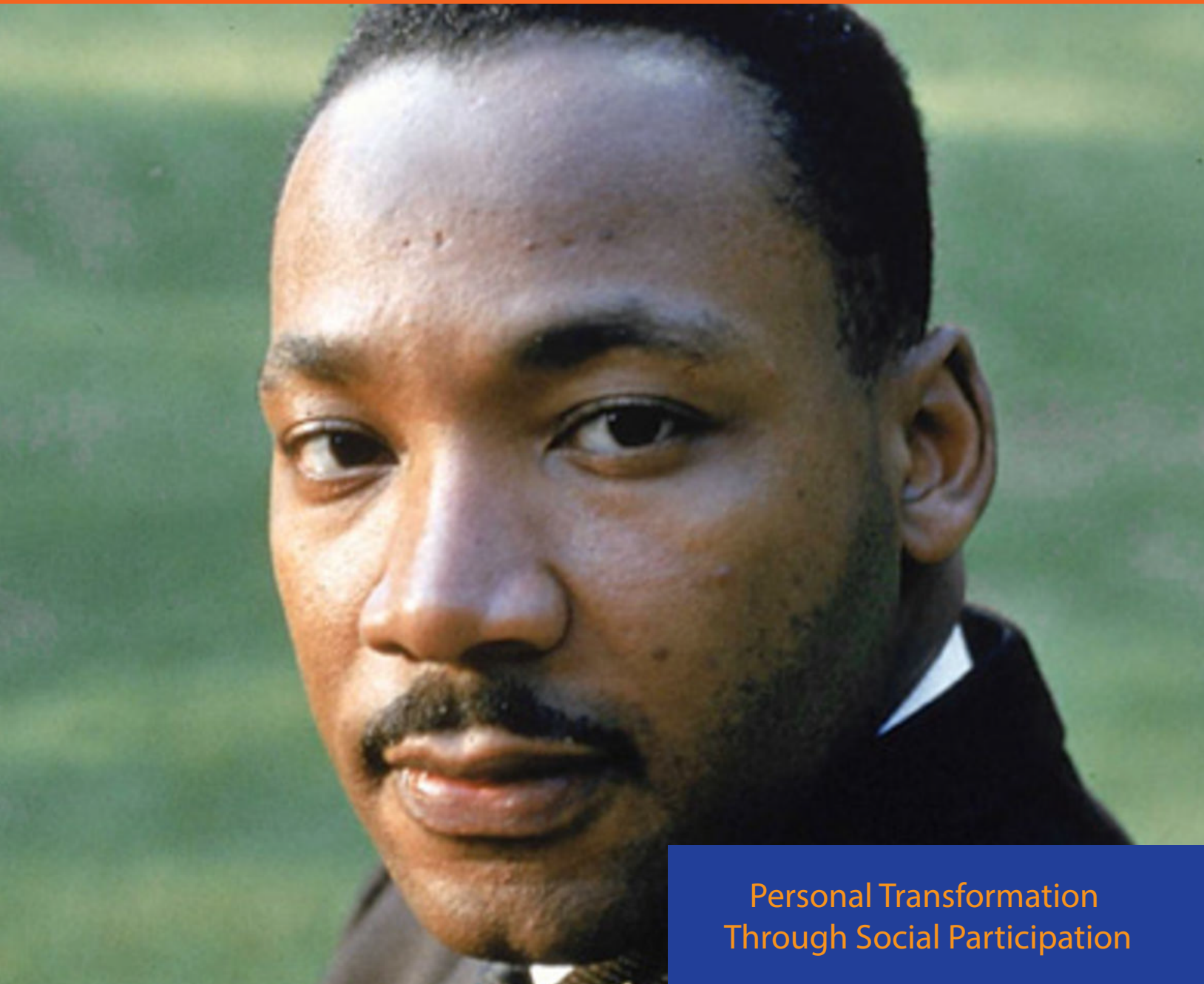


Democracy Education
Series

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: Life and Legacy

Roy D. Wilson EdD



Personal Transformation
Through Social Participation

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE LEGACY AND LIFE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

<u>Introduction</u>	3
<u>Dr. King: The Person</u>	
Who is he?	7
Chronology	9
<u>Dr. King: The Message</u>	
The Message	17
Primary Components of Kingian Nonviolence and Power	19
Two Forms and Three Kinds of Power	21
Nonviolence: A Word Picture	23
Four Issues that Distinguish Nonviolence Philosophy	27
Humanity as Friendly or Hostile	29
Two Different Views on the Nature of Power	31
Three Components, Six Principles, and Six Steps to Nonviolence	33
Conduct, Character and Consciousness	43
The Triplets of Injustice	47
<u>Dr. King: The Movement</u>	
The Movement	65
The World House, King	67
The Liberatory Heritage of the 20 th Century, O'Dell	73
<u>Dr. King: The Meaning for Us Today</u>	
What Nonviolence Can Mean to Each of Us, Wilson	81
Nonviolence and Social Change, King	83
A Christmas Sermon on Peace, King	91
<u>Dr. King: His Meaning to Me</u>	
The Ten Actions for Leadership	101
A Cure for Fear	122
Shattered Dreams	133
<u>Appendix</u>	
The Riverside Church Speech, King	150
Dr. King Quotes	170
<u>Bibliography</u>	201

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

**To the Board of Directors of the Martin Luther King Jr. Freedom Center,
we offer our gratitude and our commitment to continue pushing on
so that we improve a model for meaningful education and
social transformation through the process of
changing ourselves to better serve humanity.**

Roy D. Wilson, EdD

**We gratefully acknowledge
the support and collaboration of:**

The California State Legislature

**The California Youth and Family
Civic Engagement Initiative**

COPYRIGHT ©2022 Roy D. Wilson, Ed.D.

Institute for Community Leadership Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior written permission of Roy D. Wilson.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

INTRODUCTION

Martin Luther King, Jr. was and is many things. It is difficult today to learn to know him. Several reasons for this exist. Perhaps the overarching reason stems from our condition, as a people, of not knowing who we are. When a people do not know themselves, and cannot place themselves in history, then it is very difficult to learn to know those who've come before us and how they continue to live among us in their works and ideas. Another reason that makes it difficult to learn to know Dr. King lies in our way-of-life of not knowing why and how we are interconnected to the rest of humanity. When a people fail to see how their actions and ideas impact others then it becomes almost impossible to know how any historic figures, or any set of positive values and ethics, relate to us as individuals, groups, and as a nation.

We have created for ourselves a system of mis-education that has halted our ability to perceive ourselves as real people with the capacity to manage our nation. We are living in an epoch where we are learning how to not learn. We are learning how to not think through basic, fundamental, real-life conditions. To learn Dr. King means simultaneously learning ourselves, as individuals and groups, and as a nation among other nations.

To learn Dr. King it is essential to unlearn. When we have mastered the way of "learning how to not learn," we must search for ways to let go of some harmful habits and to replace them with the positive process of developing a hard-hitting, analytical thinking. We must act different in order to think clearly and objectively. There is a section at the back of the book that explains basic steps on how best unlearn ideas that we have already adopted. You should find that section helpful.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

This book attempts to give you information about nonviolence as a lifestyle and how it is applied to the struggle for civil rights, justice, and a stronger democracy. It focuses on the nonviolence theories and actions associated with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the movement for civil rights and peace movements in which we applied them.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. THE PERSON



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. QUOTES

“Nonviolent direct action will continue to be a significant source of power until it is made irrelevant by the presence of justice.”

“The first step in the world-wide war against poverty is passionate commitment.”

“Every step towards the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.”

“When an individual is no longer a true participant, when he no longer feels a sense of responsibility to his society, the content of democracy is emptied.”

“Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself.”

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. KING: WHO IS HE?

Dr. King was many things at once. He was a General in the Army of Free Persons. He was a great Baptist minister. He was an excellent organizer; a drum major for justice; a soldier for peace; an advocate for the left out, locked out and the hurt and hungry in each of us. He was a husband and a father and a loyal friend to his friends. He was a writer and a great orator. He learned how to make friends with his fear and he learned how to control anger and to befriend his enemies. He learned how to live a life worth dying for. Dr. King accepted the American promise put forth by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence that all persons are created equal, that they are “endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.” He accepted this unfulfilled promise and he accepted the hypocritical histories of the promisers with agape love and profound, admirable intelligence. He never gave up on his country nor did he give up on the capacity of the people to organize with love and tenacity to make the promise come true.

Dr. King is one of those leaders who never dies. Perhaps we should speak of him not only in the past tense, but also in present and future tenses. Dr. King is an example for each of us, a high standard demanding excellence in our heart and in our head. Let’s be like Martin!

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. KING: WHO IS HE?

In the United States many people know little about Martin Luther King, Jr. Many don't know when and where he was born. They don't know how he was raised, or where he went to college, or when he got married.

In order to understand Dr. King's philosophy and his nonviolent direct action it is necessary to discover some things about Dr. King, the person.

ASSIGNMENT

Read the following four pages. The information puts in context the life of Dr. King. It also outlines important events in Dr. King's life.

Choose at least five things about Dr. King that you did not know before.

Take the new information you have chosen and write at least 2 sentences for each one you chose. For example, if you chose the point that Dr. King had a sister named Christine, you would write two full sentences that tell others about that fact. For example, "Family is important. Dr. King shared his childhood with his sister, Christine."

You have 15 minutes to choose the 5 things about Dr. King that you did not know before. Then you will have 6 minutes to write your sentences. Remember: 5 new things about Dr. King and then at least two sentences about each of the 5 things.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

CHRONOLOGY

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

- 1863** Emancipation Proclamation
- 1865** Civil War ends
Passage of 13th Amendment prohibiting slavery.
- 1868** Passage of 14th Amendment guaranteeing equal protection of the laws for all persons.
- 1870** Passage of the 15th Amendment prohibiting discrimination in voting rights of citizens on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."
The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments are known collectively as the "Reconstruction Amendments."
- 1865-1877** Reconstruction Era. During Reconstruction the federal government occupied the Confederate states. New state constitutions were written that promoted and protected the political rights of all. During this time significant numbers of African Americans became elected officials at all levels. Reconstruction temporarily suppressed the power of white supremacy and racism.
- 1877** Rutherford Hayes becomes president when Republicans and Democrats negotiate the Compromise of 1877, which effectively ends Reconstruction. President Hayes withdraws federal troops from all Southern (Confederate) states. The forces of white supremacy and the class of plantation owners regain political power. The Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist escalate terrorist campaigns of murder, lynching, and enforced segregation attacking the economic, political, civil and human rights of African Americans. The time after Reconstruction created the era of Jim Crow.
- 1896** Plessy v. Ferguson ("separate but equal") decision of U.S. Supreme Court.
- 1898-1915** The Grandfather Clause, a statute enacted in southern states, allowed whites voters to circumvent literacy tests, poll taxes, and other tactics designed to disenfranchise blacks and deprive them of voting rights.
- 1929** Martin Luther King, Jr. is born to Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr.
- 1929-1939** The Great Depression ravages America as the stock market crashes, industries lay off millions, and millions of people become unemployed. The depression started in the United States and spread around the world.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

1935-1948	King attends elementary and high school. He passes the entrance examination and attends Morehouse College (Atlanta) without graduating from high school.
1939-1945	World War II consumes Europe. While causing great damage to European industry, and bringing death to tens of millions, the American economy came out of depression due to rapid increase of industrial production for war-time use. Unemployment dropped to historical low levels.
1948	King is ordained and becomes assistant to his father, who is pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta.
1948-1955	King studies at Crozier Theological Seminary. After hearing Dr. A. J. Muste and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson preach on the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, he begins to study Gandhi and nonviolence seriously. In 1955 he receives Ph.D. in Systematic Theology from Boston University.
1953	Coretta Scott and Dr. King marry
1954 May	The Supreme Court of the U.S. rules unanimously in <i>Brown vs. Board of Education</i> that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.
1954 Oct	Dr. King is installed by Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. as the twentieth pastor of the Dexter Avenue Church, Montgomery, Alabama.
1955 Dec	Mrs. Rosa Parks, a representative of a local civil rights organization, initiates the Montgomery Bus Boycott, refusing to relinquish her bus seat to a white man and is arrested.
1955 Dec	The first day of the bus boycott. Dr. King is elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association.
1956 Jan	King is arrested on a charge of traveling thirty miles per hour in twenty-five miles-per hour zone in Montgomery. He is released on his own recognizance.
1956 Jan	A bomb explodes on the porch of Dr. King's Montgomery home. No one is injured.
1956 Feb	A suit is filed in federal district court asking that Montgomery's travel segregation laws be declared unconstitutional. Dr. King convicted on boycott charges.
1956 May	Federal court rules, and the Supreme Court upholds bus segregation as unconstitutional.
1957 Feb	The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC, formed
1957 Sep	President Dwight D. Eisenhower federalizes the Arkansas National Guard to escort nine African American students to an all-white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas.
1957 Sep 9	The first civil rights act since Reconstruction is passed by Congress.
1958 Sep	Dr. King is stabbed in the chest at a book signing.
1959 Mar	Dr. and Mrs. King spend a month in India studying Gandhi's techniques of nonviolence, as guests of Prime Minister Nehru.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

1960 Feb	The first lunch-counter sit-in to desegregate eating facilities is held by students in Greensboro, North Carolina.
1960 Jun	Dr. King has a conference with John F. Kennedy, candidate for president of the United States, about racial matters.
1960 Oct	Dr. King is arrested at an Atlanta sit-in and is jailed on a charge of violating the state's trespass law. Dr. King is held in jail until President Kennedy personally requests Dr. King be released.
1961 May	The Freedom Rides, organized by Congress for Racial Equality, (CORE), begin with the goal of integrating interstate buses. The first bus is burned in Alabama, a mob beats the Riders in Birmingham. The Riders are arrested in Mississippi and many of them spend forty to sixty days in Parchman Penitentiary.
1961 Nov, Dec	Dr. King arrives in Albany, GA in response to a call from Dr. W. G. Anderson, the leader of the Albany Movement to desegregate public facilities. Dr. King is arrested at an Albany demonstration.
1962 Jan	Boycott of segregated Birmingham stores begins
1962 Fall	James Meredith, as part of the civil rights movement desegregates University of Mississippi
1963 Apr, May	Birmingham Movement begins; lunch counter sit-ins. Dr. King arrested in Birmingham. From jail he writes "Letter from a Birmingham Jail". Eugene "Bull" Conner, Birmingham Police Commissioner orders the use of police dogs and fire hoses upon the marching protesters (young adults and children). The Supreme Court of the United States rules Birmingham's segregation ordinances unconstitutional.
1963 Jun	Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers assassinated.
1963 Aug 28	The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the first large integrated protest march, is held in Washington, D.C. Dr. King delivers his "I Have A Dream" speech.
1963 Sep 15	Four children die in bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Birmingham.
1963 Jun	Governor George C. Wallace tries to stop the court-ordered integration of the University of Alabama. President John F. Kennedy federalizes the Alabama National Guard, and Governor Wallace removes himself from blocking the entrance of the Negro students.
1963 Sep 2-10	Governor Wallace orders the Alabama state troopers to stop the court ordered integration of Alabama's elementary and high schools until he is enjoined by court injunction from doing so.
1963 Nov 22	President Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas.
1964 Jun 21	James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, three civil rights workers are murdered during short trip to Mississippi.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

1964 Summer	Council of Federated Organizations initiates the Mississippi Summer Project, a voter-registration drive organized and run by black and white students.
1964 Jul	Dr. King attends the signing of the Public Accommodations Bill, part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, by President Lyndon B. Johnson in the White House.
1964 Sep	Dr. King meets with Pope Paul VI at the Vatican.
1964 Dec 10	Dr. King receives the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway.
1964 Summer	Riots occur in Harlem, New Jersey, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.
1965 Jan	Demonstrations for voting rights in Selma
1965 Feb 21	Malcolm X, leader of the Organization of Afro-American United and former Black Muslim leader, is murdered in New York City.
1965 Mar 7	A group of marching demonstrators (from SNCC and SCLC) led by SCLC's Hosea Williams are beaten when crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge on their planned march to Montgomery, Alabama, from Selma, Alabama, by state highway patrolmen. An order by Governor Wallace had prohibited the march.
1965 Mar 9	Dr. King leads a second Selma-to-Montgomery march.
1965 Mar 15	President Johnson addresses the nation and Congress. He describes the voting rights bill he will submit to Congress in two days and uses the slogan of the civil rights movement, "We Shall Overcome".
1965 Mar 16	Black and White demonstrators are beaten by sheriff's deputies and police on horseback in Montgomery.
1965 Mar 21-25	Dr. King leads over three thousand protest marchers as they leave Selma for a march to Montgomery, protected by federal troops. They are joined along the way by a total of twenty-five thousand marchers. Upon reaching the Capitol Dr. King gives his, "How long? Not Long" speech.
1965 Aug 6	The 1965 Voting Rights Act is signed by President Johnson.
1965 Aug-Dec	In Alabama, SCLC spearheads voter registration.
1965 Aug 11-16	In Watts, Los Angeles riots leave thirty-five dead
1966 Jan	SCLC lays groundwork for Chicago Movement. Dr. King rents an apartment in the black ghetto of Chicago.
1966 Spring	The Supreme Court of the United States rules any poll tax unconstitutional. Dr. King makes a tour of Alabama to help elect black candidates. The Alabama Primary is held, the first time since Reconstruction that blacks have voted in any numbers.
1966 Summer	Dr. King launches a drive to make Chicago an "open city" in regard to housing. He is stoned in Chicago as he leads a march through crowds of angry whites in the Gage Park section of Chicago's southwest side.
1966 Fall	SCLC initiates the Alabama Citizen Education Project.
1967 Mar	Alabama is ordered to desegregate all public schools.
1967 Mar, Apr	Dr. King publically opposes the war in Vietnam in Chicago and in New York City at the Riverside Church.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

- 1967 May** A black student is killed by police during a demonstration on the campus of Historically Black College, Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi. In July, twenty-three people die, 725 are injured in riots in Newark, N.J. Forty-three die and 324 are injured in Detroit riots, the worst of the century.
- 1967 Jul** The Justice Department reports that more than 50 percent of all eligible black voters are registered in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina.
- 1967 Nov** Dr. King announces the formation by SCLC of a Poor People's Campaign, with the aim of representing the problems of poor of all races from around the country.
- 1968 Feb** Sanitation workers strike in Memphis. Dr. King leads six thousand protesters on a march through downtown Memphis in support of striking sanitation workers. Dr. King presents speech praising W.E.B. Du Bois at a demonstration of the Sanitation Workers Union in Memphis, Tennessee. Police violently attack the gathering.
- 1968 Apr 3** Dr. King's last speech, entitled "*I've Been to the Mountaintop*," is delivered at the Memphis Masonic Temple.
- 1968 Apr 4** Dr. King is assassinated by a sniper as he stands talking on the balcony on the second floor of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis. James Earl Ray is later convicted of the murder.
- 1968 Jun 5** Presidential candidate Senator Robert Kennedy is assassinated in Los Angeles after winning the California primary election.
- 1986 Nov** The civil rights movement achieves a national holiday in honor of Dr. King.

Selected text from *The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Selected by Mrs. Coretta Scott King. New York: Newmarket Press, 1983, and others.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“When a new dawn reveals a landscape dotted with obstacles, the time has come for sober reflection, for assessment of our methods and for anticipating pitfalls. Stumbling and groping through the wilderness finally must be replaced by a planned, organized and orderly march.”

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

“The movement therefore gives to its participants a double education---academic learning from books and classes, and life’s lessons from responsible participation in social action. Indeed, the answer to the quest for a more mature, educated American, to compete successfully with the young people of other lands, may be present in this new movement.”

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. THE MESSAGE



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. QUOTES

“Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.”

“We have inherited a large house, a great “world house” in which we have to live together—black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Muslim and Hindu—a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interest, who, because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace.”

“Today our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the challenge of change.”

“When an individual is no longer a true participant, when he no longer feels a sense of responsibility to his society, the content of democracy is emptied.”

“The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.”

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. KING: THE MESSAGE

Dr. King is often described as a dreamer. This is not accurate. Everyone dreams, and so did Dr. King, but his message was not a dream. It was a directive. He laid out a purpose for humanity. He assigned a work plan to each of us in order that we might serve the purpose. His message is constructed on a dialectical analysis of the systems that create racism, poverty, and war. His directive is to work tirelessly to construct organizations capable of conquering unjust systems.

The purpose of Dr. King's plan and directives are threefold. They are: to eliminate racism and replace it with interracial unity; to end poverty and consumerism and replace them with economic equality and a life-style based on a more humanist meaningfulness; and to replace war and other forms of violence with peace with justice.

Dr. King is an architect for a more perfect Union. His message is to individuals and groups; it is also directed to the nation and the world.

This chapter defines the most important components of Dr. King's philosophy of nonviolence and his application of nonviolence to the work of confront injustice. Nonviolence is both a way-of-life and a tactic. It can be applied to how one lives. In addition, it can be applied to how an individual or group carries out an action. Furthermore, there are at least six distinct applications of nonviolence. For social justice warriors the most important applications are represented in the work of Mahatma Gandhi, Cesar Chavez, and Dr. King.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Dr. King's theory and practice of nonviolence is not accepted by two groups of people: those who seek to maintain the status quo; and those who want change yet seek to mobilize instead of organize. Some of these differences are addressed in the Chapter, "The Meaning for us today."

Dr. King's message calls for self-change as individuals come together to transform society.

"As of 2014 the United States is involved in 134 wars. The large ones are well know: Iraq; Afghanistan; Syria; Yemen; Pakistan; and Somalia. However, the United States is involved in 129 other armed conflicts and battles which are taking place in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Southeast Asia."

Public Radio International. PRI, The World

Everyone 25 years old and younger has grown up in a full-blown wartime economy which is propelled, in part, by the technology sector; the same corporations that supply us with our personal electronic devices.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

PRIMARY COMPONENTS OF KINGIAN NONVIOLENCE

A STRONGER DEMOCRACY REQUIRES STUDY OF THE LEVERS OF POWER

Nonviolence is a declaration of war
against evil and injustice.
Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

“The power at the disposal of a nonviolent person is always greater than he would have if he were violent.” Mahatma Gandhi

Nonviolence deals with the nature of power, and how to develop power. Usually, the purpose of nonviolence is making somebody do something, not do something, or stop doing something. The aim of nonviolence is to influence behavior.

Dr. King writes about power and powerlessness. He uses the concept of a conflict or battle between the forces of power demanding change and the forces of power dedicated to preserving the status quo.

The words, “status quo” mean “to stay the same.” Thus, do you want to change or do you want to stay the same? Do you want to help change society or do you want to let it stay the same?

Dr. King believes that power is good; it is necessary to achieve purpose. Some people consider power a negative. That point of view considers all power corruptive and unresponsive to the needs of the people. Dr. King holds that power of the people is possible, and it is possible for the people to maintain power in a way that it represents the interests of peace with justice.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Nonviolence deals with the nature of power, and how to develop power. Usually, the purpose of nonviolence is making somebody do something, not do something, or stop doing something. The aim of nonviolence is to influence behavior.

DR. KING'S WORDS ABOUT NONVIOLENCE & POWER

"The plantation and the ghetto were created by those who had **power** both to confine those who **had no power** and to perpetuate their voicelessness and their **powerlessness**.

"The problem of transforming the ghetto is, therefore, a **problem of power**...a confrontation between the **forces of power** demanding change and the **forces of power** dedicated to preserving the status quo."

"**Power**, properly understood, is **the ability to achieve purpose**. It is the **strength** required to bring about social, political or economic changes...**Power** is not only desirable but necessary in order to implement the demands of love and justice."

POWER IS THE ABILITY TO ACHIEVE PURPOSE

Dr. King writes about power and powerlessness. He uses the concept of a conflict or battle between the forces of power demanding change and the forces of power dedicated to preserving the status quo. You must have a purpose in order to achieve power.

Dr. King defines power as "the ability to achieve purpose."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

TWO FORMS OF POWER

There are two forms of power: Personal power and group power.

PERSONAL POWER is the ability of the person to achieve purpose. Personal power expresses itself in interpersonal interactions.

GROUP POWER is the ability of a group to achieve purpose. There are many distinct groups in society which have different levels of power. Group power expresses itself in inter-group relations and interactions.

While there are many group distinctions, the most important groups include: race, class or economic interest, nationality, age, gender, religious beliefs, ideological/political beliefs, and geographic location.

Life is the struggle between groups to achieve purpose. Some groups need and demand change. Other groups struggle to preserve the status quo.

Power takes either one or the other form. Power is expressed personally, through individuals, and through groups. Of course, within groups the internal struggle is defined by the interactions and struggles between specific persons and subgroups.

THREE KINDS OF POWER

There are three kinds of power. Power exists in one of three areas. There is economic power, political power and cultural/spiritual power.

ECONOMIC POWER means, "Who has the capital, the bucks."

POLITICAL POWER means, "Who makes governmental decisions or group decisions."

CULTURAL/SPIRITUAL POWER means, "Who communicates for the group."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

POWER

There are two forms and three types of power.

ASSIGNMENT

Write at least four paragraphs. (Write more than four if you would like).

Focus first paragraph on describing the two forms of power.

Focus second paragraph on explaining that there are three types of power.

Focus third paragraph on a situation that makes it clear you understand economic power and what it means in today's world

Focus fourth paragraph on a situation that makes it clear you understand political power and what it means in today's world.

Focus fifth paragraph on a situation that makes it clear you understand cultural power and what it means in today's world.

“At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality.”

Che Guevara

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

NONVIOLENCE: A WORD PICTURE

Nonviolence holds certain conclusions. It is empirical, provable, and based on fact. It is intuitive, and based on wisdom. It is scientific. It is psychological. It is egalitarian. It involves individuals, even when it involves millions.

Nonviolence holds certain truths: Life involves suffering. Life is struggle. Life is choices. Life is the battle of the desire to get versus the desire to give.

Nonviolence studies the levers of power. Nonviolence holds that each individual plays a role in the conditions confronting the community. The statement, "the racism in the United States is our racism, my racism," reveals the ownership by a nonviolence devotee of the injustices in our society. While nonviolence sees injustice as the result of the system of exploitation, greed, and selfishness, it also realizes that each individual collaborates in that system to the extent of living with and accepting its domination. Nonviolence places the focus for change in the hands, hearts, and minds of the exploited and oppressed.

Nonviolence seeks certain desires and opposes others. All desires are not equal. The desire for the satisfaction of the senses represents one kind of self-centric desire. The desire for liberation, on the other hand, represents a more inclusive, other-centered desire. Nonviolence seeks self-initiative in the creation and promotion of other-centered desires because it holds that one cannot reach other-centered desires without others also reaching them. The desire for liberation involves everyone.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Nonviolence calls upon the individual to develop a self-selected intellectual and ideological orientation. Others need not subscribe to it. The ideological orientation must be coherent and defensible.

Nonviolence requires a self-generated desire or an emotional foundation that encourages persistence and motivation.

Nonviolence devotees develop self-control over language. Language forms the building blocks of thought and the thinking process. Most of our language comes from others, from our families, peers, and institutions. Study your language. Language provides insight into one's personality. Consciously create language that communicates your most heart-felt desires and your most thought out ideas. Words and phrases are connected to and represent distinct ideas and emotions. How and where they are use brings those ideas and emotions to the moment.

Nonviolence advocates use nonviolent language with one's self. Self-talk that reflects one's visions and aspirations form an important aspect of living nonviolently.

Make your conduct consistent. Nonviolence opposes having different conduct in different settings. A nonviolent warrior for justice dismantles the departmentalized conduct one carries out, acting a certain way with family, another way with friends, yet another way at work or school, and still another way in public places. Dr. King teaches, "Be consistent."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

This calling leads to choosing a livelihood or occupation that is consistent with your ideas, desires, language, and conduct. We spend most of our time in our paid jobs, and it makes little sense for a nonviolence devotee to select a job dedicated to hate or violence or greed and to be expected to be able to carry out the job without lowering one's self-respect and strength.

Nonviolence calls for constant effort. It requires intent. Do you recall having done something, and then moments later you ask yourself, "Why did I do that?" Dr. King coaches us to make all our actions a conscious choice. Avoid doing what circumstance seems to demand. Instead, do what justice deserves.

Nonviolence calls for a studied and applied life. It calls for concentration on effort, experimentation, global analysis, intuitive measurement, analytical evaluation and criticism, and learning from errors and correcting them. Every act, thought and feeling permits the devotee an assignment for a concentrated approach to living.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

NONVIOLENCE: A WORD PICTURE

ASSIGNMENT

Each paragraph above makes specific points about nonviolence. Choose at least three points.

Write a paragraph that explains to others each point you have chosen. Do not write a “book report” type of paragraphs. Write an essay or speech in your own words that teaches others what you think.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

FOUR ISSUES THAT DISTINGUISH NONVIOLENCE PHILOSOPHY

Schools of nonviolence divide over the same particular questions that divide human beings around the world. While there are many such questions, permit us to mention three.

Independent or Interdependent

First, there is the question of whether people are independent or interdependent. Some people are most aware of their individuality. For them, the freedom to choose what, when, where and how is more important than their relationships and their being a part of the group(s). They see the individual as the center of reality, and they claim that an individual wins or loses based simply on his/her own effort or lack of it. Advocates of the primacy of independent relationships fail to ask the “why” in life. Their concern for the “what” and the “how” force them to create institutions and governments that are “up against” others.

The other side of this debate represents those for whom life’s interdependence holds supreme. Advocates of interdependence begin with the “why?” They begin with the “purpose of life” issue, or the “purpose of the relationship(s) issue. To them the separateness of people seems artificial and problematic. They see themselves as the benefactors of those who have gone before us and of millions of others around the world who sacrifice and contribute by making, cultivating, and processing goods and services that impact all. This position holds that together, we all win, and alone we lose. Dr. King represents this thought:

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“In a real sense all life is inter-related. All men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be, and you can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be...”

FOUR ISSUES THAT DISTINGUISH NONVIOLENCE PHILOSOPHY

ASSIGNMENT

Among nonviolence practitioners and others, individuals divide based on degrees of acceptance of one or the other response to the question of independent versus interdependent. Write at least two paragraphs that offers your point of view. Explain how and why you have come to your conclusion.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

HUMANITY AS FRIENDLY OR HOSTILE

Second, there is the question of whether people see humanity as friendly, indifferent or hostile. To some, like Dr. King, humanity is on the side of justice. King recognizes evil, errors, and injustice, but he thinks that the essence of humanity tilts slightly more toward unity, love, and harmony. He maintains that systems of exploitation force human beings to be more evil, and to create more injustices than human beings would naturally exhibit in more natural or just systems. Others see humanity as indifferent to the life of the individual. This view holds that the individual has no significant connection to the human family. The vague “bureaucracy” or “the system” makes the individual irrelevant.

There is also the position that sees humanity as dangerous and hostile toward the human endeavor. This position holds that human beings, by nature restrict and oppresses others; that is, it holds that the essence of humanity tilts toward evil, errors, and the perpetuation of injustice.

Related to the debate between the positions that humanity is basically friendly or hostile, is the debate as to whether or not individuals are essentially good or bad. The thinking that holds that individuals are born essentially good claims that one doesn’t have to intentfully make choices because, it holds, being naturally good means you will tend to do only good things. Those that hold that individuals are born bad usually see individuals as born as sinners. From this point of view, there is no reason to educate or prepare individuals to make choices because their essence, by nature, is essentially sinful.

Nonviolence, on the other hand, believes that each person is born neither essentially good nor essentially bad, but each person is born with the capacity to do (and thus be) both good and bad.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Each person has the responsibility to choose between the two. Nonviolence puts the emphasis on the individual's choice and sees life as an opportunity to make millions of choices, which we make annually, monthly, weekly, daily, hourly, minute by minute and practically every second. Dr. King puts it this way:

"More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people."

Nonviolence calls us to choose our thoughts, feelings, and actions. We can choose sympathy, compassion, and giving, or we can choose selfishness, greed, and taking. The choice belongs to each of us. It is through our conduct that we make choices.

HUMANITY AS FRIENDLY OR HOSTILE ASSIGNMENT

Write three paragraphs that explaining your view on the basic nature of human beings. Do you think humanity is basically friendly, indifferent, or hostile? Explain why you think the way you do.

Add two more paragraphs that explain your view on the basic nature of individuals. Do you think the individual is born basically good, or bad, or is the individual born neither inherently good or bad, but is born and grows with the capacity to choose. Explain why you think the way you do.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

TWO DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF POWER

The philosophy of violence and the philosophy of nonviolence hold two different views of the nature of power.

Violence claims that power is durable and long lasting. Violence claims that those in power are above will of the majority. In personal relationships, the philosophy of violence holds that one who controls the economic and political power of the group or family can hold that power no matter what other group or family members do. Violence says, "My way or the highway," but ignores the fact that everyone is replaceable.

Nonviolence holds that power is fragile because it depends on many individuals and groups for reinforcement.

Violence sees the people as dependent upon the good will, the decisions, and the support of their government (or bosses or leaders).

Nonviolence sees the government (or bosses or leaders) dependent upon the people's good will, decisions, and support.

Nonviolence holds that the exercise of power depends on the consent of the ruled. By withdrawing that consent, the ruled can control those in power, and even destroy their power.

Nonviolence is a technique used to combat, control, and destroy the opponent's power by nonviolent means of wielding power.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

TWO DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF POWER

ASSIGNMENT

Dr. King holds that power is fragile; that it is dependent on the support of the governed. The forces of greed put forth that power is invincible and permanent. What do you think? Write an essay, a speech, or a poem that explains your view on the nature of power.

“When a people are mired in oppression, they realize deliverance when they have accumulated the power to enforce change.....The powerful never lose opportunities—they remain available to them. The powerless, on the other hand, never experience opportunity—it is always arriving at a later time.”

Martin Luther King, Jr.

“In our society power sources are sometimes obscure and indistinct. Yet they can always finally be traced to those forces we describe as ideological, economic, and political.”

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THREE COMPONENTS OF NONVIOLENCE

The three components of nonviolence provide clarity on what occurs in the process of developing power through the practice of nonviolence.

Nonviolence makes a vow to truth. Dr. King does not mean, “THE Truth.” He is referring to a process of seeking truth. Dr. King opposes the status quo’s interpretation of truth, which is to insist that truth is one thing and one thing only, and it is frozen in time. Dr. King interprets “a vow to truth” to mean making a commitment to seek accurate and transparent understanding. Seeking truth means being able to hear and understand the ideas and feelings of another while simultaneously critically analyzing and refining your own ideas and feelings.

The constant renewal of the mind. This component refers to the process of critically analyzing and refining one’s ideas and feelings. It means to study what you already know. It requires learning how to learn, which requires learning how to unlearn.

Nonviolence is dedicated to the development of self-control. Nonviolence requires a high degree of self-control. Nonviolence is a declaration of war against racism, economic exploitation, and war. Self-control of mind, emotions, and body is essential in order to carry out nonviolent actions and to further develop nonviolent thinking.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THREE COMPONENTS OF NONVIOLENCE

ASSIGNMENT

Write an essay, speech, or poem about the three components of nonviolence. You can focus on one of the components, or refer to all of them in some way. Write at least four paragraphs or stanzas.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. KING'S SIX PRINCIPLES OF NONVIOLENT CHANGE

1. **Nonviolence is a way of life for courageous individuals.** It is a proactive declaration of war against evil & injustice. Courage is the inner resolution to go forward in spite of obstacles and frightening situations.
2. **Nonviolence does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship & understanding.** The end of nonviolence is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.
3. **Nonviolence directs its attack against the forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil.** It is the evil that the nonviolent resister seeks to defeat, not the person victimized by evil.
4. **Nonviolence resistance is a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation.** Nonviolence holds that suffering can educate and transform. "Things of fundamental importance to people are not secured by reason alone, but have to be purchased with their suffering." Mahatma Gandhi.
5. **Nonviolence avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit.** The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot the opponent but the resister also refuses to hate the opponent. At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of agape love.
6. **Nonviolence is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice.** Consequently, the nonviolence practitioner has deep faith in the future.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. KING'S SIX STEPS FOR NONVIOLENT CHANGE

- 1. Information gathering.** In order to understand and articulate the issue or injustice facing the community, you must first research, investigate and gather all vital information that will increase your understanding of the problem. Dr. King explains the importance of fully understanding the logic of the adversary's position so that you can defeat that logic in the hearts and minds of the people.
- 2. Education.** It is essential to inform others about your issue. Devote time to fully develop a clear, concise way to communicate about the struggle so others clearly understand the issues and what is at stake.
- 3. Personal commitment.** Eliminate hidden motives and prepare yourself to accept suffering, if necessary, in your work for justice. Do not rely on your logic and on the righteousness of the cause to be a productive change agent. Effectively working for justice means to be fully committed to the work, for the work's sake.
- 4. Negotiation.** With grace, humor, and intelligence, confront the other party with a list of injustices and a plan for addressing and resolving these injustices. The struggle is not a one-way engagement. It requires two or more opposing forces. The nonviolence practitioner develops a plan that removes injustices and creates new relationships based on justice.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

5. **Direct action.** Used to morally force the opponent to work with you in resolving the injustices. Direct action imposes a "creative tension" into the conflict.

6. **Reconciliation.** Nonviolence does not seek to defeat the opponent, but to seek her/his cooperation and understanding. It is directed against evil systems, forces, policies, and acts, not against persons.

The six steps for Nonviolent Change from Martin L. King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.

"The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued that self-defeating path of hate. Love is the key to the solution of the problems of the world."

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

NONVIOLENCE: A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST EVIL AND INJUSTICE

Violence and Nonviolence Share Many Virtues and Beliefs

Both Share the Belief That
Conflict is Natural & Inevitable

Both Believe They Are
The Best Solution to Disputes, Injustices, and Conflict

Shared Virtues of the Violent Fighter & the Nonviolence
Practitioner

Enterprise Showing a willingness to undertake new projects, risk taking.

Courage The inner resolution to go forward in spite of obstacles and frightening situations.

Strenuous Action Obtaining satisfaction from hard, difficult work.

Endurance The ability to preserve mind, spirit & body for the long haul.

Sincerity The militarist's vision of truth may be partial and cloudy, but he nevertheless lives, suffers and dies for the truth as he sees it. The nonviolence practitioner is motivated by deep, sincere feelings.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

MORE SHARED VIRTUES OF THE VIOLENT FIGHTER AND THE NONVIOLENCE PRACTITIONER

Devotion Both violent warriors and nonviolent soldiers establish devotion.

Sense of Unity with One's Own Kind

Militarists share a deep sense of unity with their own kind. Nonviolence practitioners share a sense of unity even with their opponents and enemies.

Order Both hold that order is a means to a positive end.

Training The militarists have had centuries of elaborate training. Nonviolence adherents also advocate for superb training.

Discipline Both respect and create discipline within the individual and group.

Energy All the deep emotions, especially fear & anger and love and hope, are generators of tremendous energy. To be a channel of immense energy gives one a thrill and a satisfaction that can never be forgotten. Fear, anger and hatred are doubtless evil, but the energy that they arouse is, by itself, good; for as William Blake said, energy is divine.

Importance of Information

Correct and current information is sought after by both organized violence and organized nonviolence.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

MORE SHARED VIRTUES OF THE VIOLENT FIGHTER AND THE NONVIOLENCE PRACTITIONER

Will to Conquer

While the militarist's will to conquer seems obvious, the nonviolence practitioner must also have such a will. Indeed, she must have an indomitable will to victory in order to endure the suffering put upon her. Moreover, she has a stronger incentive to win than has the ordinary soldier in war, for by this new way the final result is sure and settled permanently, and with a great release of happiness for all concerned.

Strategy & Tactics

Both the organized militarist and nonviolence practitioner study and act based on understanding strategy and tactics. While victory is perceived differently by the two, both use such well known strategies as: surprise; never do what the enemy wishes you to do; using the defensive as the decisive form of action; concentrating her force at the decisive point; utilizing the superiority of the moral factor to purely material resource.

Economy of forces

Both ways of solving disputes rely on this strategy.

Mobility The ability to move about, to change venue, to step back or step forward.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolence seeks change by willingly accepting suffering and sacrifice.

Violence seeks change by willingly perpetrating acts of suffering and sacrifice on others. The forces of violence refuse to change.

Violence attempts to create a social order based on the domination of the wealthy elite over the majority. Nonviolence attempts to create a social order based on the domination of the majority over the wealthy elite.

Nonviolence takes responsibility for the conflict and contradictions, and advocates that warriors for justice change themselves in order to force the adversary to do what they would not otherwise do. Nonviolent warriors for justice focus nonviolent force on dismantling the system of racism and injustice, and replacing it with a system of economic, political, and social justice.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

**THE FUNDAMENTAL ESSENCE OF
NONVIOLENCE
IS AN ANTIDOTE TO VIOLENCE**

**THE OPPOSITE OF VIOLENCE IS
PEACE WITH JUSTICE**

While nonviolence shares certain virtues and strategies with violence, the fundamental essence of nonviolence opposes war, and the violence of racism and hyper-consumerism.

Nonviolence seeks redemption and reconciliation. It seeks justice. Peace.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THREE STEPS TO HIGHER CONSCIOUSNESS

Conduct, Character, and Consciousness

To develop consciousness, one must first develop the conduct that produces the relationships with others and the world that permits consciousness. Consciousness does not first come from ideas. It begins with conduct.

Conduct

The first steps to higher consciousness.

What is conduct?

The American Heritage Dictionary defines conduct as:

The way a person acts

The way one acts from the standpoint of morality and ethics

Behavior

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Next step: Character

Character An essential step on the path to higher consciousness.

What is character?

The American Heritage Dictionary defines character as:

The combination of qualities that distinguishes one person (or group) from another

Disposition

moral or ethical strength

A distinguishing feature or attribute

While the concept of character is objective and static, in life character takes on significance in distinguishing and defining commonalities and differences between individuals and groups. The world-view one uses to observe others is impacted by place, time, class, race, culture, gender, and other external realities. By “place” we mean the geographic location on the planet in relationship to all other geographic locations. By “time” we mean epoch or era, a time defined by specific qualities. By class we mean the economic relationship to the means of production and consumption. Race refers to color. Culture refers to certain shared history, acts, thoughts, and feelings that bond a particular group together.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Next step: Consciousness

Consciousness

What is Consciousness?

The American Heritage Dictionary says consciousness is:

To be awake

To be alert

Having an awareness of one's own environment and one's own existence

Intentionally conceived or done

Mindful

Capable of thought, will or perception

A sense of one's personal or collective identity

Attitudes, beliefs, and sensitivities held by or considered characteristic of an individual or a group

Higher consciousness develops when one's conduct leads to an otherinterested, amplified character. Lower consciousness develops when one's conduct leads to a self-centered, narrow character. Low character allows for little awareness. Low character sees only what is right in front of it. It is not capable of perception and identity. High character permits an awareness of life and reality that is much further away. High character sees more clearly one's own environment and existence.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THREE STEPS TO HIGHER CONSCIOUSNESS

The road to permanent and lasting change begins with our ability to change our conduct.

ASSIGNMENT

Conduct, character, and consciousness represent a progression that leads toward being woke and on the case. Write a speech, poem, or essay putting into your own words the importance of the progression between conduct, character, and consciousness. Visualize teaching this concept to others.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

TRIPLETS OF INJUSTICE

RACISM

Racism is based on the white supremacist lie that black people are inferior and white people superior. The idea of racism was created by white, economic elites in the 17th Century in order to manipulate white people into accepting the brutality of slavery. Racism is an economic system that maintains political and social systems and institutions based on the ideas of white supremacy.

MATERIALISM

Materialism is a system and way-of-life that requires prioritizing material objects and comforts while rejecting cultural, intellectual practices and values. Materialism objectifies people as commodities to be used as objects for one's profit or pleasure.

Materialism stems from the economic system of exploitation of human beings, a system that continues to create smaller and smaller numbers of extremely wealthy people, while, at the same time, producing larger and larger masses of poor people.

Materialism also replaces "participation" with "spectating." People stop participating in sports, in singing and creative work, and, instead, as spectators they watch others play sports, listen to others sing, and witness the creative works of others.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

MILITARISM

Militarism is the system that makes the purpose of life the executing of war and war-like conditions. It is the military-industrial complex----that interconnected system of private corporations that profit from wartime production intricately connected to military structures.

Militarism includes all forms of violence. The criminal justice system has become militarized. Personal relationships suffer from physical and emotional violence.

TRIPLETS OF INJUSTICE

ASSIGNMENT

Dr. King's triplets of injustice form an outline that describes the systems and structures that continue to harm the growth and health of the nation. These injustices continue to divide and disintegrate economic and social relation. They continue to brutalize the minds, emotions, and bodies of the people. Write a speech, poem, or essay that clearly states your views of what Dr. King calls the triplets of injustice.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE TRIPLETS OF INJUSTICE

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. presented this speech on The Triplets of Injustice at the first National Conference on New Politics in Chicago, 1967.

Mr. Chairman, friends, and brothers in this first gathering of the National Conference on New Politics, ladies and gentlemen, can you hear me in the back? I don't know if the Klan is in here tonight or not with all the trouble we're having with these microphones.

Seldom, if ever, has -- we're still working with it. As I was about to say, seldom if ever has such a diverse and truly ecumenical gathering convened under the aegis of politics in our nation. And I want to commend the leadership of the National Conference on New Politics for all of the great work that they have done in making this significant convention possible.

Indeed by our very nature we affirm that something new is taken place on the American political horizon we have come here from the dusty plantations of the deep south and the depressing ghettos of the north. We have come from the great universities and the flourishing suburbs. We have come from Appalachian poverty and from conscience-stricken wealth but we have come. And we have come here because we share a common concern for the moral health of our nation we have come because our eyes have seen through the superficial glory and glitter of our society and observe the coming of judgment.

Like the prophet of old we have read the handwriting on the wall.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King



We have seen our nation weighed in the balance of history and found wanting. We have come because we see this as a dark hour in the affairs of men. For most of us this is a new mood we are traditionally the idealists. We are the marchers from Mississippi and Selma and Washington who staked our lives on the American dream during the first half of this decade. Many assembled here campaigned assiduously for Lyndon Johnson in 1964 because we cannot stand idly by and watch our nation contaminated by the 18th century policies of Goldwaterism.

We were the hardcore activists who were willing to believe that southerners could be reconstructed in the constitutional image. We were the dreamers of a dream that dark yesterdays of man's inhumanity to man would soon be transformed into bright tomorrows of justice.

Now it is hard to escape the disillusionment of betrayal. Our hopes have been blasted and our dreams have been shattered. The promise of a Great Society was shipwrecked off the coast of Asia on the dreadful peninsula to Vietnam. The poor black and white -- the poor black and white are still perishing on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity.

What happens to a dream deferred? It leads to bewildering frustration and corroding bitterness. I came to see this in a personal experience here in Chicago last summer. In all the speaking that I have done in the United States before varied audiences, including some hostile whites, the only time that I have ever been booed was one night in our regular weekly mass meeting by some angry young men of our movement. I went home that night with an ugly feeling. Selfishly I thought of my sufferings and sacrifices over the last 12 years why would they boo one so close to them, but as I lay awake thinking I finally came to myself and I could not for the life of me have less than patience and understanding for those young men.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

For 12 years, I and others like me had held out radiant promises of progress I had preached to them about my dream. I had lectured to them about the not too distant day when they would have freedom all here now. I had urged them to have faith in America and in white society their hopes had soared. They were now booing me because they felt that we weren't able to deliver on our promises. They were booing because we had urged them to have faith in people who had too often proved to be unfaithful.

They were now hostile because they were watching the dream that they had so readily accepted turn into a frustrating nightmare. This situation is all the more ominous and view of the rising expectations of men the world over. The deep rumblings that we hear today, the rumbling of discontent is the thunder of disinherited masses rising from dungeons of oppression to the bright heels of freedom.

All over the world like a fever of freedom is spreading in the widest liberation movement in history. The great masses of people are determined to end the exploitation of their races and lands. And in one majestic chorus they are singing in the words of our freedom song, ain't gonna let nobody turn us around. And so the collision course is set. The people cry for freedom and the Congress attempts to legislate repression. Millions, yes billions, are appropriated for mass murder. But the most meager pittance of foreign aid for international development is crushed in the surge of reaction. Unemployment rages at a major depression level in the black ghettos, but the bipartisan response is an anti-riot bill rather than a serious poverty program. The modest proposals for model cities rent supplement and rat control, pitiful as they were to begin with, get caught in the maze of congressional inaction.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

And I submit to you tonight that a congress that proves to be more anti-negro than anti-rat needs to be dismissed. It seems that our legislative assemblies have adopted Nero as their patron saint and are bent on fiddling while our cities burn. Even when the people persist and in the face of great obstacles develop indigenous leadership and self-help approaches to their problems and finally tread the forest of bureaucracy to obtain existing government funds, the corrupt political order seeks to crush even this beginning of hope. The case of CDGM in Mississippi is the most publicized example, but it is a story repeated many times across our nation.

Our own experience here in Chicago is especially painful at present. After an enthusiastic approval by HCW's department of adult education SCLC began an adult literacy project to aid 1,000 young men and women who have been pushed out of overcrowded ghetto schools and obtaining basic basically literacy skills prerequisite to receiving jobs. We had an agreement with A&P stores for 750 jobs through SCLC's job program, operation breadbasket, and had recruited over 500 pupils the first week. At that point, Congressman Kachinsky and the daily machine intervened and demanded that Washington cut off our funds or channel them through the machine controlled poverty program in Chicago. Now we have no problem with administrative supervision but we do have a desire to be independent of machine control, and the Democratic Party patronage network. For this desire for a politically independent approach to the needs of our brothers our funds are being stopped as of September 15th, and a very meaningful program discontinued.

Yes the hour is dark. Evil comes forth in the guise of good. It is a time of double-talk when men in high places have a high blood pressure of deceptive rhetoric and an anemia of concrete performance. We cry out against welfare handouts to the poor but generously approve an oil depletion allowance to make the rich richer. Six Mississippi plantations receive more than a million

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

dollars a year not to plant cotton but no provision is made to feed the tenant farmer who is put out of work by the government subsidy. The crowning achievement in hypocrisy must go to those staunch Republicans and Democrats of the Midwest and West who were given land by our government when they came here as immigrants from Europe. They were given education through the land-grant colleges. They were provided with agricultural agents to keep them abreast of farming trends. They were granted low-interest loans to aid in the mechanization of their farms and now that they have succeeded in becoming successful, they are paid not to farm. And these are the same people who now say to black people whose ancestors were brought to this country in chains and who were emancipated in 1863 without being given land to cultivate or bread to eat that they must pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. What they truly advocate is socialism for the rich and capitalism for the poor.

I wish that I could say that this is just a passing phase in the cycle of our nation's life, said in the times of war times of reaction throughout the society. But I suspect that we are now experiencing the coming to the surface of a triple pronged sickness that has been lurking within our body politic from its very beginning that is the sickness of racism, excessive materialism and militarism. Not only is this our nation's dilemma, it is the plague of Western civilization.

As early as 1906 W.E.B. DuBois prophesied that the problem of the 20th century will be the problem of the color line. Now as we stand two-thirds into this crucial period of history, we know full well that racism is still that hound of hell which dogs the tracks of our civilization. Ever since the birth of our nation white America has had a schizophrenic personality on the question of race. She has been torn between selves. A self in which she proudly professed the great principles of democracy and a self in which she madly practice the antithesis of democracy.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

And this tragic duality has produced a strange indecisiveness and ambivalence toward the Negro, causing America to take a step backwards simultaneously with every step forward on the question of racial justice to be at once attracted to the Negro and repelled by him, to love and to hate him. And there has never been a solid unified and determined thrust to make justice a reality for Afro Americans. The step backward has a new name today it is called the white backlash. But the white backlash is nothing new it is the surfacing of old prejudices, hostilities, and ambivalences that have always been there. It was caused neither -- it was caused neither by the cry of black power nor by the unfortunate recent wave of riots in our cities the white backlash of today is rooted in the same problem that has characterized America ever since the black man landed in chains on the shores of this nation.

This does not imply that all white Americans are racists. Far from it, many white people have through a deep moral compulsion fought long and hard for racial justice. Nor does it mean that America has made no progress in the attempt to cure the body politic of the disease of racism, or that the dogma of racism has not been considerably modified in recent years. However for the good of America it is necessary to refute the idea that the dominant ideology in our country even today is freedom and equality while racism is just an occasional departure from the norm on the part of a few bigoted extremists.

Racism can well be that corrosive evil that will bring down the curtain on Western civilization. Arnold Toynbee has said that some 26 civilizations have risen upon the face of the earth almost all of them have descended into the junk heaps of destruction the decline and fall of these civilizations according to Toynbee was not caused by external invasions but by internal decay. They fail to respond creatively to the challenges impinging upon them. If America does not respond creatively to the challenge to banish racism, some

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

future historian will have to say that a great civilization died because it lacked the soul and commitment to make justice a reality for all men.

The second aspect of our afflicted society's extreme materialism, an Asian writer has betrayed our dilemma in candid terms he says you call your thousand material devices labor-saving machinery, yet you are forever busy with the multiplying of your machinery, you grow increasingly fatigued, anxious, nervous, dissatisfied whatever you have you want more, and wherever you are you want to go somewhere else. Your devices are neither time-saving nor soul-saving machinery. There are so many sharp spurs which urge you on to invent more machinery and to do more business.

This tells us something about our civilization that cannot be cast aside as a prejudice charge by an Eastern thinker who is jealous of Western prosperity. We cannot escape the indictment. This does not mean that we must turn back the clock of scientific progress. No one can overlook the wonders that science has wrought for our lives the automobile will not abdicate in favor of the horse and buggy, or the train in favor of the stagecoach, or the tractor in favor of the hand plow, of the scientific method in favor of ignorance and superstition, but our moral lag must be redeemed when scientific power outruns moral power we end up with guided missiles and misguided men.

When we foolishly maximize the minimum and minimize the maximum, we sign the warrant our own day of doom. It is this moral lag in our thing-oriented society that blinds us to the human realities around us, and encourages us and the greed and exploitation which create the sector of poverty in the midst of wealth. Again, we have deluded ourselves into believing the myth that capitalism grew and prospered out of the Protestant ethic of hard work and sacrifice.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

The fact is that capitalism was built on the exploitation and suffering of black slaves and continues to thrive on the exploitation of the poor both black and white, both here and abroad. If Negroes and poor whites do not participate in the free flow of wealth within our economy they will forever be poor giving their energy, their talents, and their limited funds to the consumer market, but reaping few benefits and services in return. The way to end poverty is to end the exploitation of the poor, ensure them -- ensure them a fair share of the government services and the nation's resources. I proposed recently that a national agency be established to provide employment for everyone needing it. Nothing is more socially inexcusable than unemployment in this age. In the '30s when the nation was bankrupt it instituted such an agency, the WPA.

In the present conditions of a nation flooded with resources, it is barbarous to condemn people desiring work to soul sapping inactivity and poverty. And I am convinced that even this one massive act of concern would do more than all the state police and armies of the nation to quell riots and steal hatreds. And the tragedy is that our materialistic culture does not possess the statesmanship necessary to do it. Victor Hugo could have been thinking of 20th century America when he wrote there's always more misery among the lower classes than there is humanity in the higher classes.

The time has come for America to face the inevitable choice between materialism and humanism. We must devote at least as much to our children's education and the health of the poor, as we do to the care of our automobiles and the building of beautiful impressive hotels. We must also realize that the problems of racial injustice and economic injustice cannot be solved without a radical redistribution of political and economic power. We must further recognize that the ghetto is a domestic colony. Black people must

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King



develop programs that will aid in the transfer of power and wealth into the hands of residents of the ghetto so that they may in reality control their own destinies. This is a meaning of new politics, people of goodwill in the larger community must support the black man in this effort.

The final phase of our national sickness is the disease of militarism nothing more clearly demonstrates our nation's abuse of military power than our tragic adventure in Vietnam. This war has played havoc with the destiny of the entire world. It has torn up the Geneva agreement. It has seriously impaired the United Nations. It has exacerbated the hatred between continents, and worse still between races. It has frustrated our development at home, telling our own underprivileged citizens that we place insatiable military demands above their most critical needs. It has greatly contributed to the forces of reaction in America and strengthened the military industrial complex. And it has practically destroyed Vietnam and left thousands of American and Vietnamese youth maimed and mutilated, and exposed the whole world to the risk of nuclear warfare.

Above all the war in Vietnam has revealed what Senator Fulbright calls our nation's arrogance of power. We are not we are arrogant in professing to be concerned about the freedom of foreign nations while not setting our own house in order. Many of our senators and congressmen vote joyously to appropriate billions of dollars for the war in Vietnam, and many of these same senators and congressmen vote loudly against a fair housing bill to make it possible for a Negro veteran of Vietnam to purchase a decent home. We order Negro soldiers to kill on foreign battlefields but offer little protection for their relatives from beatings and killings in our own south. We are willing to make the Negro 100 percent of a citizen in warfare but reduce him to 50 percent of a citizen on American soil.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

No war in our nation's history has ever been so volative of our conscience, our natural national interests and so destructive of our moral standing before the world. No enemy has ever been able to cause such damage to us as we inflict upon ourselves. The inexorable decay of our urban centers as flared into terrifying domestic conflict, as the pursuit of foreign war absorbs our wealth and energy. Squalor and poverty scar our cities as our military might destroys cities in a far-off land to support oligarchy, to intervene in domestic conflict.

The president who cherishes consensus for peace has intensified the war. In answer to a cry to stop the war it has brought tauntingly to one minutes flying time from China, to a moment before the midnight of world conflagration. We offer a tax for war instead of a plan for peace. Men of reason should no longer debate the merits of war or means of financing war. They should end the war and restore sanity and humanity to American policy. And if the will of the people continues to be unheeded, all men of goodwill must create a situation in which the 1967-68 elections are made a referendum on the war.

The American people -- the American people must have an opportunity to vote into oblivion those who cannot detach themselves from militarism those who lead us. And so we are here because we believe, we hope, we pray that something new might emerge in the political life of this nation which will produce a new man, new structures, and institutions and a new life for mankind.

I am convinced that this new life will not emerge until our nation undergoes a radical revolution of values. When machines -- when machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people the giant triplets of racism, economic exploitation, and militarism are incapable of being

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

conquered. Our civilization can flounder as readily in the face of moral bankruptcy as it can through financial bankruptcy.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. We are called to play the Good Samaritans on life's roadside but that will only be an initial act. One day the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so the men and women will not be beaten and robbed as they make that journey through life. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It understands that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation it will look at thousands of working people displaced from their jobs with reduced income as a result of automation while the profits of the employers remain intact and say this is not just. It will look across the oceans and see individual capitalists of the West invest in huge sums of money in Asia and Africa only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries and say this is not just. It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say this is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say a war, this way of settling differences is not just, this business of burning human beings with napalm of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of people's normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped, and psychologically deranged cannot be reconciled with wisdom justice and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

So what we must all see is that these are revolutionary times all over the globe. Men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and out of the wombs of a frail world, new systems and of justice and equality of being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the earth are arising up as never before the people who sat in darkness have seen a great light. And we in the West must support these revolutions.

It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch anti revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit, communism is a judgment. In a sense communism is a judgment of our failure to make democracy real and to follow through on the revolutions that we initiated.

Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal opposition to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment, we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.

May I say in conclusion that that is a need now more than ever before for men and when men and women in our nation to be creatively maladjusted. Mr. Davis said, and I say to you, that I choose to be among the maladjusted. As my good friend Bill Coffin said there are those who have criticized me and many of you for taking a stand against the war in Vietnam and for seeking to say to the nation that the issues of civil rights cannot be separated from the issues of peace. I want to say to you tonight that I intend

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

to keep these issues mixed because they are mixed. Somewhere we must see that justice is indivisible. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere and I have fought fault now too long and too hard against segregated public accommodations to end up at this point in my life segregating my moral concern.

So let us stand in this convention knowing that on some positions how it is asked the question is it safe, expediency asks the question is it politic, vanity asks the question is it popular, but conscience as the question is it right. And on some position -- on some positions it is necessary for the moral individual to take a stand that is neither safe nor politic not popular but he must do it because it is right. And we say to our nation tonight, we say to our government, we even say to FBI are we will not be harassed, we will not make a butchery of our conscience, we will not be intimidated, and we will be heard.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. THE MOVEMENT



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. QUOTES

“Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. It is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the [person] who wields it.”

“If Americans permit thought-control, business-control, and freedom-control to continue, we shall surely move within the shadows of fascism.”

“The movement for peace and justice can only be a success if it has both a mass and a militant character.”

“One of the great problems of mankind is we suffer from a poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.”

“Among the moral imperatives of our time, we are challenged to work all over the world with unshakable determination to wipe out the last vestiges of racism.”

“We can all get more together than we can apart. And this is the way we gain power. Power is the ability to achieve purpose, power is the ability to affect change, and we need power.”

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE

The movement for justice is very old. Humanity has struggle for thousands of years to develop relationships based on justice. From the earliest periods of recorded history human beings have carried out different societies at different epochs. After the days of hunters and gatherers, when peoples organized themselves in clans and tribes, groups began to settle in one particular place.

The social structure at that time was imposed by high level religious leaders (this type of society is called theocracy). After rule by theocracy, society developed a formation where emperors imposed their rule over others. Then a system of monarchs developed. A monarchy uses kings and queens to rule over the people. At that time there were kingdoms established in Europe. Today society is ruled by two groups: politically, monarchs have been replaced by parliaments; and economically by the rich and the economic elite.

During each epoch the people organized and struggled to change the power of the dominating elite. People organized for many reasons, some of which include freedom of religion, freedom from slavery and the protection of human rights.

Today people around the world continue to organize and struggle for peace, justice and a stronger democracy. We call this struggle the movement. Dr. King and thousands of others were part of the Civil Rights movement. Today, there are many movements. Some are based on race, class, culture and nationality. Others are based on gender. Some our based on particular causes such as the environment, prison transformation, peace, health, education and economic justice. Dr. King considers that three main evils cause most of the injustices in the United States. He calls them the triplets of evil: racism, economic injustice and war/violence.

Today's society is defined by the movement to free the majority from the system of control headed by the economic elite and the system of parliamentary control over the people and the government structures.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE MOVEMENT

ASSIGNMENT

Write a speech/poem/essay about the movements of today that you feel are important. Don't just mention them, describe them and explain why they are important.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: CHAOS OR COMMUNITY?

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

From Chapter VI THE WORLD HOUSE

We are interconnected with millions of people around the world. Some we know, many we don't. They make our clothes, grow our food, and clean our cities and schools. This work happens in all corners of the world. Dr. King teaches us to recognize our interconnection with the people of the world. He calls it "the world house".

How many things do you use each day made by the sweat, toil and effort of others? What do you do to thank them?

"We have inherited a large house, a great "world house" in which we have to live together-black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Moslem and Hindu-a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interest, who because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace.

Equality with whites will not solve the problems of either whites or Negroes if it means equality in a world society stricken by poverty and in a universe doomed to extinction by war.

All inhabitants of the globe are now neighbors. This worldwide neighborhood has been brought into being largely as a result of the modern scientific and technological revolutions. The world of today is vastly different from the world of just one hundred years ago."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

We live in times of great change. Dr. King places the struggle for freedom in the context of the many changes he saw in his lifetime. Nonviolence calls upon all of us to pay attention to the world around us. What are some of the changes you have seen in your lifetime?

"Human beings, searching a century ago as now for better understanding, had no television, no radios, no telephones and no motion pictures through which to communicate. Medical science had not yet discovered the wonder drugs to end many dread plagues and diseases. One hundred years ago military men had not yet developed the terrifying weapons of warfare that we know today—not the bomber, an airborne fortress raining down death; nor napalm, that burner of all things and flesh in its path. A century ago there were no skyscraping buildings to kiss the stars and no gargantuan bridges to span the waters. Most of them have come within the past sixty years, sometimes with agonizing slowness, more characteristically with bewildering speed, but always with enormous significance for our future."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Dr. King teaches us to pay attention to the Freedom Revolution of the 20th Century alongside the technological changes we witnessed. This freedom revolution took root in our country as well as other countries around the world. People organized. They marched, protested, went to jail, were beat, attacked and some were killed. What movements for freedom can you identify today?

"Along with the scientific and technological revolution, we have also witnessed a world-wide freedom revolution over the last few decades. The present upsurge of the Negro people of the United States grows out of a deep and passionate determination to make freedom and equality a reality "here" and "now."

"We live in a day, said the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, "when civilization is shifting its basic outlook; a major turning point in history where the pre-suppositions on which society is structured are being analyzed, sharply challenged, and profoundly changed." What we are seeing now is a freedom explosion, the realization of "an idea whose time has come, " to use Victor Hugo's phrase. The deep rumbling of discontent that we hear today is the thunder of disinherited masses, rising from dungeons of oppression to the bright hills of freedom. In one majestic chorus the rising masses are singing, in the words of our freedom song, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn us around." The great masses of people are determined to end the exploitation of their races and lands. They are awake and moving toward their goal like a tidal wave. You can hear them rumbling in every village street, on the docks, in the houses, among the students, in the churches and at political meetings.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

"These developments should not surprise any student of history. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself. The Bible tells the thrilling story of how Moses stood in Pharaoh's court centuries ago and cried, "Let my people go." This was an opening chapter in a continuing story. The present struggle in the United States is a later chapter in the same story. Something within has reminded the Negro of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the spirit of the times, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers in Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice"

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Dr. King warns us to stay awake. Today, the changes we often see are in technology and entertainment. We are given ever more opportunities to buy, use, consume and watch. We ignore opportunities to give, make, and create. Billions of dollars is spent each year perfecting the tools of consumerism, war and entertainment. Comparatively little money is spent on new ways of developing our capacity to serve, give and lead.

Dr. King teaches us to keep our internal and external realms in relation to each other and make sure our internal realm takes the lead. What can you do today to put your internal realm in charge?

"Nothing could be more tragic than for men to live in these revolutionary times and fail to achieve the new attitudes and the new mental outlooks that the new situation demands.

"One of the great liabilities of history is that all too many people fail to remain awake through great periods of social change. Every society has its protectors of the status quo and its fraternities of the indifferent who are notorious for sleeping through revolutions. But today our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the challenge of change. The large house in which we live demands that we transform this worldwide neighborhood into a worldwide brotherhood. Together we must learn to live as brothers or together we will be forced to perish as fools.

"We must work passionately and indefatigable to bridge the gulf between our scientific progress and our moral progress. One of the great problems of mankind is that we suffer from a poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we have become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

"Every man lives in two realms, the internal and the external. The internal is that realm of spiritual ends expressed in art, literature, morals and religion. The external is that complex of devices, techniques, mechanisms and instrumentalities by means of which we live. Our problem today is that we have allowed the internal to become lost in the external. We have allowed the means by which we live to outdistance the ends for which we live. So much of modern life can be summarized in that suggestive phrase of Thoreau: "Improved means to an unimproved end." This is the serious predicament, the deep and haunting problem, confronting modern man. Enlarged material powers spell enlarged peril if there is not proportionate growth of the soul. When the external of man's nature subjugates the internal, dark storm clouds begin to form.

Western civilization is particularly vulnerable at this moment, for our material abundance has brought us neither peace of mind nor serenity of spirit. An Asian writer has portrayed our dilemma in candid terms:

This does not mean that we must turn back the clock of scientific progress. No one can overlook the wonders that science has wrought for our lives. But our moral and spiritual "lag" must be redeemed. When scientific power outruns moral power, we end up with guided missiles and misguided men. When we foolishly minimize the internal of our lives and maximize the external, we sign the warrant for our own day of doom.

Our hope for creative living in this world house that we have inherited lies in our ability to re-establish the moral ends of our lives in personal character and social justice. Without this spiritual and moral reawakening we shall destroy ourselves in the misuse of our own instruments."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE LIBERATORY HERITAGE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

JACK HUNTER O'DELL

Jack O'Dell has devoted a long and healthy life to the struggles for "a more perfect union" and a better world. His discipline and devotion led him into major areas of struggles in the United States, including union organizing, civil rights mobilizing, tenant organizing, and peace and disarmament mobilizing. Additionally, Jack has devoted much needed attention to popular communications, media and organizational development.

We are all inheritors of the twentieth century and its achievement and its problems. A high price was paid for rights that should have been recognized as basic human rights.

One of the things that we inherit from the twentieth century is struggle. It was a century of massive outpouring of struggle for human rights and independence. The science of nonviolent strategy and social change emerged from that century.

The twentieth century was so ripe with optimism about the possibility for change and so determined to make those changes as part of the legacy of defeating Fascism and coming out of the Great Depression era.

Liberation was the spirit of the times in the twentieth century, especially after World War II. History was being made and it became a force that allowed the truths of past history to be served for many groups: Black history, Chicano and women's studies, Asian and African, working class movements, women's leadership of boycotts, the disenfranchisement of millions of people world over who had never had the right to exercise political power. The

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

twentieth century was a liberatory century, notwithstanding the bloodshed.

From Civil Rights to Ending Poverty

We went from fighting for the right to public accommodation to lifting up the issues of poverty in our nation including: Head Start, one of the great early childhood education programs that we regret to say has never been adequately funded, Medicare for the elderly, and the women and infant and feeding program that dealt with the nutritional needs of the poor. These and other demands concerning the poverty issue crystallized in the Poor People's Campaign of 1968.

I remember Dr. King saying that, "Ending segregation didn't cost the nation anything, but ending poverty meant addressing the economic problems of the society." And "True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar, true compassion is recognizing that a system that reduces people to beggars needs restructuring."

And then of course we have a situation where many of our white supporters of goodwill, who were active participants in the Civil Rights Movement, felt that the Civil Rights agenda had been completed and that therefore the poverty agenda was another agenda and they had not signed on for that.

Peace and Civil Rights

One of the things that the growth of militarism faced us with was the fact that "The aspirations of the poor are being shot down in the rice paddies of Vietnam," as Dr. King said. We did have a reinforcing, mutually beneficial convergence of the Civil Rights and Peace Movement in the late sixties and seventies, however, our brothers and sisters in the Peace Movement often were very slow

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

to recognize that the rebellions in the ghettos had to do with peace as much as justice.

Labor and Civil Rights

The Civil Rights and antipoverty movement came to a decline because the Labor Movement was not a strong ally. We had very important sectors of the Labor Movement supporting civil rights effort on the local basis. And there of course is a distinction between a labor movement and organized labor. A labor movement is like any other movement. A labor movement is a movement that organizes the grass roots, that puts up a fight that makes some noise; it essentially organizes, inspires, and involves. That's the movement.

In the mid-fifties one out of every three people working in the workforce was in the Labor Movement. As labor ceased to be a movement, we came into the 1980's and nineties and only one of seven people is in the Labor Movement.

Coming to Grips

When redefining responsibilities, goals, and vision the Civil Rights Movement and any movement has to be prepared to come to grips with those ideas that are holding them back.

A good example of letting go of such ideas and moving forward is what happened with gradualism. We rejected gradualism in the Civil Rights Movement once we adopted the Nonviolent Direct Action Strategy. Gradualism always cautioned one not to rock the boat too much. Gradualism was an attempt to confine us so that the institution of racism and the benefits that some people gained from it would go on for an interminable amount of time. We said we wanted "Freedom Now!"

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Lone Superpower

I think it is time for us to be dialoging seriously about rejecting the concept of “lone superpower.” It takes its history from the concept of white supremacy that was crystallized in the middle of the nineteenth century. “Lone superpower” does not serve the interests of the everyday working people of America. “Lone superpower” is an excuse to use racism and economic deprivation on a global scale and to not tolerate any opposition to that because we are the “lone superpower.” That’s a very costly program. It is costly to our resources; it is costly to our human capital; and it is costly to our national morality.

Freedom from Fear to Fear of Freedom

Freedom from Fear was one of the articles in the Atlantic charter that was adopted before WWII to give moral purpose to that war against fascism. It was the very first thing. But we now have fear of freedom on the part of those who are making the decisions. They want us to just wait and hear

what they have to say via CNN and they will tell us where the dangers are and if they can’t concretize it because it is a secret then we just should do what they say and we’ll be all right. It’s as if the politics makes an assumption that we are in a warfare state and that the warfare state must be served at all costs.

Confront Fear

This idea of fear is something we have to address in a very concrete way as a way of emancipating ourselves from the current situation. In Birmingham we were going to jail and there had been great fear of going to jail throughout the African American community, because jail was not a pleasant place to go. But once we made up our minds to fill the jails—and I am not talking about filling the jails

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

as much as I am about overcoming the fear of going to jail. We used to discuss that and what was concluded was that we were already in jail living' under apartheid. So we were gonna' gain something going into the physical jail. There was going to be a renewal of the spirit and there was going to be a renewal of our dignity. So losing the fear of going to jail is one of those fears that instruct us about the role of fear in general.

Fear is corrosive, fear will keep us from doing what we know is right. People will influence us. Fear will keep us from trying to think about getting out of line. Fear says, "Do what we say." Fear says "Don't act with dignity, be submissive." Fear is a terrible, terrible illness. But what we have been subjected to, in terms of this fear, for fifty years, really constitutes a violent attack upon our national mental health. You can't live in a society of fear, war, and regimentation and not influence your personality living in fear. It is a form of psychological warfare and as we recognize it as such, we will free ourselves to think about something different, about a different society we could have, about a different world we can live in. We want to live as neighbors with the people of the world.

The Civilizational Crisis

We've got to be finding the common ground regardless of what area of the civilizational crisis we happen to be working in. We think of environmental concerns as toxic waste, pollution of the air, acid rain, and all the different things that environment spells. We all live in an environment. Our home is the planet. Our neighborhood, our city, and our county are where we live.

We must all consider ourselves environmentalists. If we are fighting for better schools for our children, we want a learning environment. If we want a work place that is free of danger, we want an environment of the workplace that we can feel comfortable in and not confronted with hazards. Safe neighborhoods where people have recreational space, that's a neighborhood

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

environment. So, whatever areas we are working in, environment is our proposition and as a result the conversation about environment must take into account these other areas of environmental concerns. The dialog can lead to common action; the dialog can result in a renewal of our efforts at democracy and accountability.

A New Party

We should build ourselves a new party. A party that does not see itself as a third party, but one that has the ambition and the vision and the energy to become the major party in the United States that expresses the will of “we the people.” Today, in an atmosphere of war and economic recession and deprivation and insecurity our dialog and the dialog of people all over the country can help revive an enlightened, compassionate, disciplined, and joyous movement that loves the challenge and that loves each other who are working in it. And that is the character that Dr. King described.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. THE MEANING TO US TODAY



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. QUOTES

“These are revolutionary times; all over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before... We in the West must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of Communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch-anti revolutionaries.”

“The shape of the world today does not permit us a faltering democracy.”

“Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for civil rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in.”

“All inhabitants of the globe are now neighbors. This world-wide neighborhood has been brought into being largely as a result of the modern scientific and technological revolutions.”

“Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.”

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

WHAT NONVIOLENCE CAN MEAN TO EACH OF US

ROY D. WILSON

Nonviolence serves both individuals and groups. Nonviolence is the science of achieving purpose, and Dr. King teaches that “Power is the ability to achieve purpose.” It is a basic and effective method of developing personal and social responsibility and power.

Nonviolence Can Mean to Each Individual

Nonviolence helps us change ourselves, to become more otherinterested, and to develop the capacity to serve. Specifically, nonviolence helps:

- develop self-control;
- commit to the constant renewal of the mind; and
- dedicate one’s self to understanding the essence of one’s position, ideas and feelings while simultaneously understanding those of others.

Nonviolence Can Mean to Groups

Nonviolence offers groups the science to confront injustice, racism, consumerism and violence in a way that leads toward social responsibility as well as taking us closer to peace, community and a stronger democracy. Specifically, nonviolence helps groups:

- study the levers of power;
- understand the differences between the forces of fear and greed and the forces of freedom and justice; and
- work in ways that bring reconciliation and a stronger community and democracy.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Selected Struggles Where Nonviolence Provides Healthy Results

civil rights movement
school transformation for justice
union organizing
environmental justice
ending war/violence
combating racism
fighting racist terrorism
fighting white supremacy
defending the rights of immigrants
defending the rights of LGBTQ communities
renovating culture
strengthening democracy
constructing community
fighting for affordable health care for all
globalizing friendship
preventing diseases
growing our own food
buying locally, supporting local economy
creating restorative justice
creating a just, fair criminal justice system.
housing rights and housing democracy
organizing political bodies committed
to confronting white supremacy, racism, materialism and war.
constructing a stronger democracy
organizing for people's political power
freeing ourselves from distractions and miseducation
creating interracial, intergenerational, and international bonds of
friendship and solidarity.
protesting for rights

“Whatever career you may choose for yourself—doctor, lawyer, teacher—let me propose an avocation to be pursued along with it. Become a dedicated fighter for civil rights.” Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

NONVIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

There is nothing wrong with a traffic law which says you have to stop for a red light. But when a fire is raging, the fire truck goes right through that red light, and normal traffic had better get out of its way. Or, when a man is bleeding to death, the ambulance goes through those red lights at top speed.

There is a fire raging now for the Negroes and the poor of this society. They are living in tragic conditions because of the terrible economic injustices that keep them locked in as an “underclass,” as the sociologists are now calling it. Disinherited people all over the world are bleeding to death from deep social and economic wounds. They need brigades of ambulance drivers who will have to ignore the red lights of the present system until the emergency is solved.

Massive civil disobedience is a strategy for social change which is at least as forceful as an ambulance with its siren on full. In the past ten years, nonviolent civil disobedience has made a great deal of history, especially in the Southern United States. When we and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference went to Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, we had decided to take action on the matter of integrated public accommodations. We went knowing that the Civil Rights Commission had written powerful documents calling for change, calling for the very rights we were demanding. But nobody did anything about the Commission’s report. Nothing was done until we acted on these very issues, and demonstrated before the court of world opinion the urgent need for change. It was the same story with voting rights. The Civil Rights Commission, three years before we went to Selma, had recommended the changes we started marching for, but nothing was done until, in 1965, we created a crisis the nation couldn’t ignore. Without violence, we totally disrupted the system, the life style of Birmingham, and then of Selma, with their unjust and

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

unconstitutional laws. Our Birmingham struggle came to its dramatic climax when some 3,500 demonstrators virtually filled every jail in that city and surrounding communities, and some 4,000 more continued to march and demonstrate nonviolently. The city knew then in terms that were crystal-clear that Birmingham could no longer continue to function until the demands of the Negro community were met. The same kind of dramatic crisis was created in Selma two years later. The result on the national scene was the Civil Rights Bill and the Voting Rights Act, as President and Congress responded to the drama and the creative tension generated by the carefully planned demonstrations.

Of course, by now it is obvious that new laws are not enough. The emergency we now face is economic, and it is a desperate and worsening situation. For the 35 million poor people in America---not even to mention, just yet, the poor in the other nations---there is a kind of strangulation in the air. In our society it is murder, psychologically, to deprive a man of a job or an income. You are in substance saying to that man that he has no right to exist. You are in a real way depriving him of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, denying in his case the very creed of his society. Now, millions of people are being strangled that way. The problem is international in scope. And it is getting worse, as the gap between the poor and the "affluent society" increases.

The question that now divides the people who want radically to change that situation is: can a program of nonviolence---even if it envisions massive civil disobedience---realistically expect to deal with such an enormous, entrenched evil?

First of all, will nonviolence work, psychologically, after the summer of 1967? Many people feel that non-violence as a strategy for social change was cremated in the flames of the urban riots of the last two years. They tell us that Negroes have only now begun to find their true manhood in violence; that the riots prove not only that Negroes hate whites, but that, compulsively, they must destroy them.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

This blood-lust interpretation ignores one of the most striking features of the city riots. Violent they certainly were. But the violence, to a startling degree, was focused against property rather than against people. There were very few cases of injury to persons, and the vast majority of the rioters were not involved at all in attacking people. The much publicized "death toll" that marked the riots, and the many injuries, were overwhelmingly inflicted on rioters by the military. It is clear that the riots were exacerbated by police action that was designed to injure or even to kill people. As for the snipers, no account of the riots claims that more than one or two dozen people were involved in sniping. From the facts, an unmistakable pattern emerges; a handful of Negroes used gunfire substantially to intimidate, not to kill; and all of the other participants had a different target---property.

I am aware that there are many who wince at a distinction between property and persons---who hold both sacrosanct. My views are not so rigid. A life is sacred. Property if intended to serve life, and no matter how much we surround it with rights and respect, it has no personal being. It is part of the earth man walks on; it is not man.

The focus on property in the 1967 riots is not accidental. It has a message; it is saying something.

If hostility to whites were ever going to dominate a Negro's attitude and reach murderous proportions, surely it would be during a riot. But this rare opportunity for bloodletting was sublimated into arson, or turned into a kind of stormy carnival of free-merchandise distribution. Why did the rioters avoid personal attacks? The explanation cannot be fear of retribution, because the physical risks incurred in the attacks on property were no less than for personal assaults. The military forces were treating acts of petty larceny as equal to murder. Far more rioters took chances with their own lives, in their attacks on property, than threatened the life of anyone else. Why were they so violent with property then? Because property represents the white power structure, which they were attacking and trying to destroy. A curious proof of the symbolic aspect of the looting for some who took part in it

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

is the fact that, after the riots, police received hundreds of calls from Negroes trying to return merchandise they had taken. Those people wanted the experience of taking, of redressing the power imbalance that property represents. Possession, afterward, was secondary.

A deeper level of hostility came out in arson, which was far more dangerous than the looting. But it, too, was a demonstration and a warning. It was directed against symbols of exploitation, and it was designed to express the depth of anger in the community.

What does this restraint in the summer riots mean for our future strategy?

If one can find a core of nonviolence toward persons, even during the riots when emotions were exploding, it means that nonviolence should not be written off for the future as a force in Negro life. Many people believe that the urban Negro is too angry and too sophisticated to be nonviolent. Those same people dismiss the nonviolent marches in the South and try to describe them as processions of pious, elderly ladies. The fact is that in all the marches we have organized some men of very violent tendencies have been involved. It was routine for us to collect hundreds of knives from our own ranks before the demonstrations, in case of momentary weakness. And in Chicago last year we saw some of the most violent individuals accepting nonviolent discipline. Day after day during those Chicago marches I walked in our lines and I never saw anyone retaliate with violence. There were lots of provocations, not only the screaming white hoodlums lining the sidewalks, but also groups of Negro militants talking about guerrilla warfare. We had some gang leaders and members marching with us. I remember walking with the Blackstone Rangers while bottles were flying from the sidelines, and I saw their noses being broken and blood flowing from their wounds; and I saw them continue and not retaliate, not one of them, with violence. I am convinced that even very violent temperaments can be channeled through nonviolent discipline, if the movement is moving, if they can act

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

constructively and express through an effective channel their very legitimate anger.

But even if nonviolence can be valid, psychologically, for the protesters who want change, is it going to be effective, strategically, against a government and a status quo that have so far resisted this summer's demands on the grounds that "we must not reward the rioters"? Far from rewarding the rioters, far from even giving a hearing to their just and urgent demands, the administration has ignored its responsibility for the causes of the riots, and instead has used the negative aspects of them to justify continued inaction on the underlying issues. The administration's only response was to initiate a study and call for a day of prayer. As a minister, I take prayer too seriously to use it as an excuse for avoiding work and responsibility. When a government commands more wealth and power than has ever been known in the history of the world, and offers no more than this, it is worse than blind, it is provocative. It is paradoxical but fair to say that Negro terrorism is incited less on ghetto street corners than in the halls of Congress.

I intended to show that nonviolence will be effective, but not until it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct-action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale.

The dispossessed of this nation-----the poor, both white and Negro-----live in a cruelly unjust society. They must organize a revolution against that injustice, not against the lives of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which the society is refusing to take means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to lift the load of poverty.

The only real revolutionary, people say, is a man who has nothing to lose. There are millions of poor people in this country who have very little, or even nothing, to lose. If they can be helped to take action together, they will do so with a freedom and a power that will be a new and unsettling force in our complacent national life. Beginning in the New Year, we will be recruiting three thousand of the poorest citizens from ten different urban and rural areas to initiate and lead a sustained, massive, direct-action

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

movement in Washington. Those who choose to join this initial three thousand, this nonviolent army, this “freedom church” of the poor, will work with us for three months to develop nonviolent action skills. Then we will move on Washington, determined to stay there until the legislative and executive branches of the government take serious and adequate action on jobs and income. A delegation of poor people can walk into a high official’s with a carefully, collectively prepared list of demands. (If you’re poor, if you’re unemployed anyway, you can choose to stay in Washington as long as the struggle needs you.) And if that official says, “But Congress would have to approve this,” or, “But the President would have to be consulted on that” you can say, “All right, we’ll wait.” And you can settle down in his office for as long a stay as necessary. If you are, let’s say, from rural Mississippi, and have never had medical attention, and your children are undernourished and unhealthy, you can take those little children into the Washington hospitals and say with them there until the medical workers cope with their needs, and in showing it your children you will have shown this country a sight that will make it stop in its busy tracks and think hard about what it has done. The many people who will come and join this three thousand, from all groups in the country’s life, will play a supportive role, deciding to be poor for a time long with the dispossessed who are asking for their rights to jobs or income---jobs, income, the demolition of slums, and the rebuilding by the people who live there of new communities in their place; in fact, a new economic deal for the poor.

Why camp in Washington to demand these things? Because only the federal Congress and administration can decide to use the billions of dollars we need for a real war on poverty. We need, not a new law, but a massive, new national program. This Congress has done nothing to help such measures, and plenty to hinder them. Why should Congress care about our dying cities? It is still dominated by senior representatives of the rural South, who still unite in an obstructive coalition with unprogressive Northerners to prevent public funds from going where they are socially needed, We broke that coalition in 1963 and 1964, when the Civil Rights

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

and Voting Rights laws were passed. We need to break it again by the size and force of our movement, and the best place to do that is before the eyes and inside the buildings of these same Congressmen. The people of this country, if not the Congressmen, are ready for a serious economic attack on slums and unemployment, as two recent polls by Lou Harris have revealed. So we have to make Congress ready to act on the plight of the poor. We will prod and sensitize the legislators, the administrators, and all the wielders of power until they have faced this utterly imperative need.

I have said that the problem, the crisis we face, is international in scope. In fact it is inseparable from an international emergency which involves the poor, the dispossessed, and the exploited of the whole world.

Can a nonviolent, direct-action movement find application on the international level, to confront economic and political problems? I believe it can. It is clear to me that the next stage of the movement is to become international. National movements within the developed countries---forces that focus on London, or Paris, or Washington, or Ottawa---must help to make it politically feasible for their governments to undertake the kind of massive aid that the developing countries need if they are to break the chains of poverty. We in the West must bear in mind that the poor countries are poor primarily because we have exploited them through political or economic colonialism. Americans in particular must help their nation repent of her modern economic imperialism.

But movements in our countries alone will not be enough. In Latin America, for example, national reform movements have almost despaired of nonviolent methods; many young men, even many priests, have joined guerrilla movements in the hills. So many of Latin America's problems have roots in the United States of America that we need to form a solid, united movement, nonviolently conceived and carried through, so that pressure can be brought to bear on the capital and government power structures concerned, from both sides of the problem at once. I think that may be the only hope for a nonviolent solution in Latin America

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

today; and one of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces, operating outside governmental frameworks.

Even entrenched problems like the South African Government and its racial policies could be tackled on this level. If just two countries, Britain and the United States, could be persuaded to end all economic interaction with the South African regime, they could bring that government to its knees in a relatively short time. Theoretically, the British and American governments could make that kind of decision; almost every corporation in both countries has economic ties with its government which it could not afford to do without. In practice, such a decision would represent such a major reordering of priorities that we should not expect that any movement could bring it about in one year or two. Indeed, although it is obvious that nonviolent movements for social change must internationalize, because of the interlocking nature of the problems they all face, and because otherwise those problems will breed war, we have hardly begun to build the skills and the strategy, or even the commitment, to planetize our movement for social justice.

In a world facing the revolt of ragged and hungry masses of God's children; in a world torn between the tensions of East and West, white and colored, individualists and collectivists; in a world whose cultural and spiritual power lags so far behind her technological capabilities that we lie each day on the verge of nuclear co-annihilation; in this world, nonviolence is no longer an option for intellectual analysis, it is an imperative for action.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

A CHRISTMAS SERMON ON PEACE

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

The text of this chapter was delivered by Dr. King as a Christmas sermon in Ebenezer Baptist Church at Atlanta, Georgia, and was broadcast by CBC, as the final Massey Lecture, on Christmas Eve, 1967.

PEACE ON EARTH

This Christmas season finds us a rather bewildered human race. We have neither peace within nor peace without. Everywhere paralyzing fears harrow people by day and haunt them by night. Our world is sick with war; everywhere paralyzing fears harrow people by day and haunt them by night. Our world is sick with war; everywhere we turn we see its ominous possibilities. And yet, my friends, the Christmas hope for peace and goodwill toward all men can no longer be dismissed as a kind of pious dream of some utopian. If we don't have goodwill toward men in this world, we will destroy ourselves by the misuse of our own instruments and our own power. Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the very destructive power of modern weapons of warfare eliminates even the possibility that war may any longer serve as a negative good. And so if we assume that life is worth living, if we assume that mankind has a right to survive, then we must find an alternative to war—and so let us this morning explore the conditions for peace. Let us this morning think anew on the meaning of that Christmas hope: "Peace on Earth, Good Will toward Man." And as we explore these conditions, I would like to suggest that modern man really to all out to study the meaning of nonviolence, its philosophy and its strategy.

We have experimented with the meaning of nonviolence in our struggle for racial justice in the United States, but now the time

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

has come for man to experiment with nonviolence in all areas of human conflict, and that means nonviolence on an international scale.

Now let me suggest first that if we are to have peace on earth, our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective. No individual can live alone; no nation can live alone, and as long as we try, the more we are going to have war in this world. Now the judgment of God is upon us, and we must either learn to live together as brothers or we are all going to perish together as fools.

Yes, as nations and individuals, we are interdependent. I have spoken to you before of our visit to India some years ago. It was a marvelous experience; but I say to you this morning that there were those depressing moments. How can one avoid being depressed when one sees with one's own eyes evidences of millions of people going to bed hungry at night?

How can one avoid being depressed when one sees with one's own eyes thousands of people sleeping on the sidewalks at night? More than a million people sleep on the sidewalks of Bombay every night; more than half a million sleep on the sidewalks of Calcutta every night. They have no houses to go into. They have no beds to sleep in. As I beheld these conditions, something within me cried out; "Can we in America stand idly by and not be concerned?" And an answer came: "Oh, no!" And I started thinking about the fact that right here in our country we spend millions of dollars every day to store surplus food; and I said to myself: "I know where we can store that food free of charge—in the wrinkled stomachs of the millions of God's children in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and even in our own nation, who go to bed hungry at night."

It really boils down to this: that all life is interrelated. We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied into a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. We are made to live together because of the interrelated structure of reality. Did you ever stop to think that you can't leave for your job in the morning without being dependent on most of

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

the world? You get up in the morning and go to the bathroom and reach over for the sponge, and that's handed to you by a Pacific islander. You reach for a bar of soap, and that's given to you at the hands of a Frenchman. And then you go into the kitchen to drink your coffee for the morning, and that's poured into your cup by a South American. And maybe you want tea; that's poured into your cup by a Chinese. Or maybe you're desirous of having cocoa for breakfast, and that's poured into your cup by a West African. And then you reach over for your toast, and that's given to you at the hands of an English-speaking farmer, not to mention the baker. And before you finish eating breakfast in the morning, you've depended on more than half of the world. This is the way our universe is structured, this is its inter-related quality. We aren't going to have peace on earth until we recognize this basic fact of the inter-related structure of all reality.

Now let me say, secondly, that if we are to have peace in the world, men and nations must embrace the nonviolent affirmation that ends and means must cohere. One of the great philosophical debates of history has been over the whole question of means and ends. And there have always been those who argued that the end justifies the means, that the means really aren't important. The important thing is to get to the end, you see.

So, if you're seeking to develop a just society, they say, the important thing is to get there, and the means are really unimportant; any means will do so long as they get you there--- they may be violent, they may be untruthful means, they may even be unjust means to a just end. There have been those who have argued this throughout history. But we will never have peace in the world until men everywhere recognize that ends are not cut off from means, because the means represent the ideal in the making, and the ends in process, and ultimately you can't reach good ends through evil means, because the means represent the seed and the end represents the tree.

It's one of the strangest things that all the great military geniuses of the world have talked about peace. The conquerors of old who came killing in pursuit of peace, Alexander, Julius Caesar,

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Charlemagne, and Napoleon, were akin in seeking a peaceful world order. If you read Mein Kampf closely enough you will discover that Hitler contended that everything he did in Germany was for peace. And the leaders of the world today talk eloquently about peace. Every time we drop our bombs in North Vietnam, President Johnson talks eloquently about peace. What is the problem? They are talking about peace as a distant goal, as an end we seek, but one day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. All of this is saying that, in the final analysis, means and ends must cohere because the end is pre-existent in the means, and ultimately destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends.

Now let me say that the next thing we must be concerned about if we are to have peace on earth and goodwill toward men is the nonviolent affirmation of the sacredness of all human life. Every man is somebody because he is a child of God. And so when we say "Thou shalt not kill," we're really saying that human life is too sacred to be taken on the battlefields of the world. Man is more than a tiny vagary of whirling electrons or a wisp of smoke from a limitless smoldering. Man is a child of God, made in His image, and therefore must be respected as such. Until men see this everywhere, until nations see this everywhere, we will be fighting wars. One day somebody should remind us that, even though there may be political and ideological differences between us, the Vietnamese are our brothers, the Russians are our brothers, the Chinese are our brothers; and one day we've got to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. But in Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile. In Christ there is neither male nor female. In Christ there is neither Communist nor capitalist. In Christ, somehow, there is neither bound nor free. We are all one in Christ Jesus. And when we truly believe in the sacredness of human personality, we won't exploit people, we won't trample over people with the iron feet of oppression, we won't kill anybody.

There are three words for "love" in the Greek New Testament; one is the word "Eros." Eros is a sort of aesthetic, romantic love.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Plato used to talk about it a great deal in his dialogues, the yearning of the soul for the realm of the divine. And there is and can always be something beautiful about Eros, even in its expressions of romance. Some of the most beautiful love in all the world has been expressed this way.

Then the Greek language talks about "Philia," which is another word for love, and philia is a kind of intimate love between personal friends. This is the kind of love you have for those people that you get along with well, and those whom you like on this level you love because you are loved.

Then the Greek language has another word for love, and that is the word "agape." Agape is more than romantic love, it is more than friendship. Agape is understanding, creative, redemptive goodwill toward all men. Agape is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. Theologians would say that it is the love of God operating in the human heart. When you rise to love on this level, you love all men not because you like them, not because their ways appeal to you, but you love them because God loves them. This is what Jesus meant when He said, "Love your enemies." And I'm happy that He didn't say, "Like your enemies," because there are some people that I find it pretty difficult to like. Liking is an affectionate emotion, and I can't like anybody who would bomb my home. I can't like anybody who would exploit me. I can't like anybody who would trample over me with injustices. I can't like them. I can't like anybody who threatens to kill me day in and day out. But Jesus reminds us that love is greater than liking. Love is understanding, creative, redemptive goodwill towards all men. And I think this is where we are, as a people, in our struggle for racial justice. We can't ever give up. We just work passionately and unrelentingly for first-class citizenship. We just never let up in our determination to remove every vestige of segregation and discrimination from our nation, but we shall not in the process relinquish our privilege to love.

I've seen too much hate to want to hate, myself, and I've seen hate on the faces of too many sheriffs, too many white citizens councilors, and too many Klansmen of the South to want to hate,

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

myself; and every time I see it, I say to myself, hate is too great a burden to bear. To be able to stand up before our most bitter opponents and say: We shall match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. Do what you will and we will still love you. We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws and abide by the unjust system, because noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation with good, and so throw us in jail and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children, and, as difficult as it is, we will still love you. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities at the midnight hour and drag us out on some wayside road and leave us half-dead as you beat us and we will still love you.

Send your propaganda agents around the country, and make it appear that we are not fit, culturally and otherwise, for integration, and we'll still love you. But be assured that we'll wear you down by our capacity to suffer, and one day we will win our freedom. We will not only win freedom for ourselves; we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process, and our victory will be a double victory.

If there is to be peace on earth and goodwill toward men, we just finally believe in the ultimate morality of the universe, and believe that all reality hinges on moral foundations. Something must remind us of this as we once again stand in the Christmas season and think of the Easter season simultaneously, for the two somehow go together. Christ came to show us the way. Men love darkness rather than the light, and they crucified Him, and there on Good Friday on the Cross it was still dark, but then Easter came, and Easter is an eternal reminder of the fact that the truth-crushed earth will rise again. Easter justifies Carlyle in saying, "No lie can live forever." And so this is our faith, as we continue to hope for peace on earth and goodwill toward men: let us know that in the process we have cosmic companionship.

In 1963, on a sweltering August afternoon, we stood in Washington, DC., and talked to the nation about many things. Toward the end of that afternoon, I tried to talk to the nation about

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

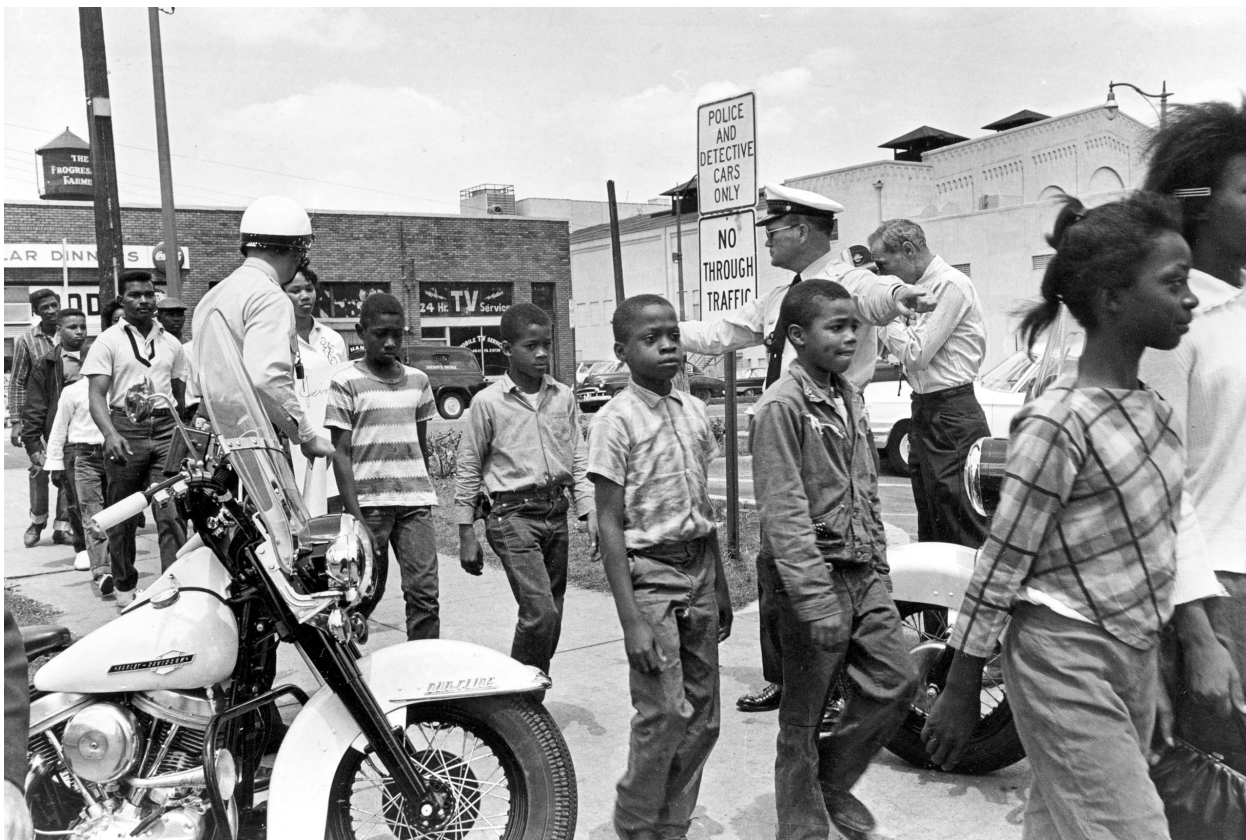
a dream that I had had, and I must confess to you today that not long after talking about that dream I started seeing it turn into a nightmare. I remember the first time I saw that dream turn into a nightmare, just a few weeks after I had talked about it. It was when four beautiful, unoffending, innocent Negro girls were murdered in a church in Birmingham, Alabama. I watched that dream turn into a nightmare as I moved through the ghettos of the nation and saw my black brothers and sisters perishing on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity, and saw my black brothers and sisters perishing on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity, and saw the nation doing nothing to grapple with the Negroes problem of poverty. I saw that dream turn into a nightmare as I watched my black brothers and sisters in the midst of anger and understandable outrage, in the midst of their hurt, in the midst of their disappointment, turn to misguided riots to try to solve that problem. I saw that dream turn into a nightmare as I watched the war in Vietnam escalating, and as I saw so-called military advisers, 16,000 strong, turn into fighting soldiers until today over 500,000 American boys are fighting on Asian soil. Yes, I am personally the victim of deferred dreams, of blasted hopes, but in spite of that I close today by saying I still have dream, because, you know, you can't give up in life. If you lose hope, somehow you lose that vitality that keeps life moving, you lose that courage to be, that quality that helps you to go on in spite of all. And so today I still have a dream.

I have a dream that one day men will rise up and come to see that they are made to live together as brothers. I still have a dream this morning that one day every Negro in this country, every colored person in the world, will be judged on the basis of the content of his character rather than the color of his skin, and every man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. I still have a dream today that one day the idle industries of Appalachia will be revitalized, and the empty stomachs of Mississippi will be filled, and brotherhood will be more than a few words at the end of a prayer, but rather the first order of business on every legislative

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

agenda. I still have a dream today that one day justice will roll down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream. I still have a dream today that in all of our state houses and city halls men will be elected to go there who will do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with their God. I still have a dream today that one day war will come to an end, that men will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, that nations will no longer rise up against nations, neither will they study war any more. I still have a dream today that one day the lamb and the lion will lie down together and every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid. I still have a dream today that one day every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill will be made low, the rough places will be made smooth and the crooked places straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. I still have a dream that with this faith we will be able to adjourn the councils of despair and bring new light into the dark chambers of pessimism. With this faith we will be able to speed up the day when there will be peace on earth and goodwill toward men. It will be a glorious day, the morning stars will sing together, and the sons of God will shout for joy.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. THE MEANING TO ME



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. QUOTES

“We must use time creatively in the knowledge that the time is always right to do right.”

“Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for civil rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in.”

“We must develop, from strength, a situation in which the government finds it wise and prudent to collaborate with us.”

“Never succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter. As you press on for justice, be sure to move with dignity and discipline, using only the weapon of love.”

“Every step towards the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.”

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

TEN ACTIONS FOR BRINGING LEADERSHIP TO SCHOOL, WORK, OR ORGANIZATION WITH YOU EVERY DAY

INTRODUCTION

Leadership calls on us to be suited up every day. Being other-interested and response-able are social skills and character traits which require constant exercise and practice. Most individuals who aspire to be a leader fail, not because they lack leadership talent, but because they are afraid to apply their leadership in diverse social settings.

It is fairly easy to talk like a leader when you are alone or in a small group of likeminded individuals. To talk and act as a leader in the class rooms, hallways, locker rooms and cafeteria of your school demands inspiration, motivation and perspiration. Being a leader does not require a hero or heroine. It requires a normal person who is willing to confront her or his own fears and practice, practice, practice leadership actions and development.

This seminar offers ten actions for bringing leadership to school with you every day. Each of the leadership actions has a proven success record. They work! By following these leadership actions you will expand your leadership skill immediately. If you follow the leadership actions you will experience "overnight success." People will see you as a leader and they will either take your lead or resist it. You will see your own potential for adding to the solution for progress and justice in our schools and in our communities.

Get ready! Keep a journal. Take time each day to reflect on your accomplishments. Within days you will have developed new and powerful relations with teachers, administrators, peers and parents. It is important that you make the changes inside yourself that will permit you to maintain these new, leadership relations. We believe in you. America needs you, now!

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 1: PRACTICE THE SIX STEPS FOR PERMANENT CHANGE

OVERVIEW

By following the Ten Actions you will bring about immediate change between yourself and others. To sustain that change you must change yourself. Know what you want to change about yourself. Practice the Six Steps for Permanent Change every day.

Know what you want to change about your school and your community. Leaders have a personal and group agenda or purpose.

The Six Steps to Permanent Change: study, write, pray, meditate, self-talk, and act.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The significance of knowing what it is you want to change about yourself.
2. The importance of having a vision and purpose for what you want to see change in your school and community.
3. The special power of the Six Steps for Permanent Change.

KEY CONCEPTS

These are some key concepts you will hear in this session:

Life purpose	Word Power
Knowing where you're going	Power of the Status Quo
Maintaining the New You	Confronting Fear
Turning grief into an asset	

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Change Yourself

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept of changing myself to assist in changing my school and community apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with you Every Day

ACTION 2: GET INVOLVED, STAY INVOLVED

OVERVIEW

Rapid personal change occurs when we involve ourselves in a cause that is bigger than ourselves. Most individuals are highly motivated to excel when they can make an immediate difference in someone else's life.

Join a group or a mobilization that deals with issues and events that are important to you. Participate in community, political and cultural activities. One really good way to stay involved is to coach a Leadership-Poetry Workshop at your school. Organize yourself to give speeches, run for elected office, produce poetry readings and other events.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. How being involved in a cause develops your leadership.
2. How coaching others develops character and other-interestedness.
3. The significance of being a team member of a team dedicated to the betterment of humankind.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Two forms & Three Kinds of Power
Higher Self
Busy persons get things done

Group Power
The Space Between Us

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Stay Involved

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How is the idea of me doing things with and for others being essential for my own growth as a leader apply to me right now? It Establishes Good Relationships.

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 3: CONNECT THE CIRCLE

OVERVIEW

Leadership calls on us to come out of our comfort zone. Everyone can see when something is unjust and wrong, yet, not everyone will act to be part of the solution.

The status quo seeks to have individuals keep their thoughts and actions to themselves. Leadership means surmounting the power of the status quo and providing alternative ideas and actions. Leaders need a network, a community, a circle.

Keep in touch with the Institute and others whose leadership you respect on a regular basis. We can share plans, approaches, difficulties and successes. We can utilize different parts of the circle to assist you in your local work.

Call, fax, E-mail, write or meet with Institute coaches every 14 days.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The importance to you of being in the circle.
2. The role of friendship and community in changing ourselves.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Coaching for Change Networking

Power of Agreements Learn from others Testifying

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with you Every Day

Connect the Circle

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How the doe's concept of me being a steady and regular connector in the circle apply to me today?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 4: EXPECTATIONS OF EXCELLENCE

OVERVIEW

Request from all your teachers that they hold expectations of excellence from you. Tell them you want them to join with you in excelling in their class.

One way to raise our own self expectations is to get those around us to demand more and expect more from us. Shake the hand of every teacher you have daily. Look them in the eye. Build a relationship of mutual respect with each of them.

Invite teachers home for dinner. Organize this with your family. Invite them to your events and speeches. Develop deep conversations with them that matter. Inform them of your leadership expectations and responsibilities. Ask them for direct criticisms on how you can do the work better, how you can help more in the classroom, and how you can be a better leader. This also applies to other important persons in your life.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The importance of having your teachers expect excellence from you.
2. The importance of your teachers knowing you expect them to excel.
3. The significance of you taking a lead in developing a mutually respectful relationship with teachers.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Change how teachers see you Constructing relations
Care & concern for the teacher Vision Making
High Expectations X's High Expectations

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Expectations of Excellence

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept of me requesting my teachers to expect excellence from me apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 5: GET TO KNOW THE GATE KEEPERS

OVERVIEW

Administrators play an important role in our schools and communities. They are assigned the job of making certain the school accomplishes its mission and purpose. School superintendents and school principals, as well as other managers and administrators, are gate keepers. They help determine who and what gets through and who and what is turned back.

Meet with your principal within the first two weeks of school. Establish a relationship. Let him or her know you are a leader, and share your vision of a better future. Seek out the principal's values, ideas and visions. Invite him or her to your events.

Meet with the school district Superintendent Meet with other leaders such as the mayor, city council members, police chief, corporate managers and union officers. Tell them what you do and seek their support.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The significance to you of knowing the values, visions and personality of the gate keepers in your life.
2. The importance of making yourself known to the gate keepers.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

To be Presidential, Act Presidential.
Getting others to identify themselves
Building community; bridging the Gap

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Know the Gate Keepers

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept of me meeting with my principal apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 6: EXPAND YOUR LIGHT BEAM

OVERVIEW

Everyone has a light. Leaders let it shine. Expand your light beam to cover a wider area and to shine farther. Let more people get to know you.

Sit in the first two rows of all your classrooms. You want to listen during class time, learn and participate. You want to be heard from, learned from and called on. If there is a seating format that has you outside the first two rows, speak with the teacher and explain the importance to you of being close to the communication point in the room and in a position that assists you in listening and learning.

One's shrinking does not serve the world. During class time remember you too are a public speaker, and no public speaker likes to be interrupted or heckled. Support the teacher's effort to teach.

At the end of this section you will understand:

OBJECTIVES

1. The significance of being present before your teacher.
2. The responsibility of the student to help construct classroom community.
3. The importance of being a head light instead of a taillight.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Shrinking

Guiding the Group

Being present

Listen



The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Expand Your Light Beam

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept of sitting in the front rows and guiding the class apply to me right now?



NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 7: DEVELOP THE LEVERS OF PERSONAL & GROUP POWER

OVERVIEW

Each one of us has access to three kinds of power: political, economic and cultural/ spiritual power. Political power means the one(s) who make decisions for the group. Economic power means the one(s) with the bucks, the capital. Cultural/spiritual power means the one(s) who speaks for the group.

You belong to many groups. Study the levers of power. Know who has the political, economic and cultural/spiritual power at your school. Know why they have the power. Know where they have the power. Know when they have the power.

Get to know your own power and how it relates to the group. Develop the levers of your power and the power of others.

You are somebody. You have a picture in your mind of how the world ought to be. You represent many more people than yourself.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The significance of using your power and developing your power daily.
2. Power is not top down. It relies on the interconnectedness of all.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Levers of power pushes and pulls

Listener holds more power survey

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Levers of Power

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept developing my personal power daily apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 8: PRACTICE NONVIOLENCE IN ALL AREAS OF YOUR LIFE

OVERVIEW

An effort to live by the components and principles of nonviolence accelerates your leadership development. Practicing nonviolence also helps you stay in focus and in service to others.

Nonviolence pursues excellence because justice demands it. To strive to be the best you can be changes not only yourself but those around you. The status quo will not grant power, PhD's, MD's, nor law degrees to the left out unless the left out put pressure on the status quo. When we study economics the way we study TV shows, we'll develop financial and economic success for all. When we study politics the way we study sports, we'll run the nation. When we study Peace with Justice the way we study getting ready for a date, we'll create relationships of love and respect among us.

Nonviolence directs you in practicing confronting your fears. Turn disappointments into assets. Look for the good in others; study and practice loving your enemies. Make and keep a vow to truth. Constantly renew your mind. Commit to the development of self-control.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The significance of nonviolence in leadership development.
2. The importance of the pursuit of excellence for serious change.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Vow to truth

Confronting fear Commitment to self-control

Constant renewal of the mind. Owing grief

Declaration of War

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Practice Nonviolence

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept practicing nonviolence daily apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 9: SEEK CRITICISM WITH WARMTH AND A SMILE

OVERVIEW

The best way to change is to develop coaching relationships with lots of people. The way to do that is to request their input on how you can improve, in all areas of your life. Develop the skill of asking with sincerity for other peoples' comments and criticisms. Reward them with genuine gratitude and warmth.

We learn from others. Others see what we do and say from different reference points. You don't have to agree nor disagree when someone offers you a comment. You want to take it in, listen to it, and seek the truth in it.

The more serious people know you seriously seek their comments, the more they will give them. The relationship that develops between individuals when they can share honest and serious comments builds character and leadership.

Be open to others. Listen. Smile. Say thank you.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The importance of other peoples' observations to your growth.
2. The significance of separating someone's criticism from a personal attack.
3. The significance of seeking out criticism.

KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts you will hear in this section:

Criticism = Love

Power comes from being watched

Thank you for the energy given Trust & confidence

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Seek Out Criticism

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept of seeking criticism apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Ten Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

ACTION 10: CONSTRUCT COMMUNITY

OVERVIEW

Practice community building ways-of-being. The power of the status quo breaks down community and replaces it with collections of individual winners and losers. Leadership constructs community by including everyone.

Smile everywhere. When you walk down the hall be the first to say hello. Construct friendships and ally relations across race, class, age and gender lines. Sit with different people each day in the cafeteria. Get to know the staff of the school: the custodians, cooks, secretaries, security men and women. Let them *I --and-* the teachers and administrators know you are a leader and a nonviolence practitioner.

Build a circle of individuals around you who want to excel and who want you to excel.

Turn the TV off. Use time that others might use for hanging out to call or visit new acquaintances or to hold meetings. Suggest books and articles for reading to others. Invite others to readings and events. Avoid gossip, racist or sexist jokes, or mean spirited little talk. Don't be afraid to tell others when they are being shallow or wasting their time, love and energy.

Community is constructed when two or more persons relate seriously and act to make the present a better step toward a better tomorrow.

OBJECTIVES

At the end of this section you will understand:

1. The importance of you being a proactive, warm builder of community.
2. How a smile and a hello push, pull and hug others to define themselves.
3. How a circle you help put together can help others let their light shine.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

10 Actions for Bringing Leadership to School with You Every Day

Construct Community

KEY CONCEPTS

Concepts you will hear in this section:

Push, Pull, Hug

Glue & Solvents of Community Building

Here and now holds the seed to then and there

Be a transformer

CONTEMPLATIVE QUESTION

How does the concept, constructing community, apply to me right now?

NOTES

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

C U R E F O R F E A R

WHAT WE WILL STUDY

In this session we will study a nonviolence method for conquering fear. You will learn that fear is good. It is an elemental alarm system that helps keep us safe. Dr. King points out that there are normal fears and abnormal fears. We should not try to rid ourselves of fear. Instead we should strive to make a friend of our fear.

We will discuss the four step process for mastering our fear. We will practice facing our own fears and learn how to confront them.

At the end of this session you will understand:

1. Why it is not good to try and get rid of your fear.
2. How to look fear right in the eye.
3. How to attack the object of your fear and thereby master it.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

FEAR IS GOOD

"Fear is the elemental alarm system of the human organism which warns of approaching dangers and without which man could not have survived in either the primitive or modern worlds. Fear, moreover, is a powerfully creative force...So in a sense fear is normal, necessary and creative."

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.*

State some concrete examples of how fear is good. For example, in a concrete way, how is fear an "elemental alarm system?"

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

ABNORMAL FEARS ARE RUINOUS AND DESTRUCTIVE

While we must see fear, in general, as good, we all have abnormal fears which are very harmful.

"But we must remember that abnormal fears are emotionally ruinous and psychologically destructive. To illustrate the difference between normal and abnormal fear, Sigmund Freud spoke of a person who was quite properly afraid of snakes in the heart of an African jungle and of another person who neurotically feared that snakes were under the carpet in his city apartment. Psychologists say that normal children are born with only two fears--the fear of falling and the fear of loud noises--and that all others are environmentally acquired. Most of these acquired fears are snakes under the carpet.

It is to such fears that we usually refer when we speak of getting rid of fear. But this is only part of the story. Normal fear protects us; abnormal fear paralyzes us. Normal fear motivates us to improve our individual and collective welfare; abnormal fear constantly poisons and distorts our inner lives. Our problem is not to be rid of fear but rather to harness and master it." MLK, Jr.*

HOW TO MASTER FEAR. HOW TO MAKE A FRIEND OF YOUR FEAR.

Dr. King uses a four step process to master fear.

Step one is: "First, we must unflinchingly face our fears and honestly ask ourselves why we are afraid. This confrontation will, to some measure, grant us power. We shall never be cured of fear by escapism or repression, for the more we attempt to ignore and repress our fears, the more we multiply our inner conflicts."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Step one is to face or confront your fear.

Step two, three and four is:

"Unlike anxiety, fear has a definite object which may be faced, analyzed, attacked, and, if need be, endured."

Step two is to analyze your fear.

Analyze means to study, examine and dissect. Cut open your fear and name the parts. In biology we dissect insects and small animals and we identify the parts. Knowing exactly why you are afraid gives you power.

Step three is to attack the object your fear.

Remember, fear has a definite object. All objects can be attacked. Dr. King is not talking about people. He is talking about the parts of your fear.

Step four: if need be, endure your fear.

There are some fears and objects of fear which we must live with. If your analysis concludes that some of the objects of which you are afraid cannot be attacked, then you will have to endure them.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

USE COURAGE TO MASTER FEAR

"Courage is the power of the mind to overcome fear...For it is not death or hardship that is a fearful thing, but the fear of hardship and death."

"Courage takes the fear produced by a definite object into itself and thereby conquers the fear involved. Paul Tillich has written, "Courage is self-affirmation 'in spite of'....that which tends to hinder the self from affirming itself."

"Courage, the determination not to be overwhelmed by any object, however frightful, enables us to stand up to any fear. Many of our fears are not mere snakes under the carpet. Trouble is a reality... dangers lurk within the circumference of every action, accidents do occur, bad health is an ever-threatening possibility, and death is a stark, grim, and inevitable fact of human experience...These forces that threaten to negate life must be challenged by courage, which is the power of life to affirm itself in spite of life's ambiguities. This requires the exercise of a creative will that enables us to hew out a stone of hope from a mountain of despair."

COURAGE AND COWARDICE ARE OPPOSITES

A nonviolence practitioner develops courage and avoids cowardice. "Courage and cowardice are antithetical. Courage is an inner resolution to go forward in spite of obstacles and frightening situations; cowardice is a submissive surrender to circumstance. Courage breeds creative self-affirmation; cowardice produces destructive self-abnegation. Courage faces fear and thereby masters it; cowardice represses fear and is thereby mastered by it. Courageous women and men never lose the zest for living even though their life situation is zestless; cowardly women and men, overwhelmed by the uncertainties of life, lose the will to live. We must constantly build dikes of courage to hold back the flood of fear."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

ANOTHER CURE FOR FEAR IS LOVE

Let's look briefly at what Dr. King means by love mastering fear:

"Love confronts evil without flinching and shows ...an infinite capacity "to take it." But does love have a relationship to our modern fear of war, economic displacement and racial injustice?

Hate is rooted in fear, and the only cure for fear-hate is love.....Is not fear one of the major causes of war? We say that war is a consequence of hate, but close scrutiny reveals this sequence: first fear, then hate, then war and finally deeper hatred."

"We are afraid of the superiority of other people, of failure, and of the scorn or disapproval of those whose opinions we most value. Envy, jealousy, a lack of self-confidence, a feeling of insecurity, and a haunting sense of inferiority are all rooted in fear. We do not envy people and then fear them; first we fear them and subsequently we become jealous of them."

ANOTHER CURE FOR FEAR IS FAITH

Fear is also mastered through faith. A common source of fear is an awareness of deficient resources and of a consequent inadequacy for life. Too many people try to face the tensions of life without adequate faith resources.

"A positive...faith does not offer an illusion that we shall be exempt from pain and suffering, nor does it imbue us with the idea that life is a drama of unalloyed comfort and untroubled ease. Rather it instills us with the inner equilibrium needed to face strains, burdens, and fears that inevitable come."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

FACING, ANALYZING, ATTACKING AND, IF NEED BE, ENDURING FEAR

It is time to practice!

Chose a person next to you.

Ask that person to list two fears that are real. Be serious.

Think of what we have discussed.

List your neighbor's fear

List the two fears of your neighbor here:

Now, change roles with your neighbor. Tell your neighbor two fears of yours.

List the two fears you mentioned to your neighbor here:

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

FACE FEAR. HONESTLY ASK YOURSELF "WHY AM I AFRAID?"

Have your neighbor face his or her fear. Ask them to own it. Have them answer the question, "Why am I afraid?"

Next tell your neighbor you are ready to make a friend of your fear. Tell your neighbor the answer to the question, "Why am I afraid?" Write down some of the answers to the question.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

ANALYZE YOUR FEAR

Remember to analyze means to dissect, to cut open, find and name the parts.

Draw a diagram of your fear below. Make the fear in the shape of a frog. Dissect your fear and name the parts. Draw a line to the head of your fear. Next draw a line to the arms or legs of your fear. Then draw a line to the heart of your fear.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

ATTACK THE OBJECT OF YOUR FEAR

You should now have an idea of why you are afraid, and what the object of your fear is.

Write out as many ways as you can think of to attack the object of your fear. Remember to use courage. Write about courageous ways you can attack the object of your fear. Listen to your team mates and neighbors.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

ENDURE YOUR FEAR

Some fears must be endured. If one or both of the fears you selected above happen to be fears which you must endure, write below how you might endure the fear.

*All quotes of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. from
Antidotes for Fear in *Strength to Love*
(Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1963)

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

S H A T T E R E D D R E A M S **The Workbook**

AN OUTLINE OF WHAT WE WILL STUDY

In this session we will study the connection between disappointment and responsibility. When our dreams are shattered, when we are let down and disappointed, it is important to be responsible.

We will study what Dr. King calls the three negative ways of responding to disappointment. You will recognize all three negative ways. The first negative way to respond to disappointment is to become mad and angry. The second negative way is to become quiet and introverted. The third negative response to disappointment is to adopt a fatalistic attitude.

We will learn and practice Dr. King's method of responding to shattered dreams in an open minded and positive way. We will work in small groups to discuss how to turn disappointment into an asset.

By the end of this session you will have many suggestions on how you might transform your own shattered dreams into something positive.

GOALS FOR THIS SESSION

At the end of this session you will understand:

1. Why it is important to own your disappointment or grief.
2. How to avoid negative responses to disappointment.
3. How to transform shattered dreams into an asset

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

MAIN IDEAS

Here are some Main Ideas you will read and discuss in this session:

Shattered dream
Vindictiveness
Detached and indifferent
Fatalistic Philosophy
Hostility
Own your disappointment
Transform grief into an asset
Creativity

WHAT IS A DREAM?

A dream is an aspiration or a hope. It is a plan or an achievement you desire to accomplish. A dream can be something small, like wanting to go somewhere for the evening with friends. It can also mean something big, like wanting to stop violence and construct peace.

SHATTER MEANS TO BREAK

When a hope is shattered, it is destroyed. Shatter means to demolish, tear apart, wreck or undo.

You cannot have shatterproof dreams.
One must have shatterproof character,
a personality or character
that is unbreakable.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THE DREAM LIST

Individual dreams and group dreams

Each individual has aspirations or dreams that are their own.

Each group of people has aspirations and dreams that are theirs as a group.

List three important aspirations or dreams that are personal dreams. The aspirations or dreams must be significant. It is best, but not necessary, that the personal dreams be your own. If you cannot think of your own significant personal dreams, imagine important dreams that might belong to other individuals.

INDIVIDUAL OR PERSONAL DREAMS

1.

2.

3.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

List three important aspirations or dreams that are group dreams. The aspirations or dreams must be significant. It is best, but not necessary, that the group dreams be of a group that you belong to (such as family, ethnic, racial or cultural group, age, nationality, gender, etc.). If you cannot think of your own group's dreams, imagine important dreams that might belong to your group.

GROUP DREAMS

1.

2.

3.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THREE NEGATIVE WAYS OF RESPONDING TO SHATTERED DREAMS

Dr. King coaches us. "Before we determine how to live in a world where our highest hopes are not satisfied, we must ask, What does one do under such circumstances? Dr. King explains below the three negative ways of responding to disappointment.

Read and circle words which you feel catch the meaning in the quote from Dr. King below.

TO BECOME BITTER AND MEAN

"One possible reaction is to distill all of our frustrations into a core of bitterness and resentment. The person who pursues this path is likely to develop a callous attitude, cold heart, and a bitter hatred...toward those with whom he lives. Because he cannot corner life, he releases his pent-up vindictiveness in hostility toward other people. In short, meanness becomes his dominating characteristic." From Martin L. King, Jr. Strength to Love, Fortress Press

Put in your own words the meaning of Dr. King's point in the above quote.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Read and circle words and concepts which best represent for you the meaning of the Dr. King quote below.

TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY AND BECOME AN INTROVERT

"Another common reaction by persons experiencing the blighting of hope is to withdraw completely into themselves and become absolute introverts. No one is permitted to enter into their lives and they refuse to enter into the lives of others. . . Detachment is the word which best describes them. Too unconcerned to live, and too passionless to hate, too detached to be selfish and too lifeless to be unselfish, too indifferent to experience joy and too cold to experience sorrow, they are neither dead nor alive; they merely exist." From Martin L. King, Jr. Strength to Love, Fortress Press

Put in your own words what you feel Dr. King means in the above quote.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Read and circle key words in the Dr. King quote that follows.

TO ADOPT A FATALISTIC PHILOSOPHY

"A third way by which persons respond to disappointment in life is to adopt a fatalistic philosophy stipulating that whatever happens must happen and that all events are determined by necessity. Fatalism implies that everything is foreordained and inescapable. People who subscribe to this philosophy succumb to an absolute resignation to that which they consider to be their fate and think of themselves as being little more than helpless orphans cast into the terrifying immensities of space. Because they believe that man has no freedom, they seek neither to deliberate nor to make decisions." From Martin L. King, Jr. Strength to Love, Fortress Press.

Put in your own words what Dr. King means in the above paragraph.

"We ought to get something out of everything, even out of defeat. We ought to get something out of sickness, and not just go through it. We ought to get something out of criticism, and not just "take it." We ought to make every disappointment, every broken hope, every severed relationship, pay a profit....If you have suffered a disappointment, the creative question for you to ask is not, "How can I bear this thing?" but "How can I use it?" J. Wallace Hamilton, Ride the Wild Horses.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

ANALYZING THE THREE NEGATIVE WAYS OF RESPONDING TO SHATTERED DREAMS

PERSONAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES

Select one personal dream from the list you created on page 115. Write the personal dream in this space.

Explain how a person might respond to the shattering of that dream in a way that pursues the negative path of developing a callous attitude, cold heart and bitter hatred.

Choose another of the personal dreams from the list you created on page 115. Write the personal dream in this space.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Explain how a person might respond to the shattering of that dream in a way that pursues the path of completely withdrawing and becoming an introvert.

"You have had your normal difficulties, the ordinary perplexities and troubles, but now a poignant grief has struck home to your heart, and you can see that what you do with it is of vital significance. You are certainly right about that. Nowhere more than in dealing with personal tragedy are Aldous Huxley's words true: "Experience is not what happens to a man. It is what a man does with what happens to him."

Harry Emerson Fosdick
from Dear Mr. Brown
Harper & Brothers

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Now let's look at the third dream from the list of personal dreams you created. Write the third dream in this space.

Explain how one might react to the shattering of that dream in a way that follows a fatalistic philosophy.

GROUP NEGATIVE RESPONSES

Select one of the group dreams from the list you created on page 116. Write that group dream here.

Explain how members of that group might respond to the shattering of that dream in a way that develops hostility toward other people and creates meanness and bitterness.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Select another of the group dreams from the list you created. Write that group dream here.

Explain how members of that group might respond to the shattering of that dream in a way that makes persons withdraw into themselves and become absolute introverts.

Now let's look at the third dream from the list of group dreams you created. Write that group dream in this space.

Explain how members of the group might respond to the shattering of that dream in a way that accepts everything as foreordained and inescapable.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

HOW BEST TO RESPOND TO PERSONAL AND GROUP SHATTERED DREAMS

**"What, then, is the answer?
The answer lies in our willing acceptance
of unwanted and unfortunate circumstances
even as we still cling to a radiant hope,
our acceptance of finite disappointment
even as we adhere to infinite hope.**

From Martin L. King, Jr. Strength to Love, Fortress Press

Strive to accept disappointment, to own it. Dr. King insists, "You must honestly confront your shattered dream. To follow the escapist method of attempting to put the disappointment out of your mind will lead to a psychologically injurious repression.."

Accepting unwanted and unfortunate circumstances requires utilizing power.

There are three types of power. Political power. Economic Power. Cultural/spiritual power.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

THIS IS A GRIEF AND I MUST BEAR IT

Dr. King coaches us to "place your disappointment at the forefront of your mind and stare daringly at it." You do this by stating, "This is a grief, and I must bear it."

Select one of the personal dreams from the list you created. Write that dream here.

Put the shattering of that dream into the phrase, "This (the shattered dream) is a grief and I must bear it." For example, let's say your Mother swore at you. You could write that grief something like this, "My Mom swearing at me is a grief, and I must bear it." Write your phrase here.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

How can I transform this liability into an asset?

Place your disappointment at the forefront of your mind and stare daringly at it. Ask yourself, "How may I transform this liability into an asset?"

Put the shattered dream that you selected above into the question, "How can I transform this liability (the shattered dream) into an asset?" For example, How can I transform the fact that Mom swore at me into an asset?" Write your question here.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Answer the above question five different ways. Each time being serious. Have the group assist you. Take their suggestions seriously.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Select one of the group dreams from the list you created. Write that group dream here.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Put the shattered dream into the phrase, "This (the shattered dream) is a grief, and we must bear it." For example, Women not getting equal pay as men in some jobs is a grief, and we must bear it. Write your phrase here.

Put the shattered dream into the question, "How may we transform this liability (the shattered dream) into an asset?" For example, How may we transform not getting equal pay as men into an asset?

Answer the above question five different ways. Each time being serious. Have the group assist you. Take their suggestions seriously.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

APPENDIX

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

The Riverside Church Speech A Time to Break Silence. Beyond Vietnam. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Delivered 4 April 1967, Riverside Church, New York City

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I need not pause to say how very delighted I am to be here tonight, and how very delighted I am to see you expressing your concern about the issues that will be discussed tonight by turning out in such large numbers. I also want to say that I consider it a great honor to share this program with Dr. Bennett, Dr. Commager, and Rabbi Heschel, and some of the distinguished leaders and personalities of our nation. And of course it's always good to come back to Riverside church. Over the last eight years, I have had the privilege of preaching here almost every year in that period, and it is always a rich and rewarding experience to come to this great church and this great pulpit.

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this meeting because I'm in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together: Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. The recent statements of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart, and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." And that time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty; but we must move on.

And some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of its religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history. Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace its movements and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance, for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns this query has often loomed large and loud: "Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King?" "Why are you joining the voices of dissent?" "Peace and civil rights don't mix," they say. "Aren't you hurting the cause of your people," they ask? And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live.

In the light of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church -- the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate -- leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation. This speech is not addressed to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. It is not addressed to China or to Russia. Nor is it an attempt to overlook the ambiguity of the total situation and the need for a collective solution to the tragedy of Vietnam. Neither is it an attempt to make North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front paragons of virtue, nor to overlook the role they must play in the successful resolution of the problem. While they both may have justifiable reasons to be suspicious of the good faith of the United States, life and history give eloquent testimony to the fact that conflicts are never resolved without trustful give and take on both sides.

Tonight, however, I wish not to speak with Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, but rather to my fellow Americans.

Since I am a preacher by calling, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor -- both black and white -- through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated, as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube. So, I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. And so we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. And so we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years -- especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they ask -- and rightly so -- what about Vietnam? They ask if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today -- my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a civil rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. In 1957 when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself until the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:

*O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath --
America will be!*

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read: Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be -- are -- are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

As if the weight of such a commitment to the life and health of America were not enough, another burden of responsibility was placed upon me in 1954¹; and I cannot forget that the Nobel Peace Prize was also a commission, a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for "the brotherhood of man." This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ. To me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I'm speaking

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

against the war. Could it be that they do not know that the good news was meant for all men -- for Communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black and for white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the One who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? What then can I say to the Vietcong or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this One? Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?

And finally, as I try to explain for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.

This I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation's self-defined goals and positions. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation and for those it calls "enemy," for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

people proclaimed their own independence in 1954 -- in 1945 rather -- after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not ready for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination and a government that had been established not by China -- for whom the Vietnamese have no great love -- but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva Agreement. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

this was presided over by United States' influence and then by increasing numbers of United States troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America, as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe?

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing -- in the crushing of the nation's only non-Communist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. Soon, the only solid -- solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call "fortified hamlets." The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers.

Perhaps a more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front, that strangely anonymous group we call "VC" or "communists"? What must they think of the United States of America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem, which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the South? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of "aggression from the North" as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? Surely we must understand their feelings, even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts.

How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than twenty-five percent communist, and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam, and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will not have a part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them, the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again, and then shore it up upon the power of new violence?

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence, when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in Western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French Commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

second struggle against French domination at tremendous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the thirteenth and seventeenth parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954 they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which could have surely brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again. When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered.

Also, it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreement concerning foreign troops. They remind us that they did not begin to send troops in large numbers and even supplies into the South until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how the president claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North. He knows the bombing and shelling and mining we are doing are part of traditional pre-invasion strategy. Perhaps only his sense of humor and of irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor, weak nation more than eight hundred -- rather, eight thousand miles away from its shores.

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless in Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called "enemy," I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy, and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor.

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak of the -- for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

This is the message of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam. Recently one of them wrote these words, and I quote:

Each day the war goes on the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom, and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism (unquote).

If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately, the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horrible, clumsy, and deadly game we have

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

decided to play. The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people. The situation is one in which we must be ready to turn sharply from our present ways. In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war.

I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do [immediately] to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

Number one: End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.

Number two: Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.

Three: Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.

Four: Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and any future Vietnam government.

Five: Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

Part of our ongoing -- Part of our ongoing commitment might well express itself in an offer to grant asylum to any Vietnamese who fears for his life under a new regime which included the Liberation Front. Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country, if necessary. Meanwhile -- Meanwhile, we in the churches and synagogues

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices and our lives if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative method of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service, we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is a path now chosen by more than seventy students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. Moreover, I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

Now there is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality...and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing "clergy and laymen concerned" committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala -- Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end, unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

And so, such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957, a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten years, we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken, the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin...we must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand, we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside, but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say, "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. Let us not join those who shout war and, through their

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

misguided passions, urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not engage in a negative anticommunism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity, and injustice, which are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light."² We in the West must support these revolutions.

It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch antirevolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has a revolutionary spirit. Therefore, communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores, and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."³

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing -- embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. This oft misunderstood, this oft misinterpreted concept, so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force, has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental and weak response. I am not speaking of that force which is just emotional bosh. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate -- ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John: "Let us love one another, for love is God. And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love." "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us."⁴ Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day.

We can no longer afford to worship the god of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. And history is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate. As Arnold Toynbee says:

Love is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning choice of death and evil. Therefore the first hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word (unquote).

We are now faced with the fact, my friends, that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is such a thing as

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked, and dejected with a lost opportunity. The tide in the affairs of men does not remain at flood -- it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is adamant to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, "Too late." There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. Omar Khayyam is right: "The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on."

We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent co-annihilation. We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the sons of God, and our brothers wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message -- of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.

As that noble bard of yesterday, James Russell Lowell, eloquently stated:

*Once to every man and nation comes a moment to decide,
In the strife of truth and Falsehood, for the good or evil side;*

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

*Some great cause, God's new Messiah offering each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.*

*Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis truth alone is strong
Though her portions be the scaffold, and upon the throne be wrong*

*Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.*

And if we will only make the right choice, we will be able to transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace. If we will make the right choice, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world, when "justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. QUOTES

PREFACE

Dr. King was many things at once. He was a General in the Army of Free Persons. He was a great Baptist minister. He was an excellent organizer; a drum major for justice; a soldier for peace; an advocate for the left out, locked out and the hurt and hungry in each of us. He was a husband and a father and a loyal friend to his friends. He was a writer and a great orator. He learned how to make friends with his fear and he learned how to control anger and to befriend his enemies. He learned how to live a life worth dying for.

Dr. King accepted the American promise put forth by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence that all persons are created equal, that they are “endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.” He accepted this unfulfilled promise and he accepted the hypocritical histories of the promisers with agape love and profound, admirable intelligence. He never gave up on his country nor did he give up on the capacity of the people to organize with love and tenacity to make the promise come true.

Dr. King is one of those leaders who never dies. Perhaps we should speak of him not only in the past tense, but also in present and future tenses. Dr. King is an example for each of us, a high standard demanding excellence in our heart and in our head. Let’s be like Martin!

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

A few capitalized letters are listed after some Dr. King quotes. They stand for the Dr. King book from which the quote was taken. They are:

The Autobiography of Martin L. King JR. TAOMLKJR

Strength to Love STL

Stride Toward Freedom STF

Testament of Hope TOH

The Papers of Martin Luther King, JR., Volume V TPOMLKJRV

The Trumpet of Conscience TTOC

Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community WDWGFH

Why We Can't Wait WWCW

“Whatever career you may choose for yourself—doctor, lawyer, teacher—let me propose an avocation to be pursued along with it. Become a dedicated fighter for civil rights.” King, M.L. (1986) The rising tide of racial conscience. In J.M.Washington (Ed.), A testament of hope, (p.160-166). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“If we realize how indispensable is responsible militant organization to our struggle, we will create it as we managed to create underground railroads, protest groups, self-help societies and the churches that have always been our refuge.” King, M.L. (1967) Where do we go from here: Chaos or community? New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.161)

“Indeed, these students are not struggling for themselves alone. They are seeking to save the soul of America. They are taking the whole nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the Founding Fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.” King, M.L. (1986) The time for freedom has come. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), A testament of hope, (p.160-166). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Human salvation lies in the hands of the creatively maladjusted.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.29)

“The shape of the world today does not permit us a faltering democracy.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.

“We need organizations that are permeated with mutual trust, incorrupt- ibility and militancy. Without this spirit we may have numbers but they will add up to zero.” King, M.L. (1986) *Where do we go from here*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*,(p.611-614). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual doom.” King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.38)

“We have inherited a large house, a great “world house” in which we have to live together—black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Moslem and Hindu—a family unduly sepa- rated in ideas, culture and interest, who, because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.167)

“One of the sure signs of maturity is the ability to rise to the point of self- criticism.” King, M. L. (2005) *The rising tide of racial consciousness*. In C. Carson (Ed.), *The papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (p.499-508), Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“The movement therefore gives to its participants a double education— academic learning from books and classes, and life’s lessons from responsible participation in social action. Indeed, the answer to the quest for a more mature, educated American, to compete successfully with the young people of other lands, may be present in this new movement.” King, M.L. (1986) *The time for freedom has come*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.160-166). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“All inhabitants of the globe are now neighbors. This world-wide neighborhood has been brought into being largely as a result of the modern scientific and technological revolutions.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.167-168)

“Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete.....If we assume that life is worth living and that man has a right to survival, then we must find an alternative to war.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.41)

“Nothing could be more tragic than for men to live in these revolution- ary times and fail to achieve the new attitude and the new mental outlooks that the new situation demands.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.170)

“Today our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the challenge of change.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.171)

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“When an individual is no longer a true participant, when he no longer feels a sense of responsibility to his society, the content of democracy is emptied.” King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.171)

“One of the great problems of mankind is we suffer from a poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.171)

“Every (person) lives in two realms, the internal and the external. The internal is that realm of spiritual ends expressed in art, literature, morals and religion. The external is that complex of devices, techniques, mechanisms and instrumentalities by means of which we live. Our problem today is that we have allowed the internal to become lost in the external.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.171)

“Every step towards the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.197)

“Actually time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but the for

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

appalling silence of the good people.” King, M.L.(2000) Why we can't wait: New York, NY: Harper & Collins(p.74)

“When a people are mired in oppression, they realize deliverance when they have accumulated the power to enforce change.....The powerful never lose opportunities—they remain available to them. The powerless, on the other hand, never experience opportunity—it is always arriving at a later time.”

King, M.L. (1986) Black power defined. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), A testament of hope, (p.43-54). San- Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“We must develop, from strength, a situation in which the government finds it wise and prudent to collaborate with us.”

King, M.L. (1967) Where do we go from here: Chaos or community? New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.137)

“Never succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter. As you press on for justice, be sure to move with dignity and discipline, using only the weapon of love.” King, M.L. (1986) Title of article. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), A testament of hope, (p.10-16). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“Our nettlesome task is to discover how to organize our strength into compelling power so that government cannot elude our demands.” King, M.L. (1967) Where do we go from here: Chaos or community? New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.137)

“When a new dawn reveals a landscape dotted with obstacles, the time has come for sober reflection, for assessment of our methods and for anticipating pitfalls. Stumbling and groping through the wilderness finally must be replaced by a planned,

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

organized and orderly march.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.137)

“Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.170)

“Racism is a tenacious evil, but it is not immutable.” King, M.L. (1986) *Black power defined*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.303-312). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“Violence, even in self-defense, creates more problems than it solves. Only a refusal to hate or kill can put an end to the chain of violence in the world and lead us toward a community where men can live together without fear. Our goal is to create a beloved community and this will require a qualitative change in our souls as well as a quantitative change in our lives.” King, M.L. (1986) *Nonviolence: the only freedom*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.54-61). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“Our hope for creative living in this world house that we have inherited lies in our ability to re-establish the moral ends of our lives in personal character and social justice. Without this spiritual and moral reawakening we shall destroy ourselves in the misuse of our own instruments.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.173)

“Nonviolent direct action will continue to be a significant source of power until it is made irrelevant by the presence of justice.” King,

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.139)

“Informal discussions and reading at home or in the streets are educational; they challenge the mind and inform our actions.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins

“The first step in the world-wide war against poverty is passionate commitment.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.178)

“Modern man is presently having a rendezvous with chaos, not merely because of human badness, but also because of human stupidity.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.44)

“To attempt radical reform without adequate organization is like trying to sail a boat without a rudder.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.157)

“.....One cannot hope to keep people locked out of the earthly kingdom of wealth, health and happiness. Either they share in the blessings of the world or they organize to break down and overthrow those structures or governments which stand in the way of their goals.” King, M.L. (1986)*Where would we go from here*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.617-634). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“None of us can pretend that he knows all the answers. It is enormously difficult for any oppressed people even to arrive at an awareness of their latent strengths. They are not only buffeted

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

by defeats, but they have been schooled assiduously to believe in their lack of capacity. People struggling from the depths of society have not been equipped with knowledge of the science of social change. Only when they break out of the fog of self-denigration can they begin to discover the forms of action that influence events. They can then embark on social experimentation with their own strengths to generate the kind of power that shapes basic decisions.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.137)

“If Western civilization continues to degenerate until it, like twenty-four of its predecessors, falls hopelessly into a bottomless void, the cause will be not only its undeniable sinfulness, but also its appalling blindness.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.44)

“Hate begets hate; violence begets violence; toughness begets great-er toughness. We must meet the forces of hate with the power of love; we must meet physical force with soul force.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.87)

“We need organizations that are responsible, efficient and alert.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.160-161)

“In our society power sources are sometimes obscure and indistinct. Yet they can always finally be traced to those forces we describe as ideological, economic and political.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.?)

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Creation is so designed that my personality can only be fulfilled in the context of community.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.106)

“Midnight is the hour when men desperately seek to obey the eleventh commandment, ‘Thou shalt not get caught.’ According to the ethic of midnight, the cardinal sin is to be caught and the cardinal virtue is to get by.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.58)

“Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective. No individual can live alone, no nation can live alone, and as long as we try, the more we are going to have war in this world.” King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.68)

“The greater the privileges, the greater the responsibilities and sacrifices.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.156)

“Education without social action is a one-sided value because it has no true power potential. Social action without education is a weak expression of pure energy. Deeds uninformed by educated thought can take false directions. When we go into action and confront our adversaries, we must be as armed with knowledge as they. Our policies should have the strength of deep analysis beneath them to be able to challenge the clever sophistries of our opponents.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.155)

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“If American democracy gradually disintegrates, it will be due as much to a lack of insight as to a lack of commitment to right.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.44)

“If Americans permit thought-control, business-control, and freedom- control to continue, we shall surely move within the shadows of fascism.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.21)

“Recognizing that no army can mobilize and demobilize and remain a fighting unit, we will have to build far-flung, workmanlike and experienced organizations in the future if the legislation we create and the agreements we forge are to be ably and zealously superintended.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.159)

“Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. It is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the [person] who wields it.” King, M.L.(2000) *Why we can’t wait*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins(p.12)

“We must use time creatively in the knowledge that the time is always right to do right.” King, M.L.(2000) *Why we can’t wait*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins(p.74)

“Among the moral imperatives of our time, we are challenged to work all over the world with unshakable determination to wipe out the last vestiges of racism.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.173)

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“To accept passively an unjust system is to cooperate with that system; thereby the oppressed become as evil as the oppressor. Noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. The oppressed must never allow the conscience of the oppressor to slumber.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.212)

“Racism can well be that corrosive evil that will bring down the curtain on Western civilization.... If Western civilization does not now respond constructively to the challenge to banish racism, some future historian will have to say that a great civilization died because it lacked the soul and commitment to make justice a reality for all [people].” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.176)

“It really boils down to this: that all life is interrelated. We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied into a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. We are made to live together because of the interrelated structure of reality.”
King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.69)

“We lack experience because ours is a history of disorganization. But we will prevail because our need for progress is stronger than the ignorance forced upon us.” King, M.L. (1967) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York, NY: Harper & Collins. (p.161)

“The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.” King, M.L. (1981) *Strength to love*. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.31)

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“He who sells you the token instead of the coin always retains the power to revoke its worth, and to command you to get off the bus before you have reached your destination. Tokenism is a promise to pay. Democracy, in its finest sense, is payment.” King, M.L.(2000) *Why we can't wait*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins(p.17)

“Fortunately, history does not pose problems without eventually producing solutions. The disenchanting, the disadvantaged and the disinherited seem, at times of deep crisis, to summon up some sort of genius that enables them to perceive and capture the appropriate weapons to carve out their destiny. Such was the peaceable weapons of nonviolent direct action.”

King, M.L.(2000) *Why we can't wait*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins(p.22)

“Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.197)

“[Nonviolence] first does something to the souls of those committed to it. It gives them a new self respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally it reaches the opponent and so stirs his conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.219)

“And I call upon all [people] of good will to be maladjusted because it may well be that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of the maladjusted.” King, M.L. (1986)*The American dream*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.208-216). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“The dispossessed of this nation—the poor— . . . live in a cruelly unjust society. They must organize a revolution against that injustice, not against the lives of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which the society is refusing to take the means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to lift the load of poverty.” King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.59)

“Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.104)

“These are revolutionary times; all over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. . . We in the West must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of Communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch-antirevolutionaries.” King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.33)

“We must not let the fact that we are the victims of injustice lull us into abrogating responsibility for our own lives.” King, M.L.(1968) *Stride towards freedom*: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.223)

“The call for intelligence is a call for openmindedness, sound judgment, and love for truth. It is a call for [people] to rise above the stagnation of closedmindedness and the paralysis of gullibility. One does not need to be a profound scholar to be openminded, nor

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

a keen academician to engage in an assiduous pursuit for truth.” King, M.L. (1981) Strength to love. Cleveland, Ohio: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. (p.45)

“When a subject people moves toward freedom, they are not creating a cleavage, but are revealing the cleavage which apologists of the old order have sought to conceal.” King, M.L.(1968) Stride towards freedom: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.193)

“The democratic ideal of freedom and equality will be fulfilled for all -- or all human beings will share in the resulting social and spiritual doom.” King, M.L.(1968) Stride towards freedom: New York, NY: Harper & Collins.(p.196)

“The movement for peace and justice can only be a success if it has both a mass and a militant character.” King, M.L.(1968) Stride towards freedom: New York, NY: Harper & Collins

“It is no longer merely the idealist or the doom-ridden who seeks for some controlling force capable of challenging the instrumentalities of destruction. Many are searching. Sooner or later all the peoples of the world, without regard to the political systems under which they live, will have to discover a way to live together in peace.” King, M.L.(2000) Why we can't wait: New York, NY: Harper & Collins(p.143)

“Cowardice asks the question, “Is it safe?” Expediency asks the question, “Is it politic?” And Vanity comes along and asks the question, “Is it popular?” But Conscience asks the question, “Is it right?” And there comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must do it because Conscience tells him it is right.” Autobiography of M.L. King Jr.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“We can all get more together than we can apart. And this is the way we gain power. Power is the ability to achieve purpose, power is the ability to affect change, and we need power.” *The Autobiography of Martin L. King Jr.*

“The present spontaneous, largely disorganized and spasmodic methods of piecemeal approaches, differing from city to city, and with a variety of tempos, will have to give way to broad national planning. A nation which could put more than eleven million men in arms in a few short years, which poured torrents of sophisticated munitions from hundreds of thousands of coordinated facilities and deployed them in war, has the capacity to master a problem of much less complexity. It needs only the same will it possessed when it felt its existence threatened.” King, M.L. (1986) *In a world: Now*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.167-169). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“If only to save myself from bitterness, I have attempted to see my personal ordeals as an opportunity to transform myself and heal the people involved in the tragic situation which now obtains. I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive.” King, M.L. (1986) *Title of article*. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.41-43). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“It’s one of the strangest things that all the great military geniuses of the world have talked about peace. The conquerors of old who came killing in pursuit of peace. . . And the leaders of the world today talk eloquently about peace. . .What is the problem? They are talking about peace as a distant goal, as an end we seek, but

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

one day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. All this is saying that, in the final analysis, means and ends must cohere because the end is pre-existent in the means, and ultimately destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends.” King M.L.(1968) *The trumpet on conscience*: New York: Harper & Row(p.71)

“You can never stand in a position of leadership without opposition. My attitude is that this can sometimes be healthy because it keeps you in a constant state of examining yourself, your motives and methods. I always try to take criticism in a positive sense. . . There can be unity when there isn’t uniformity.” King, M. L. (2005) *A talk with Martin Luther King*. In C. Carson (Ed.), *The papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (p.568-569), Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

“But the danger point is that we will become so involved in the profit-making and profit-getting aspects . . . that we will forget certain ends of life. There is always the danger that we will become more concerned about making a living than making a life---that we will not keep that line of division between life and one’s livelihood.” King, M. L. (2005) *Keep moving this Mountain*. In C. Carson (Ed.), *The papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (p.406-419), Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

“We must rapidly begin the shift from a “thing-oriented” society to a “person-oriented” society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered.” King, M.L. (1986) *Where do we go from here: Chaos or*

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

community. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.617-640). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“Our present urgent necessity is to cease our internal fighting and turn outward to the enemy, using every form of mass action yet known---create new forms--and resolve never to let them rest. This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom. Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and the bodies of dedicated, united people, moving without rest toward a just goal.” *The Autobiography of Martin L. King Jr.*

“Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for civil rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in.” King, M.L. (1986) Speech before the youth march for integrated schools. In J.M. Washington (Ed.), *A testament of hope*, (p.21-23). San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.

“Whatever career you may choose for yourself—doctor, lawyer, teacher—let me propose an avocation to be pursued along with it. Become a dedicated fighter for civil rights.” King, M.L., *A Testament to Hope*.

“If we realize how indispensable is responsible militant organization to our struggle, we will create it as we managed to create underground railroads, protest groups, self help societies and the churches that have always been our refuge.” WDWGFH

“Indeed, these students are not struggling for themselves alone. They are seeking to save the soul of America. They are taking the whole nation back to those great wells of democracy which were

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

dug deep by the Founding Fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.”

TOH, 1986, “THE TIME FOR FREEDOM HAS COME” P.165

“Human salvation lies in the hands of the creatively maladjusted.”

STL, 1981, “TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST” P.24

“The shape of the world today does not permit us a faltering democracy.” STF, 1968, P.197

“A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual doom.” TTOC

“We have inherited a large house, a great “world house” in which we have to live together—black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Moslem and Hindu—a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interest, who, because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace.” WDWGFH

“One of the sure signs of maturity is the ability to rise to the point of self criticism.” TPOMLKJRV

“The movement therefore gives to its participants a double education— academic learning from books and classes, and life’s lessons from responsible participation in social action. Indeed, the answer to the quest for a more mature, educated American, to compete successfully with the young people of other lands, may be present in this new movement.” TOH, 1986, “THE TIME FOR FREEDOM HAS COME” P.163

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“All inhabitants of the globe are now neighbors. This world-wide neighborhood has been brought into being largely as a result of the modern scientific and technological revolutions.” WDWGFH

“Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete.....If we assume that life is worth living and that man has a right to survival, then we must find an alternative to war.” STL

“Nothing could be more tragic than for men to live in these revolutionary times and fail to achieve the new attitude and the new mental outlooks that the new situation demands.” WDWGFH

“Today our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the challenge of change.” WDWGFH

“When an individual is no longer a true participant, when he no longer feels a sense of responsibility to his society, the content of democracy is emptied.” TTOC

“One of the great problems of mankind is we suffer from a poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.” WDWGFH, 1968, “The world house” p.171

“Every (person) lives in two realms, the internal and the external. The internal is that realm of spiritual ends expressed in art, literature, morals and religion. The external is that complex of devices, techniques, mechanisms and instrumentalities by means

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

of which we live. Our problem today is that we have allowed the internal to become lost in the external.” WDWGFH, 1968, “The World House” p.171

“Every step towards the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.” STF, 1968, P.197

“Actually time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but the for appalling silence of the good people.” WWCW

“When a people are mired in oppression, they realize deliverance when they have accumulated the power to enforce change.....The powerful never lose opportunities—they remain available to them. The powerless, on the other hand, never experience opportunity—it is always arriving at a later time.” WDWGFH

“We must develop, from strength, a situation in which the government finds it wise and prudent to collaborate with us.” WDWGFH

“Never succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter. As you press on for justice, be sure to move with dignity and discipline, using only the weapon of love.” TOH, 1986, “THE MOST DURABLE POWER” P.10

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Our nettlesome task is to discover how to organize our strength into compelling power so that government cannot elude our demands.” WDWGFH

“When a new dawn reveals a landscape dotted with obstacles, the time has come for sober reflection, for assessment of our methods and for anticipating pitfalls. Stumbling and groping through the wilderness finally must be replaced by a planned, organized and orderly march.” WDWGFH

“Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself.” WDWGFH

“Racism is a tenacious evil, but it is not immutable.” WDWGFH

“Violence, even in self-defense, creates more problems than it solves. Only a refusal to hate or kill can put an end to the chain of violence in the world and lead us toward a community where men can live together without fear. Our goal is to create a beloved community and this will require a qualitative change in our souls as well as a quantitative change in our lives.” TOH, 1986, “NON-VIOLENCE:THE ONLY ROAD TO FREEDOM” P.57-58

“Our hope for creative living in this world house that we have inherited lies in our ability to re-establish the moral ends of our lives in personal character and social justice. Without this spiritual and moral reawakening we shall destroy ourselves in the misuse of our own instruments.” WDWGFH, 1968, “The WORld House ” p.173

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Nonviolent direct action will continue to be a significant source of power until it is made irrelevant by the presence of justice.”

WDWGFH

“Informal discussions and reading at home or in the streets are educational; they challenge the mind and inform our actions.”

WDWGFH

“The first step in the world-wide war against poverty is passionate commitment.” WDWGFH

“Modern man is presently having a rendezvous with chaos, not merely because of human badness, but also because of human stupidity.” STL, 1981, “SAVE IN ACTION” P.44

“To attempt radical reform without adequate organization is like trying to sail a boat without a rudder.” WDWGFH

“.....One cannot hope to keep people locked out of the earthly kingdom of wealth, health and happiness. Either they share in the blessings of the world or they organize to break down and overthrow those structures or governments which stand in the way of their goals.” WDWGFH

“None of us can pretend that he knows all the answers. It is enormously difficult for any oppressed people even to arrive at an awareness of their latent strengths. They are not only buffeted by defeats, but they have been schooled assiduously to believe in their lack of capacity. People struggling from the depths of society have not been equipped with knowledge of the science of social change. Only when they break out of the fog of self-denigration can they

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

begin to discover the forms of action that influence events. They can then embark on social experimentation with their own strengths to generate the kind of power that shapes basic decisions.” WDWGFH

“If Western civilization continues to degenerate until it, like twenty-four of its predecessors, falls hopelessly into a bottomless void, the cause will be not only its undeniable sinfulness, but also its appalling blindness.” STL, 1981, “SAVE IN ACTION” P.44

“Hate begets hate; violence begets violence; toughness begets greater toughness. We must meet the forces of hate with the power of love; we must meet physical force with soul force.” STF, 1968, P.87

“We need organizations that are responsible, efficient and alert.” WDWGFH

“Education without social action is a one-sided value because it has no true power potential. Social action without education is a weak expression of pure energy. Deeds uninformed by educated thought can take false directions. When we go into action and confront our adversaries, we must be as armed with knowledge as they. Our policies should have the strength of deep analysis beneath them to be able to challenge the clever sophistries of our opponents.” WDWGFH

“In our society power sources are sometimes obscure and indistinct. Yet they can always finally be traced to those forces we describe as ideological, economic and political.” WDWGFH

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Creation is so designed that my personality can only be fulfilled in the context of community.” STF, 1968, P.106

“Midnight is the hour when men desperately seek to obey the eleventh commandment, ‘Thou shalt not get caught.’ According to the ethic of midnight, the cardinal sin is to be caught and the cardinal virtue is to get by.” STL

“Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective. No individual can live alone, no nation can live alone, and as long as we try, the more we are going to have war in this world.” TTOC

“The greater the privileges, the greater the responsibilities and sacrifices.” STF, 1968, “DESEGREGATION P.156

“If American democracy gradually disintegrates, it will be due as much to a lack of insight as to a lack of commitment to right.” STL

“Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. It is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the [person] who wields it.” WWCW

“We must use time creatively in the knowledge that the time is always right to do right.” WWCW

“Among the moral imperatives of our time, we are challenged to work all over the world with unshakable determination to wipe out the last vestiges of racism.” WDWGFH, 1968, “the world house” p.173

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“To accept passively an unjust system is to cooperate with that system; thereby the oppressed become as evil as the oppressor. Noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. The oppressed must never allow the conscience of the oppressor to slumber.” STF, 1968, “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE P.212

“Racism can well be that corrosive evil that will bring down the curtain on Western civilization.... If Western civilization does not now respond constructively to the challenge to banish racism, some future historian will have to say that a great civilization died because it lacked the soul and commitment to make justice a reality for all [people].” WDWGFH

“It really boils down to this: that all life is interrelated. We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied into a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. We are made to live together because of the interrelated structure of reality.” TTOC

“We lack experience because ours is a history of disorganization. But we will prevail because our need for progress is stronger than the ignorance forced upon us.” WDWGFH

“The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.” STL

“He who sells you the token instead of the coin always retains the power to revoke its worth, and to command you to get off the bus before you have reached your destination. Tokenism is a promise to pay. Democracy, in its finest sense, is payment.” WWCW

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Fortunately, history does not pose problems without eventually producing solutions. The disenchanting, the disadvantaged and the disinherited seem, at times of deep crisis, to summon up some sort of genius that enables them to perceive and capture the appropriate weapons to carve out their destiny. Such was the peaceable weapons of nonviolent direct action. . .” WWCW

“Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.” STF, 1968, “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE P.197

“[Nonviolence] first does something to the souls of those committed to it. It gives them a new self respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally it reaches the opponent and so stirs his conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality.” STF, 1968, “WHERE WE GO FROM HERE” P.219

“And I call upon all [people] of good will to be maladjusted because it may well be that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of the maladjusted.” TOH, 1986, “THE AMERICAN DREAM” P.216

“The dispossessed of this nation—the poor— . . . live in a cruelly unjust society. They must organize a revolution against that injustice, not against the lives of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which the society is refusing to take the means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to lift the load of poverty.” TTOC

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate.”

STF, 1968, “PILGIMAGE TO NONVIOLENCE” P.104

“We must not let the fact that we are the victims of injustice lull us into abrogating responsibility for our own lives.”

STF, 1968, “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE P.223

“The call for intelligence is a call for openmindedness, sound judgment, and love for truth. It is a call for [people] to rise above the stagnation of closedmindedness and the paralysis of gullibility. One does not need to be a profound scholar to be openminded, nor a keen academician to engage in an assiduous pursuit for truth.”
STL

“When a subject people moves toward freedom, they are not creating a cleavage, but are revealing the cleavage which apologists of the old order have sought to conceal.”

STF, 1968, “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HER P.193

“The democratic ideal of freedom and equality will be fulfilled for all--or all human beings will share in the resulting social and spiritual doom.” STF, 1968, “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HER P.196

“It is no longer merely the idealist or the doom-ridden who seeks for some controlling force capable of challenging the instrumentalities of destruction. Many are searching. Sooner or later all the peoples of the world, without regard to the political systems under which they live, will have to discover a way to live together in peace.” WWCW

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“Cowardice asks the question, “Is it safe?” Expediency asks the question, “Is it politic?” And Vanity comes along and asks the question, “Is it popular?” But Conscience asks the question, “Is it right?” And there comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must do it because Conscience tells him it is right.” TAOMLKJR

“We can all get more together than we can apart. And this is the way we gain power. Power is the ability to achieve purpose, power is the ability to affect change, and we need power.” TAOMLKJR

“Our present urgent necessity is to cease our internal fighting and turn outward to the enemy, using every form of mass action yet known---create new forms--and resolve never to let them rest. This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom. Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and the bodies of dedicated, united people, moving without rest toward a just goal.” TAOMLKJR

“The present spontaneous, largely disorganized and spasmodic methods of piecemeal approaches, differing from city to city, and with a variety of tempos, will have to give way to broad national planning. A nation which could put more than eleven million men in arms in a few short years, which poured torrents of sophisticated munitions from hundreds of thousands of coordinated facilities and deployed them in war, has the capacity to master a problem of much less complexity. It needs only the same will it possessed when it felt its existence threatened.” TOH, 1986, “IN A WORLD: NOW” P.168

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“If only to save myself from bitterness, I have attempted to see my personal ordeals as an opportunity to transform myself and heal the people involved in the tragic situation which now obtains. I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive.”

“It’s one of the strangest things that all the great military geniuses of the world have talked about peace. The conquerors of old who came killing in pursuit of peace. . . And the leaders of the world today talk eloquently about peace. . .What is the problem? They are talking about peace as a distant goal, as an end we seek, but one day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. All this is saying that, in the final analysis, means and ends must cohere because the end is pre-existent in the means, and ultimately destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends.” TTOC

“You can never stand in a position of leadership without opposition. My attitude is that this can sometimes be healthy because it keeps you in a constant state of examining yourself, your motives and methods. I always try to take criticism in a positive sense. . . There can be unity when there isn’t uniformity.” TPOMLKJRV

“But the danger point is that we will become so involved in the profit-making and profit-getting aspects . . . that we will forget certain ends of life. There is always the danger that we will become more concerned about making a living than making a life---that we will not keep that line of division between life and one’s livelihood.” TPOMLKJRV

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

“We must rapidly begin the shift from a “thing-oriented” society to a “person-oriented” society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered.” TOH, 1986, “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: CHAOS OR COMMUNITY” P.629

“Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for civil rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in.” TOH, 1986, “SPEECH BEFORE THE YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS” P.22)

“And I’m simply saying this morning, that you should resolve that you will never become so secure in your thinking or your living that you forget the least of these. . . In some sense, all of us are the least of these, but there are some who are least than the least of these. I try to get it over to my children early, morning after morning, when I get a chance. As we sit at the table, as we did this morning in morning devotions, I couldn’t pray my prayer without saying, “God, help us, as we sit at this table to realize that there are those who are less fortunate than we are. And grant that we will never forget them, no matter where we are.” And I said to my little children, “ I’m going to work and do everything that I can do to see that you get a good education. I don’t ever want you to forget that there are millions of God’s children who will not and cannot get a good education, and I don’t want you feeling that you are better than they are. For you will never be what you ought to be until they are what they ought to be.” From sermon on January 7, 1968. The Autobiography of MLK, Jr., Edited by Clayborn Carson

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

King, Martin Luther, Jr., *The Measure of a Man*. Philadelphia. The Christian Education Press, 1959. Two Devotional Addresses.

King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Strength to Love*. New York, Harper & Row, 1963. Sixteen sermons and one essay entitled "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence."

King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*. New York, Harper, 1958.

King, Martin Luther, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience*. New York, Harper & Row, 1968.

King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* New York, Harper & Row, 1967.

King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*. New York, Harper & Row, 1963.

The following books of Dr. King's writings have been edited under the direction of Dr. Clayborne Carson, Director of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University.

Carson, Clayborne; Peter Holloran, (Editors), *A Knock at Midnight*. New York: IPM Intellectual Properties Management, Inc. in Association with Warner Books, 1998.

Carson, Clayborne; McCovey, Andrea Spiro; and Mohnot, Ashni (Editors), *King and Global Liberation*. Inkworks Press, 1976

Carson, Clayborne, (Editor), *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: IPM Intellectual Properties Management, Inc. in Association with WARNER BOOKS, 1998.

The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr. Volume VI: Advocate of the Social Gospel, Sept 1948 – March 1963. Edited with Susan Carson, Susan Endlander, Troy Jackson, and Gerald L. Smith. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

The Legacy and Life of Dr. King

The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr., Volume V: Threshold of a New Decade, Jan 1959 – Dec 1960. Edited with Tenisha Armstrong, Susan Carson, Adrienne Clay, and Kieran Taylor. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr. Volume VI: Symbol of the Movement, Jan 1957 – Dec 1958. Edited with Susan Carson, Adrienne Clay, Virginia Shadron, and Kerry Taylor. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr. Volume III: Birth of a New Age, Dec 1955 – Dec 1956. Edited with Stewart Burns, Susan Carson, Pete Holloran, and Dana Powell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr. Volume I: Called to Serve, Jan 1929 – June 1951. Edited with Ralph E. Luker and Penny A. Russell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Copyright © 2022 by Roy D. Wilson, Ed.D.
Published by Institute for Community Leadership Press
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher.

A research based, culturally relevant curriculum developing literacy, leadership and character. Prepares students for meaningful academic and civic engagement today.

Democracy Education: Teaching and learning for the common good.

Critical Democracy Theory

Equity

Interracial unity

Civic Society

Problem solving pedagogy

Sustainability

Democracy Education
Series