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FOREWORD*

Louis Farrakhan**

I speak to you, in the name of Allah, the beneficent, the merciful, the one God to whom all praise is due, the Lord of the worlds, the great God who was to come and, indeed, has come, to seek and to save that which was lost. If we search the pages of Scripture and search the pages of history, we will not be able to find any person or persons more fitting the description of the lost sheep, the lost brother, the lost people, than the Black man and woman of American and the Western Hemisphere, who have not only been lost from our native land and people for a little over four hundred years, estranged from our own culture, our own God, our own religion, but worse than that, this is a people lost from the very nature and power of its own being. So lost that when the prophets and writers of Scripture saw us down the wheel of time, they said, "They are irretrievable, irreformable, irredeemable, irreconcilable, hopelessly lost, past praying for." Some writers even referred to us as dead, meaning that just as difficult as it would be for us to visit the cemetery and call the dead back to life, that is how difficult the job would be to reconcile this lost brother again to himself, to redeem him to his former glory, to pay a price to bring him home again to himself.

But the impossible for man sets the stage for the coming of God, for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad taught us that when Almighty God Allah created the Heavens and the Earth from nothing, He destroyed the impossible. So, since the black man and woman of America have been reduced to nothing, meaning a people that are present but doing nothing in the way of self, it is not impossible for God to take nothing, and I do not mean that disrespectfully, because I do know I'm talking to people of substance; however, I hasten to say that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad also said to us that no person or group can rise above the condition of its people, and if our people are considered nothing, we are nothing.

And Almighty God has found that which was lost, and claimed that which was lost to be His own. I thank Almighty God for blessing us with those great soldiers who have brought us thus far on the way, for we do not sit here this morning on our own power. We sit here this morning because of those who sacrificed to get us where we are and have gone on so that we may make a sacrifice for those who are yet to come. I speak of Denmark Vesey. I speak of Nat Turner. I speak of Sojourner Truth. I speak of Harriet Tubman. I speak of Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey and noble Drew Ali. I speak of Paul Robeson and Adam Clayton Powell. I speak of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, so many, too innumerable to mention. But if I live to be 1000, I will always be grate-

* From an address to the National convention of the National Bar Association, Los Angeles, California, July 1979.

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ful to Almighty God for raising up among us a divine leader, a divine teacher and a divine guide, the man who taught me most of what I know, and gave me an example by which I'm molding my life, the messenger of Allah the most honorable, Elijah Muhammad. I'm happy to greet you, my brothers and sisters, with the greeting words of peace in the Arabic language, "As Salaam Wa Alaikum", and in English, "Peace be unto you". My brothers, my sisters, to the distinguished members of the dais, to Mayor Tom Bradley, to Mayor Ken Gibson, to President Julius Williams, to the distinguishing judges, to the Solicitor General, to all of the members of the National Bar Association, I cannot tell you how happy I am to have been invited by your president to be the keynote speaker for your 54th Annual Convention. President Julius Williams has been a bold, courageous leader, who by his vision and by his experience, has expanded the role of the National Bar Association, and I hope that the new president, Brother Bob Harris, will continue to expand that role, to make the National Bar Association that which its founding fathers envisioned, a strong bar by which the oppressed could gain a greater measure of justice.

Many may wonder why a minister at a convention of lawyers and judges, and why a Muslim, at that. Why? Because law, by itself, cannot do for our people what needs to be done. There is a spiritual direction, a spiritual underpinning, that every lawyer, male and female, must have. For, without that spiritual underpinning, you have not the fortitude or the strength to reverse your own personal direction so that you may face the challenge of the '80s.

Without a spiritual base you will continue to be the second most drug-abusing, alcohol-abusing group, committing suicide when you should be the leaders of a suffering people out of bondage. Drunkards cannot lead them. Thieves cannot lead them. Cutthroats cannot lead them. Those who would be syncophants of a decadent system cannot lead our people who cry out for justice.

Why a minister at a legal convention? I believe it is because President Julius Williams senses a need for spiritual direction, a need for moral strength, and a need for the development of character. For what good is law without direction? What good is a fine legal mind without moral strength? Look at Nixon, look at his cabinet, and look at his government. He had a fine legal mind, but he had no character.

Why does President Carter say there is a crisis of confidence? If people do not have confidence in their leadership, why? If there is a crisis of confidence, why? The real problem in America is not a legal problem; it is a moral problem. And the moral problem exists because America has lived a lie from its inception.

We cannot be judges and lawyers and men of renown if our renown and judgeship and our legal position is dependent upon deceit and treachery. We must clear away the cobweb of confusion and come back to something that the universe is rooted in, and that is truth. The Constitution of the United States of America is a magnificently written document. The brothers and sisters of the NBA looked into the Constitution of Zimbabwe and saw that it was not what it was supposed to be. America has a constitution that is what it is supposed to be, but words are not the fact, the practice is the fact.

And if the practice has never lived up to the ideal, then the ideal is not worth the paper that it is printed on. What good is it for us to preach God and religion when no one is living it? What good is it for us to know right, and not do what is right? Beloved Brothers and Sisters, I am grateful for this opportunity to talk to the finest minds in the United States and, probably, in the world. If God would bless my words to open your heart that is hardening against itself, to make you see your responsibility to a suffering people, then this keynote address will have been, in my lifetime, the most important speech that I will have ever made.

I looked up the word "keynote" and, you know in music, you can't play until you find the key. I noticed that this morning that in the singing of the national anthem, we made a light segway. We were fluctuating because the key had not been found. But when it was found, then we could proceed. A key in spiritual language represents authority, it represents power, but a keynote is a note that, when sounded, becomes the base upon which the whole scheme of that musical composition is built. The keynote address should be one that expands our horizons. The keynote address should be one that gives us more vision. The keynote address should help shed light on internal problems, to turn the weakness of our organization into strength, for in order to face the challenge of the '80s, we do not have to worry about the enemy without, but we must be concerned with the enemies within, the ugly enemies of envy, jealousy, greed and self-aggrandizement. These are weaknesses that must be ferreted out and destroyed, so that this organization may become stronger as it moves into the 1980s. Therefore, this brief address will deal with law from a spiritual perspective.

I shall not speak to you on your law, but I shall speak to you on *the* law.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad taught us that the first law of the universe is motion and the second law is order. Anything that you set into motion is good, but if you don't bring it under some kind of order, the motion will bring about its destruction. Now we're going to deal with the law.

I have a book and a pen. The pen is lighter than the book. The pen is not equal to the book. But when I drop the pen and the book, the law renders them equal. So, though the pen is not equal to the book, when I drop them both, they hit the floor at the same time, because the law renders them equal.

It is written that "all men are created equal." This is not true, for there is no equality from the tiniest insect out to the distant stars and planets. God has always made some things greater than others. But the equality is in the law under which all of these things are created. All things are equal only under law. There are some lawyers here who have finer minds than others. There are some judges more superior than others. But it is beautiful when that which is greater, working with that which is lesser, recognizes that both are equal in the divine scheme of the Creator, Who is the Maker of all things. So the constellations have many stars, all of which do not shine with the same brilliance, but the beauty of those stars is their composition in a constellation. The beauty of us is not who is greater or who is lesser; the beauty of this body is not how many heads it has, for the heads can't function without the heart, and the heart cannot function without the lungs, nor can the body function without the liver, the kidneys, and many other things

that are not seen that make me sing. But they are all working behind the scenes for one common cause, and it is that common cause that becomes bigger than the head and the heart and the hands. And so it is in any organization; it is all working together, not concerned with our greater role or our lesser function, but recognizing that in an organization there must be those who stand in front and there must be those who stand behind. Standing in front doesn't mean ego-tripping. Standing in front doesn't mean "I am the greatest"; standing in front means I am the servant of those who make it possible for me to stand.

Now, God, in setting this universe into motion, created order by means of law. The sun and the moon have been shining a long time and the earth, the Scriptures say, that generations come and generations go, but the earth abides forever. There have been mighty civilizations in the past. There were many before you that built tall buildings. You were not the first to fly. Scripture says, "There is nothing new under the sun." You're just a Johnny-come-lately who got proud of yourself. But I want to warn you that as surely as that sun rises in the east and sets in the west, those whose civilization is not rooted in the universal order of things will have no perpetuity. So those of you who lend your life, your being, and your substance to an unjust society, in order to keep the status quo, instead of agitating to disturb it for the sake of justice are the worst enemies of the perpetuity of a nation. You who are satisfied with the hypocrisy of America, are the worst enemy of America's perpetuity. Those who will agitate for justice, those who are not going to lie down and let things remain as they are, those who will uproot and tear down until justice flows down the mountain, are the ones who will build a world that will last.

When God made Adam, he said, "Boy, I created you in My image, after My likeness and I am going to give you mastery over the fowl of the air, the fish of the sea and over every creeping thing that crawls upon the earth, but remember, Boy, you see I was here before you. I have a right to destroy you, you rebellious boy. You better rule like I rule. Remember, Adam, I rule with justice. I don't care nothing about your color, Adam, 'cause my law is the same for all things. You may be white and you may be Black, but, Adam, I render all things equal under law. If I'm going to let you rule in my stead, and be my vice-general on earth, you must remember my universal order, and root your social order in my universal order and there'll be perpetual peace in your social order, as there is peace in my order. Remember that there is power bigger than you, and order your life after the order of that which is perpetual, and you will have that which the Christian preacher talks about—eternal life. Eternal life does not mean you're going to live forever. It means that what you build will go on in existence because it is rooted in that which has no end, and that is truth."

We live in a world founded and ordered by those who were in power when they brought our fathers into slavery. They know that the order of God is freedom, the order of God is justice, the order of God is equity. The very human spirit is constructed on the base of that universal order. So whenever you deprive people of freedom, deprive people of justice, deprive people of equity, you set up in them a dissatisfaction that is bound to bring about the ultimate overthrow of your system of society because it is against

the human spirit. What am I driving at? The point is that an order was created for a racist society. They set it in motion and they established the order of this society based on their law, which was not rooted in universal law. They set up a dissatisfaction in the souls of Black men and women and in the souls of their own men and women, because it is a society of the rich for the rich, and it does not give a damn for the aspirations of the poor, and, especially, the Black. That kind of society, and that kind of law which orders the society is the framework into which you came to study law. That's what I wanted to get to.

A racist society said that black men were three fifths of a human being legitimized it in the Constitution. You say, "Oh, no, but they amended it." But did they really? You, who see across the water, I beg you to look close at home, for you are in no better position in America than your brothers are in Zimbabwe. You're in no better position in America than your brothers are in Zambia or South Africa. It is indeed mockery for you to be hanging from the lyncher's rope and, while you're swinging, saying, "We gotta help get them down over there." You better cut yourself down over here, then you will be in a better position to cut them down over there.

Racism is built into the fundamental law of the land, into the politics, into the education, into the religion; racism so permeates the society, that the society seems unable to reverse itself. What we are saying, dear brothers and sisters, is that a society that rules for the rich is in existence here. We can't deny that. I think Mayor Bradley said a few minutes ago that a mayor has influence, not power and that influence is good, but power is better. I think that's right. It makes you feel good to see a mayor Tom Bradley, a mayor Ken Gibson, a mayor Richard Hatcher. It makes us feel good to see Thurgood Marshall in the highest court of the land. We are joyous over that. But, brothers and sisters, we have to look deeper. In order to reverse directions, influence must be turned into power, because it is only power that can turn and reverse directions. Am I saying that I am an advocate of black power? I am saying that we have not had *any* power. And I am saying that we would like to have some, so that we can see whether we misuse ours like they misuse theirs.

Now, dear lawyers, when you go to the law school, they immediately want to give you a legal mind. They're not satisfied with the mind that you brought to the institution. You come into law school with all these aspirations, "Oh, yes, I'm going to be a lawyer, and I'm going to do this and I'm going to do that." And they say, "Yes, come in. We know what you're going to do. Because when we put something in the computer, we know what we're going to get out from that computer. We don't want you thinking for the good of your people, we want to program you into the way we want you to think. So you are now learning the law of an unjust society, that has not rooted itself in the universal law and order of things. Therefore, we are training you to be heralders and perpetuators and protectors of the law and the order of an unjust society."

Therefore, in order for you to advance to be a judge, to advance in this world, you must show the boss, "See how I am, Boss." Mayor Bradley said you are going to have to make sacrifices. Does it mean you have to sacrifice your principles? Does it mean you have to sacrifice your aspirations for the

good of a suffering people? Does it mean you have to sell your soul for a position that makes you feel empty when you go home at night to look at little Black babies, who have to grow up and inherit a world that is getting increasingly worse, because in every generation, our leaders are co-opted and sell us out because they want positions and Mercedes-Benzes, fine homes and corporate office buildings, rather than justice?

Beloved brothers and sisters of law, I was with Malcolm X when Malcolm went to Harvard University to debate a very fine barrister, a Mr. Carington. And, though Malcolm had an eighth grade education from Norfolk penitentiary with a degree from the honorable Elijah Muhammad, himself a third grade graduate, the highly trained legal mind couldn't handle Malcolm X. Because Harvard did not train him to handle someone who does not think out of the box. You need vision to see beyond the legal box of a racist society. And that vision is a spiritual vision that will come to you from people that are rising from the masses, who have never had your training, but need you in order to succeed. Beloved, there are elders among us in this organization, NBA, who have paid a hell of a price to get this organization to where it is. You don't know their personal anguish. Why should there be a division between the young and the old? We need our elders. The Scripture says, "Young men for war, but old men for counsel". When there have been as many veterans of so many campaigns as these veterans who are members of the NBA, I chide the youth, do not condemn the bridge that got you where you are. Understand the bridge and understand what they had to go through. We need young men of vision, but we need our elders to back us up and support us and say, "Well, Boy, in our day, we couldn't think like that, but God bless you."

You, our beloved elder statesmen, encourage us. We, your young, are like your children. Time is going to put the mantle in our hands. Give us the benefit of your counsel, but let us run the race, because the '80s are going to need dynamic lawyers, lawyers who don't just follow the law, but who become so skilled in law that they become masters of the law and learn to use the law for the benefit of the oppressed.

So let this convention pay tribute, honor, and respect to our elders. Let the young Turk, the young lawyer, during this convention sit down with the elder and ask him, "Dear Brother, how did you make it this far? Dear Sister, how did you make it this far? Give me the benefit of your experience." But, you see, your trained minds make you arrogant. Your trained minds make you not willing to listen to each other. Your trained minds make you so vicious that when someone comes up with something good your trained mind makes you desire to tear it up, rip it apart, with your logic. Oh, brothers and sisters, we don't need that. We need to use our minds to help each other. Where one is weak, make them strong with your knowledge, so that we, as a group, can face the challenge of the '80s.

Now, I don't remember disrespect, but we are 30 to 40 million people in America, begging the white man to do for us what we should have been doing for ourselves. We force him by law, "Let us in." Yes, rise up against Mr. Bakke, because Bakke does not want us in college. After 100 years supposedly up from slavery, we should have dotted the landscape with colleges and universities to serve our own needs.

Don't you know, brothers, that to take our little children and send them to our schools, that we control, send them to our hospitals that we own is the American way, the right of self-determination, the right of a people to help themselves, the right of a people to lift up themselves? Well, why don't you take advantage of that, then? Your sick have to cry because they have to go to hospitals that do not want them. We have got to do something for ourselves, 30 million people eating bread, 30 million people getting over 80 billion dollars out of the American economy, making us the ninth richest nation in the world, but all we can do is consume. And we do not produce anything of what we consume. If the Caucasian said tomorrow, "No toilet paper for Negroes, colored people and NBA lawyers", we would be hard pressed, brother.

Beloved brothers and sisters, the honorable Elijah Muhammad was a very faithful warner to America, and to you, from Almighty God. He warned America that she would have to come away from injustice to 30 million people or she would face the same fate that Pharaoh faced, that Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon faced, that the wicked of Sodom and Gomorrah faced. She would face it all in her time. The honorable Elijah Mohammad warned you and me. He said, "Brothers and sisters, get up from the feet of white people. Take advantage of the freedom that they say they gave us, and let's do something for ourselves." This doesn't mean disrespect for them in what they have, but it does mean being so much of a self-respecting individual that we want to have something that we can call our own. He says if you don't do it now, time and circumstances are going to force you to do it later, because when God gets finished plaguing America, she's going to drop you.

Something definitely is happening in America. The wind seems to have turned against America. The rain doesn't bring her joy anymore, tornadoes with energy in them equal to atomic weapons dance through cities and towns in America like girls in long skirts. Funnel clouds drop down, destroying towns and cities. Rivers overflow their banks, drowning many people. The earth lightly tremors as a token of what is yet to come. While you sport and play a world comes down around you. The President, with all due respect for his human rights advocacy, advocated the rule of the Shah of Iran until it became perfectly clear that the Shah had to go. He kept right on with Mr. Samozza until it became clear that that regime may open the door for a Communist take-over in all of Central America. America seems to talk the right thing, but she's slow in doing the right thing because there is no force strong enough, with leverage enough, to make her do the right thing. But you must make her do the right thing by the power and force of right that is in you. You say, what do you mean right is not in her? If she were right, she would do right. She relegated the Indians to those little lands and laughed behind the door, not knowing that an energy crisis would come down the road, and that the last remaining deposits of energy would be on that land that they put the Indians on. Now they are scheming to get it back. You say, "Oh, they wouldn't do a thing like that." Oh, no? All the gains that we got through the marching of Dr. King, through the sacrifice of those mighty martyrs, is now being turned around. Is that right? Unemployment has reached staggering proportions among black people, and in order to

slow down the runaway inflation, unemployment has to rise. The government says to 6.9 or 7.0% but one commentator says, more like 9.0%. Now who do you think that is going to be? Oh, you mighty lawyers of NBA, I can see you in a few days, with your attache cases full of proposals, but with no jobs. I think you are beginning to feel it already, aren't you, brothers and sisters? I understand why you're upset.

Now, I close. When you put a seed of corn in the ground, that seed of corn brings up a stalk and on that stalk may be from three to seven ears, and on every ear as much as 100 grains all from *one* grain. That is a law, "That as man soweth, so shall he reap", and he usually reaps in abundance. Now God, in His infinite mercy, when evil is done doesn't magnify the evil. He usually gives you the like of what you send forth. But if God senses that there is no reversal in your conduct, no repentance for your wrong, then He brings the weight of your evil against you. That's a natural law. Don't you realize, brothers and sisters, that the weight of America's injustice is now being brought against the leadership? President Carter can't solve the problems. That poor man, in two and one half years, has aged fifty years. I know, Governor Brown, if you're listening, you would like to be president, but that's like Spinkelink saying, "I love the electric chair." Ask Jimmy Carter what kind of jolts he's getting at night. He sleeps in the White House. He travels around in big jet planes, and in armoured cars. But the food don't taste right and the bed don't sleep right, because justice is coming home, now, to those who deprived the poor of justice. The Scripture said, "Go, too, now you rich man. Weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you." And because his popularity is going down, and down, he makes a foolish blunder that even the dumbest of us could see. He calls for mass resignations in the Cabinet, shaking up the whole monetary world. The governments of the world have never seen America de-stablized. Don't you realize that America has de-stabilized governments all over the world, but now as she has sown, so shall she reap. Now, you, America, have sought to destroy our confidence in every leader that we have had. Every leader who spoke for justice, you made us think was a no good tramp. You de-stabilized his organization, schemed and plotted against him. Woe unto you, America, for now it's coming home. You say it is a crisis of confidence. Indeed, it is. Black man and woman, you need to be made secure. The word Muslim means one who has been made secure, and by that security, has entered into peace. The circumstances under which we live is shaking the very foundation of the Western world, upsetting security, and depriving the leadership and the people of peace. There's so much confusion in the government that they are unable to see clearly how to solve their problems, much less yours. Beloved legal minds, you are the hope of our people. Maybe you didn't know that, and maybe you do, but we are going nowhere without you. With you, we can go all the way, but you have got to reverse your direction, and come home to yourselves and your people. Now, let me just say what I mean, "Come home." You need to set your brain, after it has come home, on top of the nation of your 30 million people. Their direction, their hands can build anything that is necessary to be built. Their feet can walk in any direction that you lead them, but you have got to come home and recognize that you have a responsibility to the baby that cries at night, to that brother and sister down in Mississippi, who have no justice under

that law. Our duty is to feed, to clothe, to shelter, to guide our people. Will you accept your challenge? Because if you don't accept the challenge of the '80s, we won't be here, probably, by the '90s. The rise of the right in America, the Fascists in America, the Ku Klux Klan in America, the conservative element in America, are tired of black folks. They are tired of black folks begging. Every one of us should stop placating and falsely giving our people these illusions that racism is dead in America. How could Andy say such a thing? We should challenge him and say, "Wait a minute, Andy. That is not correct. We love you, Andy Young. You are a brilliant brother, but don't sell us the stuff. Don't create no illusions." We don't need no more magicians, we need people who will make us face reality and grasp the facts of reality and change them to a reality that suits our will, our needs. Up, you mighty NBA. You can accomplish what you want if you will reverse your direction, change your moral life to one that is in harmony with correct morals and correct character. Come home to yourself and your people. Then the words of Dr. Martin Luther King will become a reality; the words of the Black National Anthem will become a reality. "Facing the rising sun of a new day begun, we will march on to victory as one", and we will sing, with Martin Luther King, that old Negro spiritual. We will be able to say, "Free at last, free at last. Brothers and sisters, we thank God because we had the wisdom and the strength to change and reverse our direction that we can be free at last." Through that freedom, we can free others by that change.

May God bless you, may God grant you His peace and His protection, as I greet you, "As Salaam Alaikum".