender* 24 Feb. 1990: 26.

---. "No End to the U.S. Civil War." *Chicago Defender* 03 Mar. 1990: 26.

---. "Carter Gets Credit." *Chicago Defender* 10 Mar. 1990: 26.

---. "Success Can Be Very Difficult." *Chicago Defender* 17 Mar. 1990: 26.

---. "Time Favors Black Voters." *Chicago Defender* 24 Mar. 1990: 20.

---. "Key Anniversary for Valued Group." *Chicago Defender* 31 Mar. 1990: 25.

---. "Varied Distrust Plagues Blacks." *Chicago Defender* 07 Apr. 1990: 26.

---. "Political Systems Aren't Foolproof." *Chicago Defender* 14 Apr. 1990: 24.

---. "Some Surprising Approval for Bush." *Chicago Defender* 21 Apr. 1990: 26.

---. "Celebrities, A New Black Class." *Chicago Defender* 28 Apr. 1990: 28.

---. "Andy Young Does Not Walk Alone." *Chicago Defender* 05 May 1990: 24.

---. "It's Best to Look Before You Leap." *Chicago Defender* 12 May 1990: 24. [See also

Michigan Chronicle 30 May 1990: A7.]

- . "LBJ: True Civil Rights Pioneer." *Chicago Defender* 19 May 1990: 22.
- . "Sammy Danced All Over the Color Line of America." *Chicago Defender* 26 May 1990: 24.
- . "Upsurge of Racism Erupts in France." *Chicago Defender* 02 June 1990: 24.
- . "The Women at the Summit." *Chicago Defender* 09 June 1990: 26.
- . "Ali Outboxed Reds In Africa." *Chicago Defender* 16 June 1990: 26.
- . "Mandela Speaks For All Of Us." *Chicago Defender* 23 June 1990: 24.
- . "Jail Can Break Or Make A Man." *Chicago Defender* 30 June 1990: 24.
- . "Black Press Has Served the Cause." *Chicago Defender* 07 July 1990: 26.
- . "America's Silent Race Revolution." *Chicago Defender* 14 July 1990: 24.
- . "Crusaders for U.S. Housing." *Chicago Defender* 21 July 1990: 26.
- . "Planning for the 21st Century." *Chicago Defender* 28 July 1990: 24.
- . "America's Racist Country Clubs." *Chicago Defender* 04 Aug. 1990: 26.
- . "Leadership Test For George Bush." *Chicago Defender* 11 Aug. 1990: 26.
- . "Marion Barry Is No Role Model." *Chicago Defender* 18 Aug. 1990: 22.
- . "Old Men Send Youths To War." *Chicago Defender* 25 Aug. 1990: 24.
- . "At Long Last, An FBI Probe." *Chicago Defender* 01 Sep. 1990: 26.
- . "American Media Call the Shots." *Chicago Defender* 08 Sep. 1990: 24.
- . "Ghetto Youth Don't Follow Black Leaders." *Chicago Defender* 15 Sep. 1990: 24.
- . "Political Upset Agitates D.C." *Chicago Defender* 22 Sep. 1990: 26.
- . "Bush Is A Robin Hood In Reverse." *Chicago Defender* 29 Sep. 1990: 18.
- . "New Brand of Racial Politics." *Chicago Defender* 06 Oct. 1990: 22.
- . "Jesse Caught In Political Storm." *Chicago Defender* 08 Oct. 1990: 22.
- . "A Good Man Is Hard To Find." *Chicago Defender* 13 Oct. 1990: 24.

- . "Live By the Gun, Die By the Gun." *Chicago Defender* 20 Oct. 1990: 24.
- . "President Bush Bashed Blacks." *Chicago Defender* 27 Oct. 1990: 22.
- . "Brown and Bush Wage Party Fight." *Chicago Defender* 03 Nov. 1990: 20.
- . "U.S. Must Be Competitive." *Chicago Defender* 10 Nov. 1990: 22.
- . "The Poor Have No Right To Live?" *Chicago Defender* 17 Nov. 1990: 24.
- . "We Live In A Phony World." *Chicago Defender* 24 Nov. 1990: 24.
- . "'Dream Ticket': Kennedy, Wilder." *Chicago Defender* 01 Dec. 1990: 24.
- . "A Republican Black In House." *Chicago Defender* 08 Dec. 1990: 24.
- . "We Must Confess Historical Sins." *Chicago Defender* 15 Dec. 1990: 22.
- . "Blessed Are the Peacemakers." *Chicago Defender* 22 Dec. 1990: 24.
- . "Infant Mortality Taking Its Toll." *Chicago Defender* 29 Dec. 1990: 22.
- . "To Make the Best of the New Year." *Chicago Defender* 05 Jan. 1991: 24. [See also
 Michigan Chronicle 16 Jan. 1991: A7.]
- . "Racial 'Ships in the Night.'" *Chicago Defender* 12 Jan. 1991: 22.
- . "Gus Hawkins Had the Answers." *Chicago Defender* 19 Jan. 1991: 24.
- . "Wave of Hatred Sweeps World." *Chicago Defender* 26 Jan. 1991: 24.
- . "What Does the Future Hold?" *Chicago Defender* 02 Feb. 1991: 20.
- . "TV Impact Is Still Growing." *Chicago Defender* 09 Feb. 1991: 20.
- . "Cowboy Bush Rides the Range." *Chicago Defender* 16 Feb. 1991: 22.
- . "Jay Rockefeller for President?" *Chicago Defender* 23 Feb. 1991: 16.
- . "Wagner Helped." *Chicago Defender* 02 Mar. 1991: 18.
- . "Bush Knows Right Words." *Chicago Defender* 09 Mar. 1991: 20.
- . "George Bush and Churchill." *Chicago Defender* 16 Mar. 1991: 20.

- . "Police Caught Red-Handed." *Chicago Defender* 23 Mar. 1991: 22.
- . "Keep Hope Alive." *Chicago Defender* 30 Mar. 1991: 16.
- . "Our Civil Rights Are Up For Grabs." *Chicago Defender* 06 Apr. 1991: 22.
- . "A U.S. Tragedy." *Chicago Defender* 13 Apr. 1991: 20.
- . "Beware of the Political Snakes." *Chicago Defender* 20 Apr. 1991: 24.
- . "A 'New Order' In U.S. Schools." *Chicago Defender* 27 Apr. 1991: 20.
- . "Jimmy Carter Demands Inquiry." *Chicago Defender* 04 May 1991: 18.
- . "General Powell on the Right Track." *Chicago Defender* 11 May 1991: 18.
- . "New Senator, A Friend of King." *Chicago Defender* 18 May 1991: 18.
- . "The Truth May Not Set You Free." *Chicago Defender* 25 May 1991: 18.
- . "Character Still Counts In Politics." *Chicago Defender* 01 June 1991: 20.
- . "Payne Exposed Army Abuses." *Chicago Defender* 08 June 1991: 20.
- . "Cliff Alexander Speaks His Mind." *Chicago Defender* 15 June 1991: 18.
- . "Some New Books On Race Concerns." *Chicago Defender* 22 June 1991: 20.
- . "Gray Can Make More History." *Chicago Defender* 29 June 1991: 20.
- . "Thurgood Says Farewell Court." *Chicago Defender* 06 July 1991: 14.
- . "Time Again to Fight for Rights." *Chicago Defender* 13 July 1991: 20. [See also *Michigan Chronicle* 24 July 1991: A7.]
- . "New Group of Image Makers." *Chicago Defender* 20 July 1991: 22.
- . "Marshall Was A Giant On Court." *Chicago Defender* 22 July 1991: 12.
- . "The Horrors of U.S. Race Riots." *Chicago Defender* 27 July 1991: 12.
- . "Sanctions Can Be Effective." *Chicago Defender* 03 Aug. 1991: 14.
- . "Democrats Are Targeting Bush." *Chicago Defender* 10 Aug. 1991: 20.

- . "The Sick Racists." *Chicago Defender* 17 Aug. 1991: 20.
- . "Confused Black Conservatives." *Chicago Defender* 24 Aug. 1991: 14.
- . "Castro Must Heed Freedom's Tide." *Chicago Defender* 31 Aug. 1991: 18.
- . "Behind the Fall of Communism." *Chicago Defender* 07 Sep. 1991: 18.
- . "The Future Is In Their Hands." *Chicago Defender* 14 Sep. 1991: 20.
- . "We Need More Jobs Right Now." *Chicago Defender* 21 Sep. 1991: 16.
- . "Cosmetics Firms Are Threatened." *Chicago Defender* 28 Sep. 1991: 18.
- . "Suicide Surely Not the Answer." *Chicago Defender* 05 Oct. 1991: 24. [See also *Michigan Chronicle* 16 Oct. 1991: A7.]
- . "Poverty Is A Real Timebomb." *Chicago Defender* 12 Oct. 1991: 18.
- . "Politics Without Any Real Merit." *Chicago Defender* 19 Oct. 1991: 20.
- . "America's New GOP Leadership." *Chicago Defender* 26 Oct. 1991: 12.
- . "Opinions Vary on Mixed Marriage." *Chicago Defender* 02 Nov. 1991: 20.
- . "Jesse Shows Way." *Chicago Defender* 09 Nov. 1991: 20.
- . "Shock Waves." *Chicago Defender* 16 Nov. 1991: 18.
- . "On Thanksgiving." *Chicago Defender* 23 Nov. 1991: 18.
- . "Racism Rises Across France." *Chicago Defender* 30 Nov. 1991: 20.
- . "Fact: Politics Is Real Power." *Chicago Defender* 07 Dec. 1991: 22.
- . "Duke's Disturbing Presidential Bid." *Chicago Defender* 14 Dec. 1991: 20.
- . "Who Controls the Soviets' Bombs?" *Chicago Defender* 21 Dec. 1991: 20.
- . "Every American Faces Violence." *Chicago Defender* 28 Dec. 1991: 16.
- . "Tom Bradley, L.A.'s Mayor, Is Cleared." *Chicago Defender* 04 Jan. 1992: 20.
- . "Challenges of the New Year." *Chicago Defender* 11 Jan. 1992: 18.

- . "The Revolution of Anita Hill." *Chicago Defender* 18 Jan. 1992: 20.
- . "FDR Is Example for Today's U.S." *Chicago Defender* 25 Jan. 1992: 18.
- . "King: Dreamer and the Dream." *Chicago Defender* 01 Feb. 1992: 16.
- . "Magic of the White House." *Chicago Defender* 10 Feb. 1992: 12.
- . "City Hall Ghost." *Chicago Defender* 15 Feb. 1992: 26.
- . "Africa Readies for 21st Century." *Chicago Defender* 22 Feb. 1992: 18.
- . "The NAACP Is At A Crossroads." *Chicago Defender* 29 Feb. 1992: 20.
- . "Don't Let Hatred Defeat Our Goals." *Chicago Defender* 07 Mar. 1992: 16.
- . "Leaders Needed, Not Bickering." *Chicago Defender* 14 Mar. 1992: 22.
- . "Candidates Must Be Accountable." *Chicago Defender* 21 Mar. 1992: 16.
- . "Two Votings Are History-Making." *Chicago Defender* 28 Mar. 1992: 18.
- . "The Gravediggers and 'Spin Doctors.'" *Chicago Defender* 04 Apr. 1992: 14.
- . "Hate Crimes Are Up In America." *Chicago Defender* 11 Apr. 1992: 22.
- . "Small Perks Are Still Cherished." *Chicago Defender* 18 Apr. 1992: 24.
- . "Season of Real Change Arrives." *Chicago Defender* 25 Apr. 1992: 22.
- . "Is 1992 the Year of the Woman?" *Chicago Defender* 02 May 1992: 14.
- . "Can We Try Some Real Brotherhood?" *Chicago Defender* 09 May 1992: 20.
- . "The Nation: As Editors See It." *Chicago Defender* 16 May 1992: 14.
- . "Long Journey to Deliverance." *Chicago Defender* 23 May 1992: 22.
- . "Gun Is No Friend." *Chicago Defender* 30 May 1992: 20.
- . "Murphy Brown Isn't The Issue." *Chicago Defender* 06 June 1992: 16.
- . "Another Role for Hamilton Jordan." *Chicago Defender* 13 June 1992: 20.
- . "For World Peace." *Chicago Defender* 20 June 1992: 22.

- . "Who Are Heroes?" *Chicago Defender* 27 June 1992: 16.
- . "Solving Issues At Home, Abroad." *Chicago Defender* 04 July 1992: 16.
- . "What's Ahead For Black Colleges?" *Chicago Defender* 11 July 1992: 16.
- . "Anita Hill and Year of Woman." *Chicago Defender* 18 July 1992: 16.
- . "Perot's Star Falls." *Chicago Defender* 25 July 1992: 16.
- . "Politics Grow More Complex." *Chicago Defender* 01 Aug. 1992: 16.
- . "Drumbeat Grows For Tribalism." *Chicago Defender* 08 Aug. 1992: 20.
- . "Let's Wage War With TV Cameras." *Chicago Defender* 15 Aug. 1992: 18.
- . "Historic Moves." *Chicago Defender* 22 Aug. 1992: 14.
- . "Who's Kidding About Racism" *Chicago Defender* 29 Aug. 1992: 16.
- . "Gov't Too Slow After Andrew." *Chicago Defender* 05 Sep. 1992: 14.
- . "The Eternal Fight." *Chicago Defender* 11 Sep. 1993: p?.
- . "Two Civil Rights Greats Praised." *Chicago Defender* 12 Sep. 1992: 14.
- . "Up Front: The Mind Is The Magic Of Humans." *Chicago Defender* 19 Sep. 1992: 18.
- . "The Kennedy Phenomenon." *Chicago Defender* 26 Sep. 1992: 14.
- . "We Must Vote to Survive." *Chicago Defender* 03 Oct. 1992: 20.
- . "Why Americans Need A Change." *Chicago Defender* 10 Oct. 1992: 16.
- . "Use Your Vote." *Chicago Defender* 17 Oct. 1992: 18.
- . "Behind the Facade." *Chicago Defender* 24 Oct. 1992: 24.
- . "For Progress." *Chicago Defender* 31 Oct. 1992: 30.
- . "Remembering Guatemala." *Chicago Defender* 07 Nov. 1992: 18.
- . "A New South Emerges In U.S." *Chicago Defender* 14 Nov. 1992: 20.
- . "We've Come A Long Way." *Chicago Defender* 21 Nov. 1992: 16.

- . "Promise of New Administration." *Chicago Defender* 28 Nov. 1992: 20.
- . "Martin, Malcolm, My Father and Me." *Chicago Defender* 05 Dec. 1992: 16.
- . "Up Front: Promise of the New Clinton Administration." *New Pittsburgh Courier* 05 Dec. 1992: A-7.
- . "Marge Schott's Racial Shots." *Chicago Defender* 12 Dec. 1992: 18.
- . "Up Front: Martin, Malcolm, My Father and Me." *New Pittsburgh Courier* 16 Dec. 1992: A-6.
- . "The Death of the Innocents." *Chicago Defender* 19 Dec. 1992: 20. [See also *New Pittsburgh Courier* 02 Jan. 1993: A-7.]
- . "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men?" *Chicago Defender* 26 Dec. 1992: 16.
- . "Facing the New Year with Hope." *Chicago Defender* 02 Jan. 1993: 20.
- . "Turning A Corner." *Chicago Defender* 09 Jan. 1993: 18.
- . "U.S. Is Ready For A New Deal." *Chicago Defender* 16 Jan. 1993: 18.
- . "New President Merits Support." *Chicago Defender* 23 Jan. 1993: 20.
- . "Thurgood Marshall." *Chicago Defender* 30 Jan. 1993: 18.
- . "This Is A Special Time For Women." *Chicago Defender* 06 Feb. 1993: 24.
- . "A Gentle Hero." *Chicago Defender* 13 Feb. 1993: 20.
- . "There Is No End To The Savagery." *Chicago Defender* 20 Feb. 1993: 20.
- . "Week That Was." *Chicago Defender* 27 Feb. 1993: 18.
- . "Our Teachers, Our Children." *Chicago Defender* 05 Mar. 1993: 20.
- . "Africa Is On The Move Now." *Chicago Defender* 13 Mar. 1993: 20.
- . "Three Friends I Will Never Forget." *Chicago Defender* 20 Mar. 1993: 20.
- . "Can We Find New Ways To Peace?" *Chicago Defender* 27 Mar. 1993: 20.

- . "U.S. Women Are On Upward March." *Chicago Defender* 03 Apr. 1993: 20.
- . "The Shadow Of World Racism." *Chicago Defender* 10 Apr. 1993: 12.
- . "When The Great Ones Leave Us." *Chicago Defender* 17 Apr. 1993: 20.
- . "New NAACP Head Deserves Support." *Chicago Defender* 24 Apr. 1993: 20.
- . "The Poor Have No Right To Live?" *Chicago Defender* 01 May 1993: 20.
- . "U.S. Women And Change." *Chicago Defender* 08 May 1993: 20. [See also *New Pittsburgh Courier* 19 May 1993: A-7.]
- . "Change And Desperation." *Chicago Defender* 15 May 1993: 20.
- . "A Successor To Mayor Bradley." *Chicago Defender* 22 May 1993: 20.
- . "New NAACP Director Deserves Support." *New Pittsburgh Courier* 22 May 1993: A-7.
- . "Weary Of War." *Chicago Defender* 29 May 1993: 20.
- . "1995 Freedom Observance." *Chicago Defender* 05 June 1993: 20.
- . "It's The Same Old Same Old." *Chicago Defender* 12 June 1993: 20.
- . "A Revitalized Peace Corps?" *Chicago Defender* 19 June 1993: 20.
- . "D.C.: Clout City." *Chicago Defender* 26 June 1993: 18.
- . "Campy, Thanks For The Memories." *Chicago Defender* 03 July 1993: 22.
- . "Voting Rights: Rewriting History." *Chicago Defender* 10 July 1993: 20.
- . "Rising Waters." *Chicago Defender* 17 July 1993: 20.
- . "Little Things?" *Chicago Defender* 24 July 1993: 20.
- . "Floods, Clinton and Fair Play." *Chicago Defender* 31 July 1993: 21.
- . "Tragedy Versus Human Response." *Chicago Defender* 07 Aug. 1993: 20.
- . "We Must Learn To Listen More." *Chicago Defender* 14 Aug. 1993: 20.
- . "The Browning Of America." *Chicago Defender* 21 Aug. 1993: 20.

- . "The Bell Tolls For All Of Us." *Chicago Defender* 28 Aug. 1993: 20.
- . "The Freedom to Grow Up." *Chicago Defender* 04 Sep. 1993: 20. [See also *New Pittsburgh Courier* 15 Sep. 1993: A-7.]
- . "Reflection On An Historic Day." *Chicago Defender* 18 Sep. 1993: 20.
- . "Keep The Faith On Health Care." *Chicago Defender* 25 Sep. 1993: 16.
- . "The Rough Road Ahead." *Chicago Defender* 02 Oct. 1993: 20.
- . "Colin Powell Transends [sic] Race." *Chicago Defender* 09 Oct. 1993: 20.
- . "Myths Will Perish." *Chicago Defender* 16 Oct. 1993: 20.
- . "The Wise Lessons Of World History." *Chicago Defender* 23 Oct. 1993: 20.
- . "Can We Solve Our Crime Problems?" *Chicago Defender* 30 Oct. 1993: 22.
- . "Hispanics Fight For Their Place." *Chicago Defender* 06 Nov. 1993: 20.
- . "The Race Card In The NAFTA." *Chicago Defender* 13 Nov. 1993: 20.
- . "Clinton Looks Back On King." *Chicago Defender* 20 Nov. 1993: 16.
- . "World Certainly Is Changing." *Chicago Defender* 27 Nov. 1993: 20.
- . "This Year Was A Very Good One." *Chicago Defender* 04 Dec. 1993: 20.
- . "Ron Brown Is Leading The Way." *Chicago Defender* 11 Dec. 1993: 20.
- . "Romancing Guns." *Chicago Defender* 18 Dec. 1993: 20.
- . "Friendly Ghosts Stay With Me." *Chicago Defender* 08 Jan. 1994: 20.
- . "Black Artist's Work Displayed At Terra." *Chicago Defender* 15 Jan. 1994: 11.
- . "Unforgettable Voice Of King." *Chicago Defender* 22 Jan. 1994: 18.
- . "Adversity Has Many Faces." *Chicago Defender* 29 Jan. 1994: 18.
- . "Up Front: The Browning of America." *New Pittsburgh Courier* 12 Feb. 1994: A-7.

Appendix C Interviews with Louis E. Martin

This appendix contains a list of interviews of Louis Martin conducted by various people and organizations. They are arranged chronologically.

Martin, Louis E. "Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin." Interview by Ronald J. Grele.

John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program. 14 March 1966. Print.

---. "Second Oral History Interview with Louis E. Martin." Interview by Ronald J. Grele. John F.

Kennedy Library Oral History Program. 07 April 1966. Print.

---. "Third Oral History Interview with Louis Martin." Interview by Ronald J. Grele. John F.

Kennedy Library Oral History Program. 11 May 1966. Print.

---. "Interview I." Interview by David M. McComb. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral

History Collection. 14 May 1969. Electronic.

---. Interview on *America's Black Forum* 04 December 1978, Staff Offices, Louis Martin,

Special Assistant to the President, Martin, Louis – Scheduling [1] through Media Project [1], Box 58, Martin, Louis – Speeches, Jimmy Carter Library.

---. "Exit Interview." Interview with Emily Soapes. Oral History, Jimmy Carter Library. 10

December 1980. Electronic.

---. Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 1. Howard University. 17 April 1981. Print.

---. Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 2. Howard University. 07 December 1984. Print.

---. Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 3. Howard University. 02 May 1985. Print.

---. Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 4. Howard University. 18 July 1985. Print.

---. Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 5. Howard University. 16 October 1985. Print.

---. Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 6. Howard University. 23 January 1986. Print.

- . "Interview II." Interview by Michael L. Gillette. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection. 12 June 1986. Electronic.
- . Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 7. Howard University. 18 September 1986. Print.
- . Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 8. Howard University. 06 February 1987. Print.
- . Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 9. Howard University. 11 March 1987. Print.
- . Interview by Ed Edwin. Session 10. Howard University. 30 April 1987. Print.
- . Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. 01 December 1991, in Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 13. Folder 5. Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (1 of 3).
- . Interview by Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. 02 December 1991, in Library of Congress. Louis Martin Papers. Box 13. Folder 7. Speeches & Writings File, Writings, By others, Poinsett, Alex, *Walking with Presidents*, 1991 (3 of 3).

Appendix D Index of Individuals, or Onomasticon

This appendix contains a list of the people Martin mentions in his speeches and in which speeches those people appear. Note that a person with an asterisk (*) next to his or her name was venerated by Martin as an example of African Americans' success. However, not all of the people he identifies in this capacity are necessarily, specifically African American.

***Abbott, Robert S.** Publisher of *Chicago Defender*.

Undated speech [1981-1983] on the black Press

***Abramowitz, Beth.** Assistant Director, Domestic Policy Staff (for Education and Women's Issues) for President Carter.

1978 (month and day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

Addabbo, Joseph Patrick. Representative from New York.

05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers

***Aggrey, Rudolph.** Ambassador.

Undated speech [post- 1981] on Blacks and Foreign Policy

***Alexander, Clifford.** Army Secretary, member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

11 June 1970 Harvard, "Winds of Change"

25 November 1978 NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

pre-1977 Speech on Civil Rights in LBJ Administration

***Alexis, Marcus.** Named by Carter to the Civil Aeronautics Board.

1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

***Allen, Macon B.** First African American lawyer in America, 1844.

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

***Amerson, Lucius.** Sheriff of Macon County, Alabama.

27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats

***Anderson, Donald L.** Lawyer, and founder of National Association for Southern Poor.

28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

Anderson, John. Independent candidate in U.S. Presidential election of 1980.
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”

***Anderson, Louis B.** Alderman from Chicago.
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”

***Anderson, Marian.** Singer.
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Arrington, Richard.** Mayor of Birmingham, Alabama.
1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
12 November 1982 Howard University
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

Arthur, Chester. 21st President of the United States.
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Austin, Richard H.** Secretary of State for Michigan.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Azikiwe, Nnamdi.** President of Nigeria, attended Lincoln University.
25 January 1979 Speech, “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
1981? Speech at Howard, Black Family Conference

Bakke, Allen. Party to reverse discrimination lawsuit against the University of California in 1978.

06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

Bailey, John M. Chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Called a “democratic kingpin” by Martin.

27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
27 October 1979 Speech on Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy
23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

Baker, Eugene. See Parker.

***Ballard, Lonis.** Member of Alaska Black Caucus.
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus

- ***Banneker, Benjamin.** Worked on blueprint for city of Washington.
22 October 1980 FDIC speech
- ***Barnett, Claude A.** Established the Associated Negro Press (ANP).
1981-3? Speech on Assessing the Role of the African American Press
- ***Barthelemy, Sidney J.** Wrote chapter on nurturing leadership in Garibaldi book. Mayor of New Orleans (1986-1994).
05 October 1984 Speech, “Black Colleges and the Future”
1984 (Month and Day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
- ***Bean, Maurice.** Ambassador to Burma.
Undated speech [post- 1981] on Blacks and Foreign Policy
- ***Beard, Andrew.** Got patent in 1897 for automatic railroad coupler.
22 October 1980 FDIC speech
- Bell, Griffin.** Attorney General in Carter administration.
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
- Bennett, Harry.** Ford Motor Company representative.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
- ***Berry, Mary F.** Participated in task force on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) with Mel Hollis under Carter. Also, author of *And Justice For All*. See Works Cited.
30 November 1979 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
- ***Bethune, Mary McLeod.** Civil rights leader and teacher.
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard
- ***Blair, Henry.** First African American to get a patent in 1834.
22 October 1980 FDIC speech
- ***Bolen, David.** Asst. Secretary of State for African Affairs.
Undated speech [post- 1981] on Blacks and Foreign Policy
- ***Bradley, Thomas J. (Tom).** Mayor of Los Angeles, California (1973-1993).
1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
1979 Untitled Speech: “In the 60s we waged a long fight...”
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
12 November 1982 Howard University
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

05 October 1984 Speech, "Black Colleges and the Future"
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Brimmer, Andrew.** Board of Governors of Federal Reserve Board.
27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats

Brisbane, Arthur. Worked for Hearst newspaper.
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

***Brooke, Edward William, III (Ed).** Senator from Massachusetts.
11 June 1970 Harvard, "Winds of Change"
05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard

***Brown, Ben.** Deputy Chair of the Democratic National Committee appointed by Carter.
1978 (month and day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

***Brown, Tyrone.** Appointed by Carter to the Federal Communications Commission.
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

***Bruce, Blanche K.** Senator from Mississippi.
26 April 1963 The Emancipation Proclamation 100 Years Thereafter
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
1984 (month and day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. National Security Advisor to Carter.
23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

***Bunche, Ralph.** Nobel Prize winner, professor at Howard University; member of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (FDR) "black cabinet."
25 January 1979 Speech, "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."

Bundy, McGeorge. President of Ford Foundation.
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

***Burris, Roland.** Senator from Illinois.
17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention

George H. W. Bush. Vice President to President Reagan; 41st President of the United States.
29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"

Capone, Al. Mobster.

12 April 1961 "Along the New Frontier"

Carlyle, Thomas. Writer.

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Carrington, Walter.** Headed Department of International Affairs for Carter.

1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard

Carter, James E. (Jimmy). 39th President of the United States.

24 July 1977 National Urban League

1978 (month and day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors

25 November 1978 NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner

05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers

1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."

1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League

1979 (month and day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking

1979 Untitled Speech on Energy

1979 Untitled Speech: "In the 60s we waged a long fight..."

1979 (month and day unknown) to Atlanta University

06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha

25 January 1979 Speech, "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

12 June 1979 OIC

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"

30 November 1979 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education

01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference

22 October 1980 FDIC speech

26 March 1982 "Developing Linkages..." Howard

12 November 1982 Howard University

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

1984 (month and day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"

May 1984 (day unknown) "Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics"

05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"

Carter, Rosalyn. Wife of President Jimmy Carter.

25 November 1978 NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner

***Carter, W. Beverly.** Ambassador, Ambassador-at-Large.

Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy

- *Carver, George Washington.** Scientist.
22 October 1980 FDIC Speech
12 April 1982 Howard University
- Castro, Fidel.** President of Cuba.
24 July 1977 National Urban League
- *Chase, James Everett.** Mayor of Spokane Washington.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
- *Cheek, James E.** President of Howard University.
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
30 June 1982 Networking Black Churches and Black Colleges/Universities
- Clark, Kenneth.** Member of Ford Foundation.
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation
- *Clark, Robert.** Legislator from Mississippi.
1967 (month and day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC
12 November 1982 Howard University
- Clemenceau, Georges.** French politician.
25 January 1979 Speech, "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
- *Clement, Bill.** Associate Administrator of the Small Business Administration.
01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
- *Connally, Norris L.** Vice President of Atlanta Life Insurance Company; President of National Insurance Agencies.
17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention
- *Cosby, Bill.** Entertainer.
29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"
- *Conyers, John.** Congressman. One of the founders of the Congressional Black Congress.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
- *Cooper, Algernon Johnson (A.J.).** Mayor of Prichard, Alabama. Founder of the National Conference of Black Mayors.
03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors
- *Cox, Vernita M.** Mayor of West Palm Beach, Florida.
28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

- *Crockett, George W. Jr.** Congressman from Michigan.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
- *Cullen, Countee.** Writer.
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- Cutler, Lloyd.** General Counsel for Carter.
May 1984 (day unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”
- Cuomo, Mario.** Governor of New York.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
- Daley, Richard J.** Mayor of Chicago. Democrat and “democratic kingpin” per Martin.
03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
- *Dalley, George A.** Appointed to the Civil Aeronautics Board by Carter.
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
- *Davis, Georgia M.** Kentucky State Senate.
1967 (month and day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC
- *Davis, J. Mason.** Vice President of Protective Industrial Life, Chairman of the National Insurance Agencies.
17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention
- *Dawson, William L.** Representative from Illinois; Vice Chairman of the DNC.
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- *De Priest, Oscar S.** U.S. Representative from Illinois.
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
- De Sapio, Carmine.** From Tammany Hall. Democrat and “democratic kingpin” per Martin.
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

Diagne, Blaise. Deputy from Senegal in the French Parliament.
25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"

***Diggs, Charles C., Sr.** Representative from Michigan, Congressional Black Caucus.
17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention
27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Dinkins, David.** Mayor of New York City.
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

Dirksen, Everett. Republican Senate Minority Leader.
1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

***Douglass, Frederick.** Abolitionist, Recorder of Deeds, published *North Star*, Howard University Trustee.

06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
26 March 1982 "Developing Linkages..." Howard
06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Draper, Edie. Assistant to Hamilton Jordan.
1978 (month and day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

***Drew, Charles R.** Scientist.
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
12 April 1982 Howard University

Drimmer, Melvin. Historian, wrote *Black History*.
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Driver, Elwood.** Appointed by Carter to the National Transportation Safety Board.
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

***Du Bois, W. E. B.** One of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
25 November 1978 NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner

1979 Untitled Speech: "In the 60s we waged a long fight..."
 1979 (month and day unknown) to Atlanta University
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
 25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
 1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"
 28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
 pre-1977? Speech on Civil Rights in LBJ Administration

***Dyke, James W (Jim).** Special Assistant to the Vice President, Walter Mondale
 1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House

***Dymally, Mervyn.** Involved with the Ford Foundation.
 23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Edley, Christopher, Jr.** Assistant Director, Domestic Policy Staff (for Human Services).
 1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House
 23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
 1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

Eisenhower, Dwight D. 34th president of the United States.
 27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 May 1984 (day unknown) "Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics"

Eisenstat, Stuart E. Worked for President Carter as policy advisor.
 1979 (month and day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking
 23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

Eisinger, Peter K. Professor of Political Science at Wisconsin.
 05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"

***Ellington, Duke.** Musician.
 1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

***Ellison, Ralph.** Author of *Invisible Man*.
 29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"

***Evers, Charles.** Mayor of Fayette, Mississippi.
 11 June 1970 Harvard, "Winds of Change"

***Evers, Medgar.** Civil rights activist.
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."

Farmer, Tom. Kennedy staffer.

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

***Farrakhan, Louis.** Leader of the Nation of Islam.

29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"

Farrar, Eleanor. Involved with the Ford Foundation.

23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Fauntroy, Walter E.** Congressman.

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop

26 March 1982 "Developing Linkages..." Howard

Ferraro, Geraldine A. Democratic Vice Presidential candidate in 1984.

29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"

***Fields, Nathaniel.** Senior Policy Analyst, Office of Science and Technology under Carter.

12 November 1982 Howard University

Flynn, Edward J. From the Bronx. Democrat and "democratic kingpin" per Martin.

27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"

Ford, Bowles C. City councilman in Savannah, Georgia.

01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

Ford, Gerald. 38th President of the United States.

1984 (month and day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"

May 1984 (day unknown) "Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics"

***Foreman, James.** Congress of Racial Equality.

1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

***Franklin, John Hope.** Historian.

1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"

***Freeland, Wendell.** Chairman of Board of Governors.

23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Gant, Harvey.** Mayor of Charlotte, North Carolina.

28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Gardner, Ed.** Businessman in Chicago.

28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

- Garfield, James.** 20th President of the United States.
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- *Garibaldi, Antoine M.** Editor of *Black Colleges and Universities, Challenges for the Future.*
 05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
- *Garrison, Hazel J.** Scientist, executive secretary of Beta Kappa Chi Scientific Society.
 12 April 1982 Howard University
- *Garvey, Marcus.** Politician, orator.
 25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
 1981-3? “Assessing the Role of the Black Press”
 05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
- Gandhi, Mahatma.** Indian activist.
 25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
 11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference
- *Gibson, Kenneth A.** Mayor of Newark, New Jersey from 1970-1986.
 1979 Untitled Speech: “In the 60s we waged a long fight...”
 09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
- *Gibson, Truman.** Lawyer, member of FDR’s “black Cabinet.”
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
- *Goldfarb, Robert W.** Journalist for the *New York Times.*
 1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
- Goldwater, Barry.** Lyndon B. Johnson’s opponent in 1964 presidential race.
 1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
- *Goode, Wilson.** Mayor of Philadelphia (1984-1992).
 28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
 05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
 23 March 1990 Ford Foundation
- Gosnell, Harold E.** Scholar and writer.
 27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
- *Gough, Samuel N.** Principal of AFRAM Group, Howard alumni.
 05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
- Grady, Henry W.** Journalist in Atlanta, Georgia.
 26 April 1963 “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter”

- *Granger, Lester B.** Los Angeles, California chapter of the National Urban League.
1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
- Grant, Ulysses S. III.** 18th President of the United States. Union Army Lt. General.
12 April 1961 “Along the New Frontier”
1979 (month and day unknown) to Atlanta University
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
- Green, Bill.** From Philadelphia. Democrat and “democratic kingpin” per Martin.
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
- *Green, Ernest.** Assistant Secretary of Labor, one of “Little Rock 9.”
06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
- Hague, Frank (Boss).** From Jersey City. Called a “democratic kingpin” by Martin.
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
- Halberstam, David.** Author of *The Powers That Be*.
post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media
- *Harris, Patricia Roberts.** Nominated by Carter as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) 20 Jan. 1977.²²
03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
12 November 1982 Howard University
- *Harvey, Carella.** Student at Clark College.
12 April 1982 Howard University
- *Hassell, Frances M.** Asst. Vice President of Universal Life; Vice President National Insurance Agencies.
17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention
- *Hastie, William H, Jr.** Judge, civil rights activist.
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

²² See Dorothy Gilliam, “Advisers,” *Washington Post* 30 Jan. 1982, final ed.: B1.

- *Hatcher, Andrew.** Associate White House Press Secretary.
30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
- *Hatcher, Richard.** Mayor of Gary, Indiana.
1967 (month and day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC
27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers
1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard
- *Hawkins, Augustus J.** Representative of California. Sponsor of Humphrey-Hawkins bill.
06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
- *Hawkins, Morris, Jr.** Professor at Howard University Medical School.
12 April 1982 Howard University
- Hayes, Rutherford B.** Republican candidate for president in 1876. 19th President of the U.S.
26 April 1963 “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter”
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
- *Height, Dorothy.** Civil rights activist.
12 November 1982 Howard University
- Hemphill, Gwen.** Assistant to Tim Kraft.
1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House
- *Henderson, Marc.** Associate Press Secretary On list called “Black White House Staff” in 1978.
1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House
- *Henson, Dan.** Director of Minority Business Development Agency under Carter.
01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
- Hitler, Adolph.** German leader of Nazi Party.
25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
1981-3? “Assessing the Role of the Black Press”
- *Hodges, Norman.** Chairman of National Association of Black Manufacturers.
05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers

***Holden, Mathew.** Appointed by Carter to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.
1979 Untitled Speech on Energy
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

Hollis, Mel. Headed a task force on HBCUs for Carter.
30 November 1979 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education

***Hooks, Benjamin L.** Director of NAACP from 1977-1992.
06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media

Hoover, Herbert. 31st President of the United States.
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

Hoover, J. Edgar. Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).
11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

***Horne, Frank.** Part of President F.D. Roosevelt’s “black Cabinet.”
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

House, Colonel. Advisor to President W. Wilson.
25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”

***Howard, Otis.** General of the Union Army. Howard University named for him.
1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard

***Hubbard, Arnette R.** President of Cook County Bar
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

***Hughes, Langston.** Writer.²³
11 June 1970 Harvard, “Winds of Change”
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers

Hughes, Richard. Governor of New Jersey.
1967 (month and day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC

²³ Langston Hughes also wrote pointed commentaries for the *Chicago Defender*. See Christopher C. De Santis, ed. *Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender: Essays on Race, Politics, and Culture, 1942-1962*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

Humphrey, Hubert. Senator from Minnesota.²⁴

1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers

***Jackson, Jesse L. Sr.** Political candidate, Reverend.

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
May 1984 (day unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”
05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
29 November 1984 “A White House Perspective on Black Votes”
post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media

***Jackson, Maynard.** Vice Mayor, Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia (1974-1982, 1990-1994).

11 June 1970 Harvard, “Winds of Change”
1979 Untitled Speech: “In the 60s we waged a long fight...”
1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech
28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Jackson, Michael.** Entertainer.

29 November 1984 “A White House Perspective on Black Votes”

***James, Sharpe.** Mayor of Newark, New Jersey (1986-2006).

1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”

Jefferson, Thomas. 3rd President of the United States.

May 1984 (day unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”

Johnson, Andrew. 17th President of the United States.

25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

Johnson, Charles S. Doctor from Fisk University.

26 April 1963 “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter”

***Johnson, James Weldon.** Poet and Secretary of NAACP, U.S. Consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua.

25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

²⁴ For a tribute to Humphrey, see Louis Martin, “The Big Parade: Hubert Humphrey Keeps Fighting,” *Tri-State Defender* 03 Sep. 1977: 5.

11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
 11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

Johnson, Lyndon B. Vice President for John F. Kennedy; 36th President of the United States.
 1967 (month and day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC
 27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
 11 June 1970 Harvard, “Winds of Change”
 1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House
 1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
 09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
 27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 12 November 1982 Howard University
 1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
 1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech
 May 1984 (day unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”
 24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers
 1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
 11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
 pre-1977 Speech on Civil Rights in LBJ Administration

***Johnson, Robert R.** Editor of *Jet* magazine.
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha

***Johnson-Thompson, Marian.** Science professor; doctor.
 12 April 1982 Howard University

***Jones, William B.** Ambassador.
 Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks’ Participation in Foreign Policy

***Jones-Wilson, Faustine C.** Howard University.
 06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Jordan, Hamilton. President Carter’s Chief of Staff.
 1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House

***Jordan, Vernon.** National Urban League representative.
 1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
 1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
 post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media

***Jones, J. Raymond.** New York politician.

27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”

***Julian, Percy L.** Scientist.

12 April 1982 Howard University

***Just, Ernest E.** Scientist.

12 April 1982 Howard University

Kahn, Alfred E. Professor.

1979 (month and day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking

Kaplan, Kivie. Business person and philanthropist.

06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Kelly, Ed. Mayor of Chicago. Democrat and “democratic kingpin” per Martin.

03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors

27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”

25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop

Kennedy, Caroline. John F. Kennedy’s daughter.

12 April 1961 “Along the New Frontier”

Kennedy, John F. 35th President of the United States.

12 April 1961 “Along the New Frontier”

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

25 January 1962 Atlanta Negro Voters League

26 April 1963 “The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter”

27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats

11 June 1970 Harvard, “Winds of Change”

1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House

03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors

1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”

25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop

01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

17 February 1982 American Society of Newspaper Editors Conference

26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard

12 November 1982 Howard University

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”

May 1984 (day unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”

24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers

Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy
 1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."

Kennedy, Robert F. Attorney General in John F. Kennedy administration.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
 25 January 1962 Atlanta Negro Voters League
 26 April 1963 "The Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years Thereafter"
 24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers
 1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."

Kenyatta, Jomo. Kenyan leader.

25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
 17 February 1982 American Society of Newspaper Editors Conference

***Kidd, Mae Street.** Kentucky House of Representatives.

1967 (month and day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC

***King, Coretta.** Wife of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
 post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media

***King, Martin Luther, Jr.** Reverend, civil rights activist.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
 27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
 19 April 1971 "How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community"
 1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House
 1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."
 25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
 09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
 27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
 01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 17 February 1982 American Society of Newspaper Editors Conference
 12 November 1982 Howard University
 28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
 06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat
 24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers
 1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
 11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
 1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."

***King, Robyn.** Staff Assistant, Office of Presidential Personnel.

1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House

Kipling, Rudyard. Author.

17 February 1982 American Society of Newspaper Editors Conference

Kissinger, Henry. Secretary of State.

1979 (month and day unknown) Urban League

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”

01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”

1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks’ Participation in Foreign Policy

Kraft, Tim. Campaign staffer.

1978 (month and day unknown) Welcoming guests to the White House

***Kreps, Juanita M.** U.S. Secretary of Commerce for President Carter.

1979 (Month and Day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking

06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha

17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention

Lance, Bert. Participated in workshop at Wingspread Conference Center.

May 1984 (Day Unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”

Lapham, Lewis H. Editor of *Harper’s*.

29 November 1984 “A White House Perspective on Black Votes”

Lawrence, D. H. Review of Carl Van Vechten’s *Nigger Heaven* and Walter White’s *Flight*.

19 April 1971 “How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community”

Lawrence, Dave. From Pittsburgh. Democrat and “democratic kingpin” per Martin.

27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”

Lee, Robert E. Confederate Army General.

1979 (month and day unknown) to Atlanta University

11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus

***Lewis, John.** Civil rights activist, (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) SNCC.

12 November 1982 Howard University

1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

Lincoln, Abraham. 16th President of the United States.

26 April 1963 The Emancipation Proclamation 100 Years Thereafter

27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”

1979 (month and day unknown) to Atlanta University

25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 1984 (Month and Day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"
 11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

Lippmann, Walter. Writer.

25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"

***Llewellyn, Bruce.** President of Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."

1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

***Locke, Alain.** First African American Rhodes scholar. Wrote *The New Negro*.

28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference

01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Logan, Rayford.** Historian.

1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"

***Louis, Joe.** Boxer.

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media

***Mahin, George.** Vice President of Mammoth Life; Vice President of National Insurance Agencies.

17 July 1979 National Insurance Agencies Convention

Maguire, Richard. White House aide to Kennedy.

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

***Malcolm X.** Orator; activist.

19 April 1971 "How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community"

24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers

1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."

***Malson, Robert.** Assistant Director, Domestic Policy Staff (for Justice and Civil Rights).

1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

Marshall, Burke. Civil Rights division of U.S. Department of Justice.

pre-1977 Speech on Civil Rights in LBJ Administration

***Marshall, Thurgood.** First African American member of the USSC.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
 1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
 1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard
 11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

Mathias, Charles. Senator from Maryland.
 06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Matthews, Basil. Historian.
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Matzeliger, Jan.** Got a patent for a shoe last machine in 1883.
 22 October 1980 FDIC speech

***Mays, William.** Member of the National Highway Safety Commission under Carter.
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

McCleary, Joel. Deputy to Tim Kraft.
 1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

***McCoy, Elijah.** Got patent in 1872 for lubricating machine.
 22 October 1980 FDIC speech

***McCree, Wade.** Judge from Detroit, Federal District Court Bench.
 30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

***McCurdy, Merle.** U.S. Attorney from Cleveland.
 30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

***McGill, Hughes E.** Kentucky House of Representatives.
 1967 (Month and Day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC

McGovern, George. Ran against Richard Nixon in 1972 for U.S. President.
 1984 (Month and Day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"

***McGraw, Booker T.** President of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO).
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***McHenry, Don.** Succeeded Andrew Young as ambassador to the United Nations.
 1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League
 01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
 28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

- *McKay, Claude.** Writer and poet.
 28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
- *McMeans, Donald.** Founder of Renaissance Broadcasting Corporation.
 1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League
 28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
- McNamara, Robert.** President of Ford Motor Company.
 23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
- *Millender, Robert L.** Attorney; activist.
 28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
- Miller, Herman P.** Martin (indirectly) cites his article “New Definition of Our ‘Poor.’”
 26 April 1963 The Emancipation Proclamation 100 Years Thereafter
- *Mitchell, Arthur W.** U.S. Representative from Illinois.
 27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
- *Mitchell, Bunny.** Executive Director of the Interagency Council for President Carter.
 01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
- *Mitchell, Charles L.** Massachusetts representative.
 11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
- *Mitchell, Clarence M. Jr.** Lobbyist for the NAACP.
 24 July 1977 National Urban League
 27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard
 12 November 1982 Howard University
 1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
- *Mitchell, Parren J.** Representative from Maryland.
 05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers
- *Mollison, Irvin C.** Customs Court Judge.
 23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
- Mondale, Walter.** Vice President to President Carter.
 1979 (Month and Day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking

1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League
 09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
 29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"

***Morial, Ernest Nathan ("Dutch").** Mayor of New Orleans 1978-1986.
 1967 (Month and Day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC
 1979 Untitled Speech: "In the 60s we waged a long fight..."
 1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League
 09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
 28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 12 November 1982 Howard University
 1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech
 28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
 05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"
 1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

***Morris, Milton.** Research Director for the Joint Center for Political Studies.
 05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"
 29 November 1984 "A White House Perspective on Black Votes"

***Morrow, E. Frederic.** Worked for President Eisenhower on special projects.
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Mott, Ray.** Head of Raven Systems and Research Inc.
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha

***Muhammad, Mujeddid W.D.** World Community of Al-Islam.
 1979 Untitled Speech on Energy

Muskie, Edmund. Senator and Secretary of State.
 23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
 Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy

Mussolini, Benito. Italian politician.
 25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"

Nash, Patrick A. Cook County party chairman.
 03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors

Nixon, Richard. 37th President of the United States.
 1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
 26 March 1982 "Developing Linkages..." Howard
 1984 (Month and Day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"
 May 1984 (Day Unknown) "Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics"

***Nkrumah, Kwame.** President of Ghana, went to Lincoln University.

12 April 1961 "Along the New Frontier"
 25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
 1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"
 05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"

***Norton, Edward.** General Counsel of the Small Business Administration under Carter
 01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

***Norton, Eleanor Holmes.** Chair of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

03 November 1979 National Conference of Black Mayors
 1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
 28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

Nunn, Sam. Senator from Georgia.

05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers

O'Donnell, Kenneth. White House aide to Kennedy.

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

***Oliver, William (Bill).** Member of Executive Board of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Oshobe, Charles.** Student from Fort Valley College.

12 April 1982 Speech at Howard University

***Owens, Jesse.** Olympian.

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Padmore, George.** Journalist.

1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"
 17 February 1982 American Society of Newspaper Editors Conference

Parker, ? (Possibly a typo, should be Eugene Baker?) President of National Association of Black Manufacturers.

05 December 1978 National Association of Black Manufacturers

- *Parks, Rosa.** Civil rights pioneer.
11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media
- *Parsons, James B.** From Chicago, judge named to Federal District Court Bench.
30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
- Pell, Claiborne.** U.S. Senator from Rhode Island.
Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy
- Pendergast, Thomas J.** Kansas City. Democrat and "democratic kingpin" per Martin.
27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
- Percy, Charles H.** Senator from Illinois.
Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy
- Perry, Charles.** Republican Senator.
06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat
- *Pinson, Valerie.** White House Liaison to the U.S. House of Representatives.
1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House
12 November 1982 Howard University
23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
- Polk, James K.** Acting Secretary in Du Bois' time: PanAfrican Congress.
25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
- *Poole, Cecil.** U.S. Attorney from San Francisco.
30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
- Porter, Paul.** Worked at the DNC with Martin on the 1944 FDR campaign.
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
- *Poston, Ersa.** Member of the Merit Systems Protection Board under Carter.
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
- *Poston, Ted.** Writer for the *New York Post*.
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- *Powell, Adam C.** Representative from New York also Chairman of the Labor and Education Committee.
1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."
27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

Press, Frank. Advisor to Carter on science and technology.
22 October 1980 FDIC speech

***Prince.** Entertainer.
29 November 1984 “A White House Perspective on Black Votes”

***Purvis, William.** Got patent for machine to make paper bags in 1884.
22 October 1980 FDIC speech

Pushkin, Alexander. Russian poet.
24 July 1977 National Urban League

***Raines, Franklin D.** Associate Director for Economics and Government, Office of Management and Budget, Carter administration.
1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

Rainwater, Betty. Deputy to Hamilton Jordan.
1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

***Randolph, A. Philip.** Civil rights activist.
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
12 November 1982 Howard University
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Raspberry, William (Bill).** Journalist for the *Washington Post*.
09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Reagan, Ronald. 40th President of the United States.
26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard
12 April 1982 Speech at Howard University
1984 (Month and Day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
May 1984 (Day Unknown) “Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics”
29 November 1984 “A White House Perspective on Black Votes”
06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Reeves, Frank. Involved with the Ford Foundation, Democratic delegate.
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation
1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

***Reid, Ferguson.** Legislator from Virginia.
1967 (Month and Day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC

***Reinhardt, John.** Asst. Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Career Minister.
Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks’ Participation in Foreign Policy

Reuther, Walter. Labor union leader.

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Revels, Hiram R.** Senator from Mississippi.

26 April 1963 The Emancipation Proclamation 100 Years Thereafter
1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”

Ribicoff, Abe. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

***Rice, Emmett.** Appointed by Carter to the Federal Reserve Board.

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

Robb, Charles. Governor of Virginia.

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Robeson, Paul.** Singer and actor.

01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

Roche, Charles. Deputy of the Democratic National Committee.

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

Rockefeller, Nelson. Republican Governor of New York.

06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

Rogers, William P. Secretary of State.

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks’ Participation in Foreign Policy

Rooney, John J. Democratic Congressman from Brooklyn.

01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

Roosevelt, Eleanor. Wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard

Roosevelt, Franklin D. 32nd President of the United States.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
11 June 1970 Harvard, “Winds of Change”
1979 (Month and Day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking
25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus

11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard
 1984 (Month and Day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
 28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

Roosevelt, Theodore. 26th President of the United States.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard

***Rougeau, Weldon.** Heads the Office of Federal Contract Compliance; Department of Labor.

1979 Untitled Speech: “The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear...”
 06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
 28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

Rousakis, John. Mayor of Savannah, Georgia.

01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

***Rowan, Carl.** From Minneapolis, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

Rusk, Dean. Secretary of State.

Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks’ Participation in Foreign Policy

***Ruswurm, John B.** Published first African American newspaper, *Freedom’s Journal*.

1981-3? “Assessing the Role of the Black Press”
 06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat

***Rutherford, Clara.** Member National Association of Black School Board Members.

26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard

Schenck, Frederick. Deputy Undersecretary of the Department of Commerce for Carter.

1979 (Month and Day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking

***Schmoke, Kurt L.** Mayor of Baltimore 1987-1999.

23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Schneider, Pauline.** Staff assistant in Office of Intergovernmental Relations under Carter.

12 November 1982 Howard University

***Scott, Christopher C.** Deputy Assistant Postmaster General.

30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

- *Scott, Emmett J.** Worked at Tuskegee Institute for Booker T. Washington.
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- *Scott, John (James).** White House Fellow working with Annex Wexler's staff, Carter.
1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House
- *Scott, Walter.** Louis E. Martin's father-in-law.
01 December 1979 Savannah Business League
- *?Seay, Norman.** Member of Alaska Black Caucus?
11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
- Selassie, Haile.** Ethiopian Regent and Emperor.
25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media
- *Sengstacke, John H.** Worked with Martin on the *Chicago Daily Defender*.
17 February 1982 American Society of Newspaper Editors Conference
- *Sharp, W. Eugene.** Head of the Black Judicial Council.
26 March 1982 "Developing Linkages..." Howard
- *Sherill, William.** Wrote for the *Michigan Chronicle*.
1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"
- Shriver, Sargent.** President of Chicago Board of Education, leader of Peace Corps.
12 April 1961 "Along the New Frontier"
23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
- *Simmons, Althea.** Replaced Clarence Mitchell.
12 November 1982 Howard University
- *Sloan, Edith Barksdale.** Member of Consumer Products Safety Commission for Carter.
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
- Sorenson, Ted.** Aide to President Kennedy.
May 1984 (Day Unknown) "Straws in the Wind: Contemporary Politics"
- Spingarn.** Family involved with NAACP.
06 May 1985 Kivie Kaplan Retreat
- Stennis, John C.** Senator from Mississippi.
12 November 1982 Howard University

***Stent, Madelon Delany.** Wrote a chapter in Garabaldi's book.
05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"

Stevenson, Adlai. Senator from Illinois. Martin worked for him between his appointments with Kennedy/Johnson and Carter.
24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers

***Stokes, Carl B.** Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio.
1967 (Month and Day unknown) Minorities and Nationalities Division of the DNC
27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
11 June 1970 Harvard, "Winds of Change"
1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."
23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
12 April 1982 Speech at Howard University
24 April 1970? National Association of Market Developers
11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

***Stokes, Louis.** Congressman from Ohio.
12 April 1982 Speech at Howard University

***Sullivan, Leon.** Reverend, founded Opportunities Industrialization Centers.
1979 (Month and Day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking
12 June 1979 OIC

Sutton, Percy. Ford Foundation representative.
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

Sviridoff, Mike. Ford Foundation official.
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

Taft, William Howard. 27th President of the United States.
25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists

***Tappes, Shelton.** Recording Secretary Local 600.
28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

***Taylor, Noel C.** Mayor of Roanoke, Virginia.
28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

Thurmond, Strom. Senator from South Carolina.
05 October 1984 "Black Colleges and the Future"

Tilden, Samuel J. Democratic candidate for President in 1876.
26 April 1963 The Emancipation Proclamation 100 Years Thereafter
1984 (month and day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"

- *Todman, Terence A.** Ambassador.
 24 July 1977 National Urban League
 Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy
- Toynbee, Arnold.** British historian.
 11 June 1970 Harvard, "Winds of Change"
- Truman, Harry.** Vice President to FDR; 33rd President of the United States.
 11 June 1970 Harvard, "Winds of Change"
 27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- *Tucker, Donald K.** Member of National Conference of Black Local Elected Officials.
 26 March 1982 "Developing Linkages..." Howard
- Twain, Mark.** American author.
 24 July 1977 National Urban League
- Vance, Cyrus R.** Secretary of State under Carter.
 25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"
 23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
 Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy
- Van Vechten, Carl.** Wrote *Nigger Heaven*.
 19 April 1971 "How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community"
- Voltaire.** French writer, philosopher, historian.
 1968? Untitled Speech: "Today each of our lives..."
- *Walker, Edward G.** Massachusetts state legislature.
 11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 1984 (month and day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"
- Walker, Jimmy.** Mayor of New York.
 1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech
- Wallace, George.** Challenged Carter in primaries in 1976, Governor of Alabama.
 27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"
 12 November 1982 Howard University
- Ward, Barbara.** Writer and economist.
 11 September 1980 National Minority Telecommunications Conference

- *Washington, Booker T.** Founder of Tuskegee Institute.
 11 July 1980 Alaska Black Caucus
 25 September 1980 Voter Participation and Network Development Workshop
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
 26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard
- *Washington, Harold.** Mayor of Chicago.
 28 or 29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture
 05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
- Watson, Thomas (Tom).** Populist Party candidate in Georgia.
 1984 (month and day unknown) “The 1980 Election – Political Legacy”
- *Weaver, Robert (Bob).** Head of Housing Program.
 12 April 1961 “Along the New Frontier”
 30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
 27 April 1968 Colorado State Young Democrats
- Weber, Brian.** Party to a reverse discrimination lawsuit against Kaiser Aluminum.
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
- *Wheeler, Lloyd G.** First African American lawyer in Illinois in 1869.
 23 June 1979 Cook County Bar
- *White, Frank.** Associate Director, Domestic Policy Staff (for Justice and Civil Rights)
 1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House
 12 November 1982 Howard University
- *White, Walter.** Wrote *Flight*. Executive Director of NAACP.
 19 April 1971 “How to Cover and How Not to Cover the Black Community”
 1981-3? “Assessing the Role of the Black Press”
 01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- Whitehead, Alfred North.** British scholar
 1979 (month and day unknown) to Atlanta University
- *Wilder, Douglas.** Governor of Virginia.
 23 March 1990 Ford Foundation
- *Wilkins, Roy.** NAACP representative.
 30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis
 12 November 1982 Howard University
 1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
- *Williams, Charles.** Member of National Association of Black County Officials.
 26 March 1982 “Developing Linkages...” Howard

- *Williams, Daniel Hale.** Scientist.
12 April 1982 Speech at Howard University
- *Williams, Eddie N.** President of the Joint Center for Political Studies.
24 July 1977 National Urban League
06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
12 November 1982 Howard University
1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech
23 March 1990 Ford Foundation
- *Williams, James R.** General President of Alpha Phi Alpha (1977-1980), from Akron.
06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha
- *Williams, Karen Hastie.** Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy in the Office of Management and Budget.
1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League
28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor
12 November 1982 Howard University
05 October 1984 “Black Colleges and the Future”
- *Williams, Lucius.** President of Wage Earners Bank.
1979 (Month and Day unknown) Untitled Speech On Banking
- Williamson, Thomas S.** Deputy Inspector General of the Department of Energy.
1979 Untitled Speech on Energy
- Wilson, Edith.** President Wilson’s second wife.
01 October 1980 National Association of Black Journalists
- Wilson, James Q.** Wrote introduction to Gosnell’s book.
27 October 1979 “Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy”
- Wilson, Woodrow.** 28th president of United States.
25 January 1979 “Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs”
- Wofford, Harris.** Member of Kennedy cabinet.
23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha
- Wolpe, Howard.** Congressman from Michigan.
Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks’ Participation in Foreign Policy
- *Wood, Clarence.** Member of the National Urban League.
24 July 1977 National Urban League
- *Woods, Howard.** Served on the Committee on Equal Job Opportunity under Kennedy.
30 September 1961 Speech in St. Louis

***Woodson, Carter G.** Historian.

1981-3? "Assessing the Role of the Black Press"

***Wright, Edward H.** First president of the Cook County Bar Association founded in 1941.

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

Yarmonlinsky, Adam. Staffer for Kennedy.

23 June 1983 Pi Alpha Alpha

***Young, Andrew J.** United Nations (UN) ambassador appointed by Carter; Mayor of Atlanta (1982-1990).

1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

24 July 1977 National Urban League

1979 Untitled Speech: "The Introduction reminds me of yesteryear..."

1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League

06 January 1979 Alpha Phi Alpha

25 January 1979 "Foreign Affairs and Black Affairs"

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

23 June 1979 Cook County Bar

27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"

01 December 1979 Savannah Business League

28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

1981? Untitled speech possibly for Black Family Conference at Howard

12 November 1982 Howard University

11 September 1980 National Minority and Telecommunications Conference

post-1981 Untitled Speech on Mass Communication Media

1984 (CA) Joint Center Speech

***Young, Coleman.** Mayor of Detroit, Michigan (1974-1993).

1979 Untitled Speech: "In the 60s we waged a long fight..."

09 June 1979 South Carolina Black Legislature

28 June 1980 National Association for Southern Poor

1984 (Month and Day unknown) "The 1980 Election – Political Legacy"

28/29 February 1984 Millender Memorial Lecture

23 March 1990 Ford Foundation

***Young, Whitney M. Jr.** Civil rights leader; National Urban League.

1977? Speech at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

1979 (Month and day unknown) Urban League

27 October 1979 "Blacks, Presidential Politics and Public Policy"

12 November 1982 Howard University

Zablocki, Clement J. Congressman from Wisconsin.

Post-1981 Untitled speech on Blacks' Participation in Foreign Policy

***Zuniga, Karen W.** Deputy/assistant to Louis Martin.

1978 (Month and Day unknown) Speech welcoming guests to the White House

30 November 1979 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education