ABSTRACT

Title: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Life, Writings and Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.

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Submitted: Trinity term 1981 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

This study is a four chapter analysis and interpretation of the life, writings and philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. Chapter I places it in proper historical and philosophical perspective with a review of the existing body of literature on King, a critical summary of its three types of analysis and interpretations of his life and work and an exposition and defense of the thesis underlying this work. Chapter II then provides an account of King the man, minister and political activist. Chapter III explains the intrinsic unity and fundamental tenets of his basic religious, metaphysical, moral and socio-political thinking. And Chapter IV conducts a systematic textual exegesis of his 25 key ideas and demonstrates how to read, analyse, explain and interpret his philosophy properly through a combined dictionary/ concordance and syntopicon of his writings and speeches. Ultimately, the need, originality and contribution of this entire enterprise lies in the fact that it contains the most balanced and comprehensive analysis of King's life and the only published exposition of his complete philosophy, commentary on his collected writings and valid explanation of how his life, writings and philosophy should be read and interpreted as a whole.

An Analysis and Interpretation of the Life, Writings and Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.

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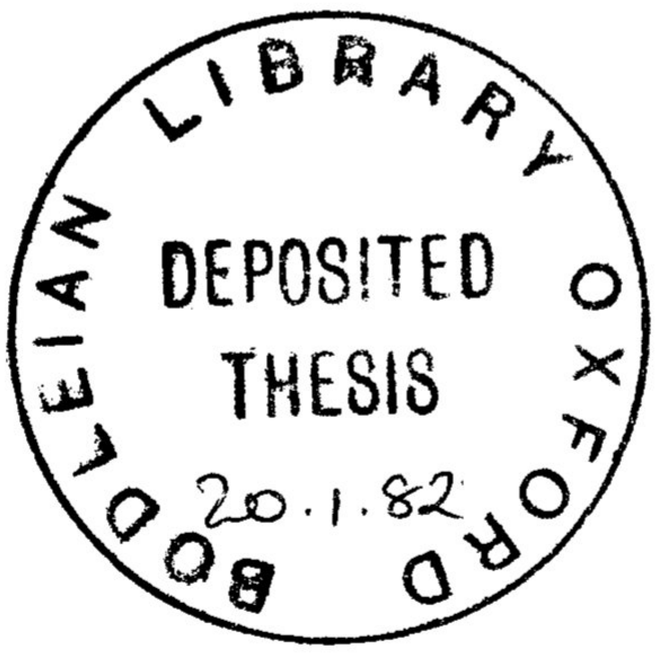

Thesis submitted to the Social Studies Faculty of Oxford University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Trinity Term, 1981.

To

James B. McGoldrick, S.J.

and

Eula Roberts, Nam

This study is part of a struggle – the Human struggle for Survival, the Afro-American struggle for Justice and Equality and the Christian struggle for Love. Moreover it is part of the struggle to see that each of these communities accords one of its more distinguished members his proper place in the annals of their respective history and thought. As such, this struggle belongs no less to one of these communities than it does to the others and it is inextricably related to the progress of each.

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INTRODUCTION

Every study has a history ...

THE ODYSSEY OF AN AUTHOR AND A DREAM DEFERRED

When this project began a little over five years ago I had absolutely no idea it would evolve into an original analysis and interpretation of the life and thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. complete with a dictionary/concordance and syntopicon on his writings and speeches. In fact, I had no idea it would be on Martin Luther King, Jr. at all. Originally, when I arrived in Oxford, my plans were to do an inter-disciplinary examination of some of the problems and progress of the Afro-American since the Civil Rights Act and entitle it "Brothers and Others". But such is the way things were before the first time I met with my then prospective supervisor, Kenneth Kirkwood, the Rhodes Professor of Race Relations.

We met in his office, St Antony's College. There I broached the idea. And he responded enthusiastically yet Socratically:

"Now, you plan to collect data from how many different agencies",he said.

"Twelve to fourteen", I replied, and then I began to name them.

"And you plan to do all this trans-Atlantic?"

"No", came the response, "I'll need to make one or two trips to the States".

"And who will pay for them - your sponsor?"

"No", I said, "right now I'm not quite sure, but I know I can work that out".

"I see", he said, "and how long do you imagine all this will take you?".

"Two, perhaps two and a half years", I said, "but certainly no more than three for that is when my scholarship ends".

"I see", he said, "and should you run into any unexpected difficulties in securing access to your crucial data, are you prepared either to stay on and finish or to leave without obtaining a D. Phil.?"

Enough said. From his questions I could see that the risks involved in trying to complete that particular project at this point in time were a bit too great and I was grateful; only to be momentarily nonplussed when Professor Kirkwood asked: "Had you any other topic in view?"

Concealing my consternation, I kept the conversation alive and immediately began to ransack my mind for another topic: I knew it had to be something original; I knew it had to be something significant. In short, I knew it had to meet Oxford's D. Phil. requirements of being an original, a significant and a substantial contribution to the field of learning within which it lay. I got it!

"Martin Luther King, Jr." I blurted out suddenly with aplomb. For earlier in collecting data for my Brothers and Others project, I had made it a point to read all five of King's books and consequently I was sure that within the perimeter of his life and thought lay much fertile ground for an original and significant study.

"What aspect?", he asked.

"In general I would like to analyse the role and meaning of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in his life

and thought", I said, "but more specifically I would like to determine if according to King's philosophy man is morally obliged to live nonviolently".

I then went on to explain that my interest in this topic of the Moral Imperative to live nonviolently stemmed largely from a debate I had with some friends shortly after a bomb exploded on campus my junior year of college, and that my interest in King was perennial but one which I had little time to develop. In selecting this topic, I concluded, I could satisfy both these interests. Moreover since it was a topic that was chiefly philosophical and theoretical in nature, I could work on it alone relatively independent of any possible data restraints of outside agencies.

Professor Kirkwood and I discussed these and other aspects of my new topic and agreed. I then assembled a three page synopsis of its aims, methods and sources and thus concluded our first meeting.

I left St Antony's a little ambivalent, content with the general topic of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics but vexed trying to decide how best I might explain all this in the contexts of King's own life and thought. Tentatively, I planned to focus my efforts on an explanation and critical evaluation of King's account of the phenomenological and philosophical relationship of Power, Force, Truth, Love, Justice, Violence and Peace. But before restricting my study to this scope, I vowed to keep an open mind until I finished examining all the books in the existing body of literature.

I kept my vow and read voluminously - books, articles, essays, doctoral dissertations - everything I could get my eyes on, only to come to the conclusion two years later that the existing body of literature could ill afford to have 100,000 words showered on this topic alone when so many other more important and fundamental tasks in the area of King scholarship remained undone. Let me explain.

Initially, my decision to focus on King's view of the relationship between Power, Force, Truth, Love, Justice, Violence and Peace was naturally predicated upon certain facts and assumptions I had at that time concerning both King and the existing body of literature on him. That is from my first reading of his works, it was clear to me that Martin Luther King, Jr. was basically an ordained minister and trained theologian who derived his doctrine of nonviolent patient suffering from Scripture and viewed his movement primarily as a moral and spiritual revolutionary movement the aims of which were both individual and social and equally political, ideological and economic. Moreover, from assembling a working bibliography, I also knew that an admirable cross section of learned and lay individuals had already produced no less than nineteen different studies on various aspects of his life and thought. Now what I did not know but quite naturally assumed was that all these writers had read King's complete works and that they therefore both knew and accepted these facts about his life and thought as the basis for their analysis and interpretation of his work.

Moreover, I assumed that this, their collection of studies, was basically a dialogue of informed persons each attempting to explain or evaluate some particular aspect of what King in fact wrote, thought, said or did, and that at the bottom of their dialogue lay some work or collection of works which had already attempted to explain the corpus of King's writings and philosophy as a whole.

Unfortunately, the more I began to familiarise myself with each of these studies, the more I came to see that each of these assumptions was wrong. First of all, I realized that though the existing body of literature contained six biographies, three socio-political commentaries, an equal number of personal reflections, two compilations of his quotations, an analysis of the intellectual origins of his ethical thinking and a critical evaluation of his political philosophy, it possessed no systematic exposition of his complete commentary on his collected writings or detailed explanation of the relationship between the two. Secondly, I discovered that in many of these studies, the facts about King, his message and his movement that were so clear to me after my initial reading of his works were either seriously disputed or outright denied. And thirdly, I realized with the notable exceptions of Bennett, King, Lewis, Rathburn and Zepp that most of these authors had read little - if any, and certainly not all of King's writings. Finally as a result of all this,I realized that far from being a dialogue of informed persons, the existing body of literature on King consisted largely of a series of trivial and repetitious

monologues most of which little explained and often contradicted King's own writings and philosophy.

In light of this fact one of three courses of action was open to me. Either I could (1) completely change topics (2) continue with initial plans unamended or (3) expand the scope of my original study to address a couple of these unexpected but equally important and pre-requisite concerns. Certainly, the first course of action would have been the easiest, but also perhaps the most cowardly, for a complete change of topic was not only unnecessary, in the long run, it would have served only to fuel my appetite for indolence. Additionally, the second course of action was not only an inexcusable disservice to both King and his legacy, but basically dishonest, for to continue with my initial plans unamended either meant ignoring and suppressing the serious debate surrounding the basic presuppositions on which my original study rests or discounting the more important fact that even before this debate could possibly be resolved a complete, accurate and systematic exegesis of King's writings and philosophy was absolutely essential. Thus in expanding the scope of my original study to address these unexpected but equally important problems, I eventually elected to follow the third course of action.

Later, in organizing the facts, data, and arguments of this revised and expanded thesis to present in the best pedagogical order, I elected to divide my chapters according

to its five main tasks and to arrange them in keeping with the old Aristotelian maxim that 'the first in intention is the last in execution'. Thus since my primary objective, first intention or ultimate goal was still to analyse the role of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in the life and thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. and to determine if according to his philosophy man is morally obliged to live nonviolently, I knew that this task would have to be performed or executed in its last chapter. Before doing that I would have to devote one full chapter to King's life, writings and philosophy respectively. And before that I would have to place this study in its proper historical and ideological context and lay the foundation for its analysis and interpretation of King's life and work with an exposition and defence of its underlying thesis and a critical review of the existing body of literature. In all therefore, I imagined my revised study would consist of some five chapters each with the aforesaid purpose and arranged in the aforesaid manner, and with this firmly in mind, my odysseyto determine both the exact nature and scope of my study and how best to explain and analyze the role of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in the life and thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. cáme to an end.

So what is this dream deferred? Essentially it may be explained in quantitative, administrative and functional terms. Quantitatively, it consistedin reducing my revised study from five chapters to four. Administratively, this was done to comport with Oxford University

Regulations which limit a D. Phil. thesis to 100,000 words. My special request to exceed this word limit was unanimously denied by the Social Studies Faculty Board on 19 June 1980 and virtually compelled me to abridge this revised study by some 30,000 words. Owing to its structure I eventually decided to eliminate its proposed fifth chapter. Functionally, this transformed its focus, shifting the propaedeutic to the paramount and deferring what was once paramount to another and future study. That is to say its first four chapters were originally designed to lay the foundation for a comprehensive investigation and analysis of the role and meaning of Nonviolence and Christian ethics in the life and thought of Dr King in chapter five, now in eliminating this chapter, I effectively shifted its focus deferring this analysis to another study and emphasising its original exposition of King's life, writings and philosophy. Nonetheless in having assembled the most balanced and authoritative psycho-historical account of King the man, minister and political activist and the only published exposition of his complete philosophy, combined dictionary/concordance and syntopicon of his writings and critical review of the existing body of literature on him, its contribution is no less than paramount. Moreover, in explaining in its Conclusions how the answer to its seminal question - namely, Is man according to King's thinking morally obliged to live nonviolently? -

is actually contained in chapter four, its dream is not altogether deferred.

Finally, in response to the numerous friends, patrons, collaborators and well-wishers who have asked why even this revised and abridged study has taken me five years to complete, I should like to quote Stevland Morris and say "Each life has its own beat, moving through space at its own pace ... and I will move as swiftly as life demands, but never so fast as to bring you anything less than my best".

E.L.W.

I

THE KING OF PEACE

So oft in theologic wars
The disputants I ween,
Rail on in utter ignorance
Of what each other mean,
And prate about an elephant
Not one of them has seen.

- Saxe

By this it appears how necessary it is for any man that aspires to true Knowledge to examine the Definitions of former Authors; and either to correct them, where they are negligently set down; or to make them himself. For the errors of Definitions multiply themselves, according as the reckoning proceeds; and leads men into absurdities, which at last they see, but cannot avoid, without reckoning anew from the beginning; in which lies the foundation of their errors.

- Hobbes

THE PREMISES, PARTS, PROLEGOMENON, NEED, TITLE, THESES AND METHOD OF AN ORIGINAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Who or what is The King of Peace? The King of Peace is the title of both a thesis and a theory of interpretation about the life, writings and philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. As a thesis it consists of three interrelated premises. As a theory of interpretation it consists of three interrelated parts, and as a title for both it was derived from a commingling of King's last name with the Augustinian notion of Peace as 'the harmony of orders'.

But who is Martin Luther King, Jr. and why is a theory of interpretation necessary to explain his life, writings and philosophy? What are the three interrelated premises on which this one rests; what are the three interrelated parts of which it consists and how, for purposes of its title, did King's last name come to be wedded with St.Augustine's idea of Peace? In answering these questions, this chapter aims, by way of introduction, to place this study in its proper historical and philosophical contexts and lay the foundation for its analysis and interpretation of King's life and work with a review of the current body of literature on him, a critical analysis of its three principal types of interpretations of his life, writing and philosophy and an exposition and defence of the theses underlying this work.

A REVIEW OF THE CURRENT BODY OF LITERATURE

With the publication of Lawrence Reddick's (B) Crusader Without Violence in 1959,[1] the existing body of literature on Martin Luther King, Jr. began and with it the first literary attempt to answer the question Who is Martin Luther King, Jr. Published just three years after King's success in Montgomery and immediately after his pilgrimage to India, Reddick's work is chiefly a biographical account of King through 1958. In it, this personal friend and travelling companion of King's in India argues that King was essentially a black Southern Baptist minister whose socio-political role models lie in Christ, Gandhi and Thoreau (pp.13-30) and whose intellectual roots lie in the Social Gospels of Walter Rauschenbusch, the Personalism of Edgar S. Brightman and

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[1] *A word about this study's citation policy and bibliography. When a work is mentioned for the first time, its title, author and year of publication are given in the body of the text. To avoid repeating this information at the bottom of the page, bibliographic footnotes, Op. cits. and Ibids have been replaced by a capital letter A, B, C, D or E in parentheses immediately after the author's name. This letter designates the section of the bibliography where the work's full bibliographical information can be found. Any subsequent reference to the work gives only its author's last name and the letter in parentheses. When a phrase, passage or sentence is quoted from the work its page number follows in parentheses. Titles of articles, speeches, pamphlets and chapters are contained in single quotations while titles of books, magazines and doctoral dissertations are underlined, except in Chapter IV where true to King's own text they are italicized. As a functional part of this study, the Selected Bibliography is divided into five sections corresponding to those works (A) by King (B) on King (C) on Nonviolence (D) on Christian Ethics and (E) Related Readings.*

the dialectical thinking of Hegel (pp.97-98). For anyone attempting to come to grips with King's early childhood, adolescence and college days Reddick's study, once a must, is now simply a good place to begin. For it must be remembered that Reddick did his work when King was only thirty - three years into his twelve-year stormy and controversial public career - and when only one of his eventual five books was published. Consequently, though its explanation of King's family background, personality and intellectual roots is fundamentally sound, Reddick's work analyses none of King's major writings and contains nothing about his political campaigns from 1960 to 1968.

In 1964, a second book was added to the current body of studies on King by Lerone Bennett (B). Drawing its title, What Manner of Man, from Matthews 8:27, this noted historian and senior editor of Johnson publications characterizes his biography of King through 1964 as 'an interim assessment', - justifying it on King's 'pervasive influence' and citing as its vantage points his thirty-fifth birthday and his receiving the Nobel Prize. Owing to his subject's youth and continuing development as a national leader, Bennett concedes that a more definitive study must await the unfolding of future events. An assassin's bullet prematurely cut short this otherwise natural unfolding of events just four years later, but that is not of primary importance here. What is is the fact that in drawing copiously on Johnson Publication's files, interviews with King's friends, former colleagues and

professors and the text of King's first two books Stride Toward Freedom and Why We Can't Wait, Bennett basically accepts and expands on Reddick's explanation of King the man and minister, describing how the young minister developing in the 'teacher-prophet' image of his two Morehouse mentors, Benjamin Mays and George Kesley, was 'tracked down' by the 'Zeitgeist' (p.61) in Montgomery and given a new mission in life, - to transform a diffuse uprising into a mass movement with passion and purpose. In many ways Bennett's analysis of King the Symbol - his Presence, Soil and Seed - can and must be seen as a complement to Reddick's work: first by amplifying its basic thesis as to who Martin Luther King, Jr. actually was and secondly by focussing on King's personal, intellectual, moral and political development from 1955-1964. King's untimely death in 1968 resulted in a mere ten page epilogue (pp.233-43) covering the last four years of his life. For this reason it must be said that Bennett's illuminating and otherwise enviable study remains unsatisfactorily completed.

A free-lance writer and member of The American Opinion's board of editors, Alan Stang, added a third book, It's Very Simple: The True Story of Civil Rights, to the present body of literature on King in 1965. In it, he argues that as a minister King was a disguised but devoted communist.[2] After recounting King's 'conversion' to Marxism and Communism with

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[2] *Whether in fact King was ever a member of the Communist Party, Stang does not say. He simply charges that the Communists, under the cloak of the Civil Rights Movement, are trying to capture the country and accuses the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of knowing this; yet deliberately doing everything he can to bring all of it about, to such an extent, that whether he is, or is not in actuality a member of this Communist conspiracy, can be of interest only to his psychiatrist (p.213).*

the exegesis of a passage from Stride Toward Freedom, Stang argues that King's meteoric rise in Montgomery from the shadows of obscurity to the dangerous glare of fame occurred not fortuitously but through the confluence of two distinct Communist schemes: the Highlander Folk School and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.[3] While totally ignoring King's second and third books as well as his five articles in Nation magazine,[4] Stang draws primarily on smear files, some of SCLC's administrative and financial records and the testimony of certain key witnesses before the Louisiana State Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of 1962, to argue that King's commitment to Communism and involvement with certain high-ranking members of the American Communist Party was permanent, systematic and ever-intensifying from the time he was in his second year at Crozer Seminary in 1949 until this book was released in 1965.

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[3] *According to Stang, the Highlander Folk School was founded by Dr James Drombrowski and Myles Horton as the Commonwealth College of Mena, Arkansas in 1932, to teach Communists how to use religion by comparing texts from the New Testament with the text of Karl Marx. To this end it operated successfully for more than 15 years until a plot detailing how the Communists planned to use the school as their chief propaganda instrument in the South was uncovered on 27 April 1949. It was then cited by the US Attorney General's Office as a Communist front and moved to Monteagle, Tennessee where it reopened as The Highlander Folk School. There Rosa Parks, agent provocateur of the Montgomery bus boycott, was trained. The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights was also a Communist front organization, headed by Rev. Fred Shuttleworth, the man who eventually recruited Martin Luther King, Jr. (p.102) to champion and dramatize the plight of Ms Parks and other Negroes in Alabama.*

[4] *See Chapter IV p.208 under Minister/Social Analyst.*

Immediately after King's death in 1968, Lionel Lokos (B) made a bold attempt to separate myth from reality about the Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. In a work entitled House Divided, he echoes Stang's conclusion for altogether different reasons. According to this five-hundred page psychological and socio-political commentary on King which draws chiefly on a couple of King's articles in Look and Nation magazines, and focusses on his 4 April 1967 'Time to Break Silence' speech at Riverside Church in New York, King was a self-deluded, fame-seeking anarchist[5] and oratorial paladin whose failure as a civil rights leader led him to champion the cause of the Communists on Vietnam.[6] The salient consequence and tragic legacy of King's six major nonviolent campaigns from 1955-1968, Lokos argues, was not only a House Divided, but 'a lawless and chaotic community which bows and scrapes to the will of the mob' (p.89) and, 'a community more bristling with inter-racial hostility than ever before' (p.88).

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[5] *For according to Lokos, King's doctrine of nonviolent civil disobedience was in theory, little more than the anarchic notion that every man could be his own judge, jury and legislator and that the minority could flout the law while forcing its will upon the majority (p.460). And in practice, it was simply a form of political blackmail, an ultimatum that unless favourable action was taken, the normal processes of law enforcement would not be permitted to function (p.461). Thus 'no matter how many times (he) King drew the fine line between just and unjust laws - no matter how many times he consulted the universe to decide which laws he would obey or disobey - the fact remains that he could not uphold integration laws on odd days, flout segregation laws on even days, and simultaneously proclaim his highest respect for the law' (p.88). The opposing and generally more accepted legal view that the United States has built into its legal system a kind of 'domesticated civil disobedience', is put forward in Chapters 3 and 4 of Alexander Bickel's The Morality of Consent (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) pp.55-112, and King's view is given textually in Chapter IV under IV Law/Morality 7-12.*

[6] *Lokos' account follows on pp.35-42*

In addition to Lokos' work, three other books on King appeared in 1968. Lotte Hoskins' (B) I Have A Dream and Bill Alder's (B) The Wisdom of Martin Luther King, Jr. are both simple compilations of some of King's quotations and are discussed in the introduction of Chapter IV, this study's combined dictionary/concordance and syntopicon of his writings and speeches.[7] The third, William Miller's (B) Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Life, Martyrdom and Meaning forthe World was the first biography to cover King's complete life. In it, the theologian Miller returns to the description of King presented by Reddick and Bennett, and argues that King's life must be seen as an attempt to save the soul of America by a minister and social activist whose first concern was people. After recounting many of the facts and anecdotes about King's family background and college days found in the works of Reddick and Bennett, Miller examines the causes, course and consequences of King's political campaigns in Montgomery, Albany, Birmingham, St Augustine, Selma and Chicago telling how King viewed his political activities as part of his ministry and embraced his vocation like few ministers in the twentieth century, in a way that was both traditional and modern, denominational and broadly ecumenical (p.295). Unlike many of his political rivals, Miller's King saw the world as a community mankind had inherited and was charged with improving for all. Therefore, his movement and vision of America

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7 *See p.196 fn.4.*

must be seen as part of a universal and transcendent vision of humanity (p.89) and a broad device aimed at making democracy more real for everyone. In many respects Miller's study provides a laudable account of King the man, minister and political activist, but its treatment of King's writings and philosophy is deplorably vague and inexcusably misleading.[8] For this reason its value even as a biography has been almost totally eclipsed by David Lewis' King: A Critical Biography.

As the widow of the man millions of Americans were anxious to canonize a martyr, Coretta King (B) could have remained silent, became an iconoclast or bolstered their efforts. With the publication of My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1969, quite predictably she followed the third course of action. Invariably eulogistic, intolerably uncritical and bristling with the tone of an Emily Post or Amy Vanderbilt book of etiquette, Mrs King's encomium nevertheless succeeds in presenting a matchless diary of King's life from 1951 along with a brief but good general summary of his major writings. In the tradition of Reddick, Bennett and Miller, the writer first explains how her husband firmly believed that a minister should be a leader of social progress (p.103) and then goes on to extol how this man whom many 'felt to be the President of the Negroes'(p.180) came to believe that unearned suffering

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[8] *See pp.57-63.*

was redemptious (p.150); wished to take a personal vow of poverty (p.160) and how he even confessed to her one day that a man like himself who is truly dedicated to a cause doesn't really need a family (p.178). She goes on to say:

> I was not hurt by this statement. I realized that it did not mean he loved me and the children less, but that he was giving his life to the Movement and felt he therefore could not do as much for his family as he might in other circumstances. He saw a conflict between duty and love that prevented his giving himself utterly to the Cause. But I knew that, being the kind of man he was, Martin needed us. He functioned better with a wife and children because he needed the warmth we gave him, and from the standpoint of the cause, having us gave him a kind of humanness which brought him closer to the mass of the people (p.79).

Novelist and editor of a biennial of black writings, John A. Williams (B) seriously impugns this fulsome account of King's life in his 1970 analysis of the public and private aspects of The King God Didn't Save with evidence and interviews from the two civil rights leaders James Meredith and Fannie Lou Hammer; King's former secretary and co-founder of SNNC, Ella Baker; Mike Royoco of the Chicago Daily News; Reporter and former Director of the US Office of Information, Carl T. Rowan; Joanne Grant of the National Guardian and a coterie of confidential sources dubbed "A, B, C, D and E" respectively. According to Williams' reports King was basically a southern country boy who was 'naive as hell about almost everything' (p.72). 'Coming from a home where the father dominated and the mother assumed almost equal power' (p.216), he received a Ph.D. from one of the country's

leading institutions and travelled all over the world but 'could not evolve into a father figure and remained at heart a mere youngster' (p.216) who just never comprehended the capriciousness of white power' (p.172). Despite his immense charm and positive religious beliefs, Williams' King possessed an uncontrollable libido[9], and exhibited many of the weaknesses of a man unsure of himself - unable to delegate authority, make decisions or tolerate competition (p.216). And his vanity always made it necessary for him to be in on the scene himself. American ballyhoo tended to project him as a power to be reckoned with (p.169), when in fact he was more a symbol than a power in the civil rights movement (p.183). Admittedly, there was a chance with each campaign that he could wind up with genuine power commensurate with his prestige, but two factors prevented this from happening: (1) his SCLC staff, none of whom had enough organizational experience to build anything but a church and (2) his conviction that a lasting solution to such problems as segregation and war could be achieved through moral persuasion (p.167). Hence, while history must credit King with giving the initial impetus to many individuals, institutions and groups which still attack the structure of American society today (p.215), Williams concludes, it must also record that King did not break out of the mould of moral suasion (p.192); he bungled his greatest opportunity to deal with something of infinitely more

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[9] *See Chapter II p.91 fn.13.*

value - power politics and he often failed to deal with political reality at all (p.177).

David Lewis' (B) King: A Critical Biography also appeared in 1970. The third work covering King's complete life, Lewis' study mentions in moderation and perspective the few of King's personal indiscretions that Williams makes so prominent. For Lewis, King remained essentially a black Southern preacher whose 'extraordinary rhetorical abilities were not quite matched by practical intelligence and political radicalism' (p.X). Nonetheless, in analysing King's struggles from cradle to coffin - through Montgomery, Atlanta, Albany, Birmingham, St Augustine, Selma, Chicago, Vietnam and Memphis, Lewis produces a study unrivalled in detail, scope, literary style or scholarship, while borrowing, blending and always adding to the facts, anecdotes and insights presented by Reddick, Bennett, Ms King and Miller respectively. But Lewis' work does little or no justice to King the theologian. In fact, its single most objectionable feature is the historian's misguided and ill-founded attempt to dismiss King as 'an aspiring philosopher who lacked the comprehensive critical apparatus and inspired vision that bless good philosophers' and to describe his Sunday sermons as little more than a mellifluous amalgam of 'self-deception', 'self-mystification' and 'the venial intellectual arrogance of a young man who held a doctorate from one of the nation's better universities' (p.44).

He Slew The Dreamer, the first book devoted

exclusively to King's death, was published in 1970, and is an account by one of America's foremost investigative reporters, William B. Huie (B) of his forty thousand dollar attempt to secure the truth about King's death from James Earl Ray, the convicted assassin. After explaining the historical, legal and financial terms of their relationship, Hiue proves remarkably adroit in penetrating and cross-checking enough of Ray's half-truths and smoke screens to assemble a complete dossier of his activities, jobs - legal and illegal - and even love affairs from the day Ray escaped from Missouri State Prison on 23 April 1967 till the day he was arrested in London, on 8 June 1968 and charged with the murder of Dr King. Huie of course asks all the right questions — did Ray decide to kill King; if not, who did and then involved Ray - but is foiled in the end by Ray who claims that Percy Forman, his own defence counsel, and Hiue had conspired to illicit a guilty plea from him for the commercial success of this book.

The only two studies devoted solely to King's thought and therefore reviewed critically in other parts of this work, Hanes Walton, Jr's (B) The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.[10] and Ira G. Zepp's (B) doctoral dissertation The Intellectual Sources of the Ethical Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.[11] were both published in 1971. And accompanying the doctoral dissertations of James P. Hanigan (B), Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Ethics of Militant Nonviolence; David Luellen (B)

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[10] *See Chapter IV p.204.*

[11] *See Chapter III pp.165 fn.1; 167 fn.5; 182-183 fn.32.*

Ministers and Martyrs: Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. and Lois Wasserman, (B) Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Moulding of Nonviolence as a Philosophy and Strategy, 1955-1963, in 1972 was the second book on King's assassination; Gerald Frank's (B), An American Death. Unlike Huie's work which focusses chiefly on Ray as the vessel of truth in King's mysterious death, Frank's study largely examines the operations of the United States law enforcement network in its search and subsequent arrest, trial and conviction of James Earl Ray as King's assassin.

From 1973 to 1977, one book and five doctoral studies on King appeared. The book was Flip Schulke's (B) narrative and pictorial biography Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Documentary ... Montgomery to Memphis, published in 1976. And while two of the doctoral dissertations, Paul Garber's (B) Martin Luther King, Jr.: Theologian and Precursor of Black Theology and William Morris' (B) Strategies for Liberation: A Critical Comparison of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Albert B. Cleage were finished in 1973, the three others - Emmett Burns, Jr's (B) Love, Power and Justice as Central Elements in a View of Social Change: A Comparison and Evaluation of Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr and Martin Luther King, Jr.; Otis Turner's (B) Toward an Ethic of Black Liberation Based on the Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Stokely Carmichael's Concept of Black Power and Clarence White, Jr's (B) Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr's

Contribution to Education as a Black Leader, 1929-1968 - appeared in 1974. 1975 witnessed no new works on King at all.

It was 1977 before William Fisher (B) produced his one hundred and seventy page compilation and semi-annotated bibliography of material by King and on King entitled Free At Last. In 1978, David Garrow's (B) Protest at Selma, a study of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, appeared. And finally, in 1979 William Johnston (B) published his novel of Abby Mann's nine-hour television biographical documentary commemorating the tenth anniversary of King's death, simply entitled King.

Thus, between the appearance of Reddick's work in 1959 until the publication of Johnston's work in 1979, no fewer than seventeen books and nine doctoral dissertations were added to the body of literature on King. During this same period of time, an almost equal number of articles appeared in various journals, periodicals and anthologies. Examples are John Rathburn's (B) 'Martin Luther King: The Theology of Social Action'; Herbert Richardson's (B) 'Martin Luther King - Unsung Theologian'; Donald Smith's (B) 'An Exegesis of Martin Luther King's Social Philosophy'; Warren Steinkraus' (B) 'Martin Luther King's Personalism and Nonviolence' and the collection of articles by Abernathy, Baldwin, Haberstram, Meier, Lomax and others appearing in Eric C. Lincoln's (B) anthology, Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Profile.

Unfortunately, though this impressive collection of

studies contains five good biographies, it also contains many false, confusing and conflicting explanations of his writings and philosophy. Moreover it contains no systematic exposition of his complete thought, commentary on his collected writings or valid explanation of how his life, writings and philosophy should be read and interpreted as a whole. To remedy this situation, this study seeks to integrate and explain the plurality of roles and dimensions of thought manifest in King's life and writings along with the primary commitment, unity of purpose and intellectual framework underlying his entire thought, through a three part theory of interpretation.[12]

This theory consists of a narrative, pictorial and psycho-historical account of his life in Chapter II; a systematic exposition of his complete thought in Chapter III and a combined dictionary/concordance and

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[12] *As a theory of interpretation, The King of Peace is a unified conceptual schema that seeks to integrate and explain King's life, writings and philosophy as three aspects of a more fundamental reality - his ministry to Christ. To this end it employs three terms to express the plurality of roles and dimensions of thought manifested in King's life and writings and the primary commitment, unity of purpose and intellectual framework underlying his entire life and thought. The first, "Social Factotum", which denotes a servant assigned many functions and handling the affairs of his Master, (see fn 13) encapsulates the plurality of roles manifested in King's life while emphasising the primacy of his commitment to his Master, Christ. The second, "Kaleidoscopic" and the image of the kaleidoscope, symbolizes structurally the various dimensions of King's writings and philosophy and implies a dynamic process required to penetrate them. By designating a tube through which symmetrical figures produced by reflections of coloured glass are seen and varied by rotating a tube, the kaleidoscope demands a centre through which its images are viewed. Just as a factotum requires a master, the kaleidoscope requires a lens and in both cases this is Christ. Christ is the Master of King the Social Factotum and Christ is the lens through which the various personae of King the writer - minister/theologian, minister/political activist and minister/social analyst are to be viewed. Consequently the third term employed in this study to express the unity of purpose and intellectual framework underlying King's entire life and thought is "Christocentric."*

syntopicon of his writings and speeches in Chapter IV, that rests on three interrelated premises. The first argues that Martin Luther King, Jr. was an ordained minister and trained theologian who was thrust into the role of a Social Factotum [13] and subsequently acted in the various roles of a minister, theologian, political activist and social analyst. The second maintains that his thought is a Christocentric Eclecticism, a theological interpretation of Scripture, Christ's philosophy of Love, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, based largely on his intellectual peregrinations into Liberalism, Personalism, the Social Gospels, Neo-

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[13] *Although this term is indigenous to this study, it is hardly the first attempt to describe the multiplicity of King's activities - however periodic or intermittent. Intimating this in 1959, Reddick (B) wrote that 'Because of circumstances of history since December 1955, King has been speaking mostly on what happened in Montgomery, the implications of this experience and his philosophy for social segregation' ... (But) in time the preoccupation with racial integration will presumably heal and Rev. Dr. King will be allowed to address himself to some other great problems of life' (p.13). Confronted with the problem in 1964 Bennett (B) wrote that 'either through events or his personal radar, King finally decided that he was first a pastor and second a Negro leader or at least a Southern Negro leader with the second being an extension rather than an addition of the first' (p.81). And each subsequent author had his say: Mrs King (B) simply tells us that her husband believed 'that a minister should also be a leader of social progress' (p.103); Miller (B) reports that King was involved in every aspect of the struggle' and told Gerald Priestland of the BBC 'that all I do in civil rights I consider part of my ministry, because I think the gospel in its essence ministers to the whole man' (p.296). Williams (B) notes that after Montgomery, King conferred with Lomax and they both agreed that King 'could never go back to being just a minister' (p.31). As an improvement and summary of these different explanations, the term Social Factotum has two advantages. First it denotes many functions while enabling one to specify each e.g. minister, theologian, political activist and social analyst. And second in designating a servant handling the affairs of his master it emphasises this study's premise that in all of his involvements King saw himself primarily as a servant of Christ.*

Orthodoxy, Marxism, Communism, Utilitarianism and Gandhi.[14] And the third contends that his writings, five books, thirty-odd articles and fifteen major addresses are a fragmented and multidimensional set of texts that were written not systematically but *ad hoc* by a minister who periodically and intermittently assumed the different literary personae of a theologian, a political activist and a social analyst.

Individually each of these premises forms the basis for one of this study's next three chapters and collectively they form the basis of its cardinal and combined thesis as to who is Martin Luther King, Jr. and how should his life, writings and philosophy be read and interpreted as a whole.

Chapter II's Psycho-Historical Account of King the Man, Minister and Political Activist thus argues that the twenty short years of King's adult life may basically be divided into two distinct periods. During the first, as a minister and theology student at Crozer Seminary from the fall of 1948 until completing his doctorate at Boston University in June of 1955, he was principally engaged in a dual quest for a positive social philosophy and a method to eliminate social evil. And during the second, from the Montgomery boycotts of December 1955 until his death in Memphis in April 1968, he travailled

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[14] *See King's two versions of 'Pilgrimage to Nonviolence' pp. 72-89 in STF and pp. 165-173 in STL.*

in Albany, Birmingham, St Augustine, Selma and Chicago writing, speaking and acting as a civil rights leader, peace advocate and pastor in the various roles of minister, theologian, political activist and social analyst.

Chapter III's Analysis and Exposition of the Intrinsic Unity and Fundamental Tenets of King's Basic Religious, Metaphysical, Moral and Socio-Political Thinking then contends that the only proper way to reconcile the various paradoxical elements of King's Radically Eclectic Cosmosophy - with its Metaphysical Personalism, Psychological Realism, Realistic Pacifism and Socio-Political Theory of the Beloved Community and various notions of Segregation, Civil Disobedience, Democracy, Poverty and Militarism - is to explain them Christocentrically essentially as the different components - the philosophical foundation, semantic instruments and theological expression - of his unique interpretation of Christianity's doctrine of Love, the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.

Finally, Chapter IV's Combined Dictionary/ Concordance and Syntopicon of King's Writings and Speeches does not simply identify and define 50 of his key words while recording 550 of the cardinal passages in which they occur and conducting a systematic textual exegesis of his 25 key ideas. It also argues that in the light of the many false, confusing and conflicting explanations of King's writings and philosophy already in existence and the absence of any systematic exposition of his complete

thought, commentary on his collected writings or valid explanation of how his life, writings and philosophy should be read and interpreted as a whole, the best - and perhaps the only - way to extract King's philosophy from his writings is to examine them kaleidoscopically[15] or sequentially in four different ways: lexically, syntopically / exegetically, polemically and thematically - by means of this specially selected, arranged, annotated, multiple-indexed and fully-documented set of his quotations.[16]

Like no other work in the current body of literature on King, this is the first study to answer the four questions which constitute the cornerstone of every study on King - (1) Who was Martin Luther King, Jr.; (2) What are his writings; (3) What is his philosophy; and (4) how should his life, writings and philosophy be read, explained and interpreted as a whole - by conceptually separating and separately examining these three organically related aspects of the man. And its title, The King of Peace, emerged not from a biblical pun based upon Christ being 'The Prince of Peace', nor from any insinuations that

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15 *Having decided on the term Kaleidoscopic to describe the multi-dimensional and fragmentary nature of King's writings, it could then be used adverbially and metaphorically to summarise the four-step process whereby his philosophy could be extracted from his writings. for a fuller account of the necessity. meaning and value of this method, see the Introduction to Chapter IV, pp. 192-211.*

16 *This collection of terms, topics and texts was developed exclusively to (a) expose and redress many of the false and unsubstantiated claims made by earlier writers (b) demonstrate how to read, analyse, explain and interpret King's writings and philosophy properly and (c) establish the cardinal dimensions of King the Social Factotum.*

King's doctrine of Realistic Pacifism sued for peace at any cost, but from this author's reflection on King's perennial efforts to harmonise the many facets of his life as a minister and servant of Christ.

Now to distinguish and defend this study's cardinal premises and conclusions from those of its rivals and predecessors, a brief statement of its combined thesis as to 'Who is Martin Luther King, Jr.' and 'How should his life, writings and philosophy be read and interpreted as a whole' - is followed by a critical summary of the three types of answers presented to these questions in their works. Each of these answers must ultimately be rejected because it either denies that King was a minister, a theologian, a political activist or a social analyst, or because it fails to provide an accurate analysis or interpretation of some major aspect of his life or work.

THESIS

> Since Martin Luther King, Jr. was an ordained minister and trained theologian who was thrust into the role of a social factotum and subsequently acted in the various roles of minister, theologian, political activist and social analyst, a proper analysis and interpretation of his life and work requires: (1) that his life be analysed Holistically and Multidimensionally according to the various roles of personae he assumed; (2) 'that his thoughts be explained Christocentrically as a theological interpretation of Christ's philosophy of Love, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man; and (3) that his writings be analysed Kaleidoscopically or sequentially in four different ways - lexically, syntopically-exegetically, polemically and thematically.

KING THE COMMUNIST

Two radically different and wholly irreconcilable accounts of this explanation of King's life and work exist: one in Alan Stang's (B) It's Very Simple: The True Story of Civil Rights and another in Lionel Lokos' (B) House Divided: The Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.. Stang questions the sincerity of King's religious vocation by suggesting that there was an intricate Communist plot to take over America in which King becomes 'one of its most influential workers' (p.213); while Lokos questions its permanence with a scenario of King the fame-seeking anarchist who turned to Communism out of radicalism and desperation the year before he died.

Despite these differences, both versions of this explanation emanate from the same tacit and false premise and are bolstered by arguments quite similar and quite specious. Their premise is that King's true life, writings and philosophy can be fully and properly explained apart from his religious vocation and categories of theological thought and expression. And it is only after both Stang and Lokos have grossly misinterpreted the nature and course of the civil rights movement, erroneously divorced King from his religious vocation and seriously taken his words out of context, that either of their caricatures assumes even an air of plausibility.

Stang, for example, argues first that 'the race problem' and the current phase of the civil rights struggle

in America 'have been caused almost in their entirety by the Communists to help them capture the country' (p.213); secondly that King records and details his own conversion to Communism and thirdly that King's proposed Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged is *prima facie* evidence of his commitment to Communism. But the facts of history and content of King's own writings do little to support and much to refute Stang's three claims.

First, it may be true that the Communist Party in 1935 deployed a strategy of using Negro churches in the South as legal covers[17] (p.111) to exploit the country's race problems for their own end, as Stang shows. But to suggest that this strategy or their agitation was the principal cause or even a comparatively greater cause of the nation's race problem or its 1955-1968 phase of civil rights activities than the Negro's own frustration and initiative, is utterly ridiculous and flatly rejected by both the Kerner Report (D) on the Causes of Civil Disorders and Skolnick's Report (D) on the Cause and Prevention of

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17 *'Early in their movement', Stang writes, 'the Communists came out boldly as communists, possibly because they assumed that other people wouldn't want to join up. But it turned out that other people were not interested' (p.98). Seeing the apathy and antipathy provoked, they developed the strategy of the 'front' which operates in one of two ways: 'either the Communists infiltrate an organisation, work inside it and eventually capture it; or they form their own organization - and simply invite the gullible in' (p.98).*

Violence.[18] Secondly, to proffer King's confessing to read from 'a dialectical point of view' as some recondite or arcane manner of describing his conversion to Communism or 'thinking like Marx and Lenin and Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung' (p.148), is an absurd distortion of the text, particularly when the full paragraph of that very passage reads:

> In short, I read Marx as I read all the influential historical thinkers - from a dialectical point of view - combining a partial yes and a partial no ... In so far as Marx posited a metaphysical materialism, an ethical relativism and a strangling totalitarianism, I responded with an unambiguous 'no', but in so far as he pointed to the weakness of traditional capitalism, contributed to the growth of a definite self-consciousness in the masses and challenged the social conscience of the Christian Churches, I responded with a definite 'yes' (p.77 STF).

And lastly to contend that King's Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged was derived from some Marxist-Communist element in his thought rather than from a particular interpretation of Scripture and view of American history, is to ignore, misrepresent and contradict the motives

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[18] *Echoing the sentiments of the Kerner Report, the distinguished psychologist Price Cobbs' Foreword to Skolnick's Politics of Protest: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in 1969 states that 'Our Country (the United States) has achieved greatness by its ability to respond and grow, and history will deal harshly with those who block this growth by refusal to learn from the past. Black Americans are now responding to their time in history ... they have been bred on the words of freedom, but immersed in bigotry and oppression, and their moment has arrived. Those who cannot see this are guilty of an inattention to the social ripenings that have enriched this land ... Our clinical work has convinced us that all black Americans are angry. All are asking for social change. There is a rage in black people which is a rage for justice' (pp.XIII-XIV).*

and ideas behind this proposal, put forth in Why We Can't Wait and 'Paul's Letter to American Christians'. There he states:

> Special measures for the deprived have always been accepted in principle by the United States (p.136 WWCW). The moral justification for special measures to help the Negro is rooted in the robberies inherent in slavery (p.138 WWCW). Certainly the Negro has been deprived ... In addition to being enslaved for two centuries, the Negro was ... robbed of the wages of his toil. No amount of gold could provide adequate compensation for (his) exploitation and humiliation ... Yet a price can be placed on unpaid wages ... The payment should be in the form of a massive program by the government of special, compensatory measures ... in accordance with the acceptance of common law. I am proposing therefore that Americans launch a broad-based gigantic Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged, our veterans of the long siege of denial (p.137 WWCW).
>
> (For) God wants all his children to have the basic necessities of life and He has left in this universe enough to spare for that purpose (p.159 and 121 STL).

And King argued that America, possessing less than one per cent of the world's population and more than forty per cent of the world's wealth, could certainly guarantee every one of its families an annual minimum and liveable income (p.190 WDWGFH).

Sharing Stang's penchant for misrepresenting the nature and course of the civil rights movement, taking King's words out of context and divorcing his life and work from their religious and theological foundations, Lionel Lokos (B) charges King with issuing threats of violence, defiles his notion of the Beloved Community and camouflages King's true reasons for protesting against the United States' involvement in Vietnam.

First, to show that King 'often muddied the ideological waters of nonviolence with the none too subtle threat of violence' (p.83)[19], Lokos draws attention to an April 1968 article by King in Look Magazine and invites the reader to judge for himself. King writes:

> (Though) I am committed to nonviolence I have to face this fact: if we do not get a positive response in Washington, many more Negroes will begin to think and act in violent terms.
>
> I think we have come to the point where there is no longer a choice now between non-violence and riots. It must be militant, massive non-violence, or riots.
>
> I'm convinced that if something isn't done to deal with the very harsh and real economic problems of the ghetto, the talk of guerrilla warfare is going to become much more real. (p.35 LK)

Here is King, Lokos argues, making 'three blatant appeals to violence, riots and even guerrilla warfare' if his objectives are not achieved. But predictions are not threats. Consequently it is wrong for Lokos to portray King's prediction of violence if nonviolence fails, as some expression of his intention to harm anyone if his objectives are not achieved.

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[19] *Lokos is not alone in questioning the sincerity of King's commitment to Nonviolence. Quoting one of King's contemporaries James Meredith, Williams (B) writes, 'I've always believed that he really didn't believe in it; it was just a tactic. In fact, he told me so. He was not sure it was the answer' (p.181). But isn't this in light of King's continuing response each time Nonviolence was on trial. 'More than any other black American', Lomax (B) writes, 'he had by-passed excellent opportunities to quit the forefront of the civil rights movement, to go in another direction. A hundred pulpits were had for the asking; there was not a single major university that did not have a vacant chair waiting for (him) to occupy. No one would have blamed him for accepting one of those offers; he did not have to die by an assassin's bullet. But he elected to risk death in Memphis' (p.174) - for something some would say he didn't really believe in!*

Next, Lokos attempts to argue that King's own 'strange concept of brotherhood' (p.41), the Beloved Community, was open to all on the left and closed to all on the right, according to some 1964 election returns. But in fact King never used the term to refer to any political constituency at all. He always used it in reference to a personal, social, moral and spiritual goal, the realization of which would reflect the Kingdom of God on earth. As, for example, in 'Loving your Enemies' King wrote:

> Time is cluttered with the wreckage of communities which surrendered to hatred and violence. For the salvation of our nation and the salvation of mankind we must follow another way ... But we shall not in the process relinquish our privilege and our obligation to love. While abhorring segregation, we shall love the segregationist. This is the only way to create the beloved community (p.48 STL).[20]

This is not to suggest that King's Beloved Community was devoid of any socio-political or economic content. It is simply to say that for King, the Kingdom of God never became identified with any particular social, political or economic system. Throughout his adult life he remembered the mistake of Walter Rauschenbusch, champion of the Social Gospel and significant influence on him theologically, who 'came perilously close to identifying the Kingdom of God with a particular social and economic system - a tendency which should never befall the Church' (p.73 STF).

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[20] *All told King used this term no more than four or five times throughout his writings. To see three of these times consult Chapter IV's index under Beloved Community.*

Finally, in camouflaging King's motives for speaking out against America's involvement in the Vietnam War, Lokos returns to 'King's first act of civil disobedience' (p.461)on behalf of civil rights in Montgomery, 1955, and argues that here he put his 'first small crack in the wall of law enforcement'. And each succeeding act, each campaign in Albany, Birmingham, St Augustine, Selma, Chicago and Memphis only 'widened that crack and weakened the wall, to its very foundations' (p.461). Still, for nearly twelve years King continued to batter and torment the wall of law enforcement with the indulgence of the President, most of the Congress and very nearly all the members of the Supreme Court, 'creating an atmosphere in which all forms of racial defiance could flourish without limitation' (pp.23-4) and virtually elevating civil disobedience to 'the level of a constitutional right' (p.74). Then in 1967 when it became obvious to all that his 'hosanas to imprisonment and selective anarchy' (p.88) had reached the 'nadir of irresponsibility', defeating the 'process of law and order' as well as 'the cause of civil rights itself' (p.88), sounder and more thorough forces like the NAACP and the Urban League once again 'moved into the forefront of genuine black progress' (p.377) and King's own position in the headlines began to wane. Where to go: what to do and when to do it (p.25) - these issues began to plague King.

The subject of Vietnam came up that same year and King sensed an opportunity, a cure. Immediately, he responded with a 'criticism of the war, the morality of it

and what it was doing to the nation' (p.377). In short he said that he was opposed to the war precisely because of what it was doing to the ghetto. To protest against this situation, Lokos argues, he chose to team up with the militants like Carmichael and McKissick 'and at once emerged as their leader' in 'a civil disobedience campaign that was most demagogic and irresponsible in its attack on our government'. On 25 March of that year King led his first anti-war march in Chicago, called upon all those who loved peace to combine forces with the civil rights movement and recommended that all who found America's course in Vietnam to be dishonourable or unjust, should become conscientious objectors. On 4 April, the following month, before an overflow crowd of some three thousand at New York's Riverside Church, King presented the following five point proposal for America to atone for its sins in Vietnam:

1) end all bombing in North and South Vietnam
2) declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation;
3) take immediate steps to prevent other battle-grounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military build-up in Thailand and our interference in Laos;
4) 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 in any future Vietnam government;
5) set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreement.

This proposal prompted Lokos to wonder whether King was still speaking as an American or whether he professed instead some other paramount allegiance (p.382).

Lokos' wanderings led him to New York's Carnegie Hall in the evening of 23 February 1968. There he witnessed

a 'gathering of the ultra radical left'. A poster outside said it was 'An International Evening sponsored by Freedomways Magazine to observe the 100th Anniversary of the birth of W.E.B.DuBois', with Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. as the special keynote speaker. But to Lokos, King's 'very presence' that evening, his 'obeisance to this most famous Negro convert to Communism' (p.41) and his invitation to the audience to join in his Poor Peoples March on Washington D.C. planned for April that year, signalled King's paramount allegiance as of 4 April 1967. On that day, Lokos argues:

> Martin Luther King walked out of Birmingham, Selma and Chicago, into the arms of Hanoi, in nothing less than an unconditional surrender. It was a total capitulation, from first to last. It was not all necessary for the Communist propaganda apparatus to force-feed him; King gladly and willingly swallowed the Viet Cong party line whole, and come back for more (p.379).

And from then onwards, Lokos concluded, King came to depend upon them 'more and more' as 'his future campaigns escalated in radicalism and desperation' (p.41).

But little could be further from the truth. Admittedly, in 1967 'the racial revolution had slowed down' (p.377), the Vietnam War had replaced the civil rights movement as the country's number one concern and King's own position in the headlines had begun to wane. But by then the majority of blacks were as dissatisfied with the Urban League and the NAACP as they were with King's nonviolent marches. As a result the small-time popularity, membership rolls and coffers of the Black Power Militants like Carmichael, McKissick, H. Rap Brown and Eldridge

Cleaver were not, as Lokos claims, facing bankruptcy in both influence and finance but surging to their all-time high.[21] Moreover, since the Meredith March in Greenwood Mississippi, during the summer 1966, the respective leaders of SCLC and SNNC, King and Carmichael had been embroiled in a bitter ideological battle over the Black Power slogan, the elimination of whites from future marches and the adoption of Nonviolence as anything more than another political tactic.

This being the case in 1967, perhaps King was looking for a new cause to champion. That remains debatable, but what is certain is why King elected to protest against America's involvement in Vietnam and his paramount allegiance as of 4 April 1967. For after identifying and elaborating on the several reasons that 'compelled' him to bring Vietnam into the field of his moral vision - its facile connection with the war on poverty, his commission as a Nobel Laureate and head of SCLC, the need for some consistency in his philosophy

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[21] *By 1967 Lewis (A) notes, 'Martin Luther King was already consigned to the pantheon of civil rights immortals, along with Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and Walter White, to name but a few. The cameras of mobile television units had no place for nonviolence leaders. The media yielded to a monopoly of Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, H. Rap Brown, and buzzing cities; the news delectated over every lugubrious pronouncement of the Black Power militants' (p.356). For similar reports that by 1967 the Zeitgeist of the Negro movement was as dissatisfied with the NAACP and Urban League as it was with King's nonviolent marches see 'Blacks and Neo-Ethnicity in American Political Life' by Martin Kilson in Nathan Glazer and David Moynihan's Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge: Harvard Press 1975) pp.233-266 and Philip Meyer's 'Aftermath of Martyrdom: Negro Militancy and Martin Luther King, Jr.' (Public Opinion Quarterly No. 33 (2) 1969) pp.160-173.*

of Nonviolence and his obligations as a minister of Christ - King declared:

> I speak (here) as a child of God and a brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam ... I speak here for the poor of America who are paying the double price ... I speak here as a citizen of the world who stands against the path we have taken. I speak here as an American to the leaders of our nation (p.25 TOC).

Why Lokos failed to hear this part of King's speech and began to wonder instead if he were professing some other paramount allegiance is purely a matter of speculation. But is it likely that Lokos' failure is altogether unrelated to his vain attempt to establish this otherwise untenable conclusion?

The fact is that King never was, nor did he ever become a member of the Communist Party. And any attempt to establish that he was would immediately collapse upon a full and careful examination of his writings, the works of his five biographers, and the testimony of the Communists themselves. Excluding Mrs King's study for obvious reasons, not one of King's five other biographers Reddick, Bennett, Miller, Lewis or Johnston, uncovers a shred of Communist influence or motivation in King's life. After secretly surveying King for more than five years with 8 wiretaps and 16 bugging devices the FBI could find no trace of Communist influence or manipulation on

King's life.[22] And in January 1977, this author attended a lecture given in New York by one of Stang's leading Communist officials, Herbert Aptheker, and afterwards asked about the veracity of this charge. After confessing that the Communist Party would indeed have relished having a man of King's stature and calibre wave its banner, Dr Aptheker dismissed the charge as 'right wing propaganda'.

So what in the final analysis can be said of King and Communism; what did he think of it and how did he think a Christian should view it? On the perennial debate between Marxism and Capitalism, King wrote:

> My reading of Marx .., concerned me that the truth is found neither in Marxism nor in traditional capitalism. Each represents a partial truth. Historically capitalism failed to see the truth in collective enterprise and Marxism failed to see the truth in individual enterprise ... The king of God is neither the thesis of undivided enterprise nor the antithesis of collective enterprise, but a synthesis which reconciles the truth of both (p.77 STF and p.121 STL).

The 'good and just society', he argued, could only be found in a 'socially conscious democracy' which reconciles the individualism of capitalism with the collectivism of

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22 *The Newsweek article 'Tales of the FBI' (1 December 1975), reports on the two-day hearing of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and a series of FBI activities remarkable for their 'illegality and sheer nastiness'. The most striking was an unrelenting campaign against Martin Luther King, Jr. The Chief of Counter Intelligence, William C. Sullivan wrote to Hoover in 1964 telling him that it was time to knock King "off his pedestal". In the years that followed it reports that the bureau made more than 25 such attempts,'maintaining a total of eight wiretaps and sixteen bugs, producing a thousand hours of tapes' - including some of his reported motel room dalliances and even trying to get him to commit suicide (p.35).*

Communism (p.184 WDWGFH). As a minister, political activist and social analyst, King saw Communism not only as the greatest challenge to Christianity and democracy but also as a perpetual reminder of their failure. Nevertheless, when addressing his congregation on 'How Should A Christian View Communism' King said:

> We should as Christians pray for the Communists constantly, but never can we, as Christians, tolerate the philosophy of Communism ... (for) the trouble with Communism is that it has neither a theology nor a Christology (p.117 STL).

Similarly, any attempt to explain King's life and work as that of a Communist, would deny the Christocentricism and theocentricism which are basic to both.[23]

THE PHILOSOPHER KING

Much has been said in the writings of David Lewis (B), Warren Steinkraus (B) and Joseph Washington (B) to advance the idea that it is better to analyse and explain King's writings and philosophy as those of a philosopher rather than those of a theologian. The consequences of this for the historian Lewis, who uses this term in its more generic sense and simply entitles his second chapter, an analysis and exposition of King's personal and intellectual development at Crozer Seminary and Boston University, 'The Philosopher King', before gratuitously concluding therein that after Morehouse,

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[23] *For a fuller textual account of King's views on Communism, see Communism in the Index of The Kaleidoscopic King in Chapter IV p.335.*

King failed to become the one thing he most desired - 'an original philosopher' (p.44). Consequently we shall focus on the works of Steinkraus and Washington respectively to illustrate the significance of this distinction and the potential seriousness of this error.

First, putting forward the view that Martin Luther King, Jr. was far more knowledgeable in the history of philosophy than the history of theology (p.47), in his article 'Martin Luther King's Personalism and Nonviolence', Warren Steinkraus (B) sets out to answer the question: What is the relation of King's avowed metaphysics of Personalism to theory and practice of his doctrine of Nonviolence? Unfortunately his answer emerges from an analysis of these two ideas as they are found in the works of their leading exponents rather than in the writings of King.

Thus, after examining the works of Gandhi and Tolstoi, Steinkraus realizes that 'Nonviolence does not require Personalism' but, he reasons, 'since Personalism teaches that persons are of ultimate intrinsic value', it would seem that King derived his Nonviolence directly from Personalism. But a review of Personalism in the works of its American founder, Borden Parker Bowne and his students, the 'first-generation' Personalists, A.C. Knudson, F.J. McConnell, R.I. Flewelling and E.S. Brightman, only confirmed that things are not always what they seem. For Bowne 'had no objection to war' (p.102); McConnell accepted it as 'a negative good' (p.102); Flewelling 'provided a two volume

justification for it' (p.103) and Knudson even accorded it 'a proper place' (p.102), leaving only Brightman as 'some sort of Pacifist' (p.103). A further review of the writings of the 'second-generation' Personalists, King's own teachers, P.A. Bertocci; L.H.DeWolf; Paul Deats and W.D. Muelder, revealed that only Muelder was 'unyielding in his devotion to Nonviolence' (p.103). Hence, having found 'no necessary connection' (p.110) between King's metaphysical Personalism and his ethics of Non-violence, Steinkraus argues that while King's wedding of Personalism and Nonviolence in both theory and practice is virtually original in the development of American Personalism and seems a natural union (p.103), it is merely one of 'congenial views' (p.110). As a result, Steinkraus is finally left wondering '... what real warrant is there for Nonviolence?' (p.111).

To begin with, whether King was far more knowledgable in the history of philosophy than the history of theology is a debate that, judging from the contents of his writings and comments of his professors, could go on *ad infinitum*. But even conceding that point, the problem with Steinkraus' analysis of the relationship between King's metaphysical Personalism and doctrine of Non-violence, is that Steinkraus never fully or properly understood King's doctrine of Nonviolence. This is implied in his first question and it is confirmed in his last one.

For in his first question - what is the relation of King's avowed Personalism to his theory and practice of Nonviolence - Steinkraus is really asking two separate questions: (a) What is the relation of Personalism to King's ethical theory and justification of Nonviolence and (b) What is the relation of Personalism to his socio-political practice or tactics of Nonviolence? Failing to realise this distinction, Steinkraus inadvertently and mistakenly assumed that King derived the ethical foundation of his nonviolent doctrine from the same source as he derived its methods and tactics. Steinkraus offers further proof of this error later when he insists that King 'did not strictly deduce his doctrine of Nonviolence from such metaphysical and theological explorations' (p.101) and is left wondering what real warrant is there for Nonviolence?

With a few facts gleaned from the exegesis of a commonly quoted but often misunderstood passage in both versions of King's 'Pilgrimage to Nonviolence',[24] let us return in a moment to this reformulation of Steinkraus' original question, answer each part separately and see (1) if some necessary connection can be found between King's metaphysical personalism and his doctrine of Nonviolence, (2) if King did or did not derive any form of his doctrine of Nonviolence from some form of metaphysical or theological exploration and (3) if the real warrant in King's thinking can be found for Nonviolence.

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[24] *See p.28 fn.14.*

In this rather lengthy passage King is recounting how his unique doctrine of Nonviolence evolved in 1955-56 during the boycott in Montgomery:

> From the beginning a basic philosophy guided the movement. This principle has since been referred to variously as non-violent resistance, non-cooperation, and passive resistance. But in the first days of the protest none of these expressions were mentioned; the phrase most often heard was "Christian Love". It was the Sermon on the Mount, rather than a doctrine of passive resistance, that initially inspired the Negroes of Montgomery to dignified social action. It was Jesus of Nazareth that stirred the Negroes to protest with the creative weapon of love.
>
> As the days unfolded, however, the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi began to exert its influence. I had come to see early that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to the Negro in his struggle for freedom ... (And before long) Nonviolent resistance had emerged as the technique of the movement, while love stood as the regulating ideal. In other words, Christ furnished the spirit and motivation, while Gandhi furnished the method (pp.66-7 STF, also p.169 STL).

Three facts readily emerge from this passage. The first is that King did not derive the two components of his doctrine of Nonviolence from one and the same source; its ethical theory and justification he derived from Christ, while its socio-political tactics he derived from Gandhi. The second, contrary to Steinkraus' assertion is that King in fact did deduce some of this doctrine of Nonviolence from a combined form of metaphysical and theological explorations. According to King:

> Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationships ... when racial groups and nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Gandhi I saw how utterly mistaken I was ... For Gandhi love is a potent instrument for social and collective transformation ... in (his) emphasis on love and nonviolence I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for many months ... and the intellectual and moral satisfaction that I failed to gain from the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and the social-contracts theory of Hobbes, the "back to nature" optimism of Rousseau and the superman philosophy of Nietzsche (pp.78-9 STF).

Returning with these few facts to the reformulation of Steinkraus' original question, it can clearly be seen that what Steinkraus is really asking in the first part of his question is a) what is the relationship between King's metaphysical Personalism and his Ethics, his interpretation of the Gospel, Scripture and Christ's philosophy of love? And what he is really asking in the second part of his question is b) what is the relationship between King's metaphysical Personalism, political tactics and understanding of Gandhi? Admittedly, in answer to the second part of this question, Steinkraus is entirely correct - the wedding of Gandhi's techniques to Personalism even for King is purely one of 'congenial views'. But in answer to the first part of Steinkraus' question, and more importantly, the reason the marriage 'seems so natural', even to Steinkraus, is that for King there exists a 'necessary connection' between his interpretation of Scripture and his metaphysics which collectively dictates the bounds of individual and social action. Consequently,

in answer to Steinkraus' last question concerning the real warrant for Nonviolence in King's thinking, King the minister, theologian and suffering servant of Christ would say that it is to be 'more and more like Jesus'.[25] To a philosopher, particular a non-Christian philosopher, this would of course be unacceptable; for Christ is but another man. But to King and any Christian, He is much more, He is God. This now brings us to a third and less obvious fact that emerges from the foregoing passage, namely that from the very beginning of his analysis Steinkraus could not possibly have discovered this necessary connection between King's metaphysical Personalism and his doctrine of Nonviolence because he did not fully understand the true nature of King's doctrine of Nonviolence.

In Black Religion, Joseph Washington attempts to demonstrate that King's thought clearly evidenced 'a dominance of philosophy over systematic theology' (p.10) by focussing on King's alleged manner of developing his doctrine of Nonviolence and arguing that as a Baptist minister King was disciplined by neither 'a theology

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[25] *For one of the best philosophical and scriptural treatments of Christ the Suffering Servant in particular and Nonviolent Christology in general see James W. Douglass' The Nonviolent Cross: A Theology of Revolution and Peace (New York: Macmillan Co. Inc. 1968) particularly Chapter Three, 'From Gandhi to Christ: God as Suffering Love', where the author deals with the 'scandal of Western Christianity's denial of its own truth' (p.48) and the fact that 'there can be no theoretical appropriation of the meaning of suffering as it is expressed in the ebed Yahweh and in Jesus. Philosophers have not thought such thoughts, nor can they be expected to as philosophers, for reason will refuse to admit the necessity of embracing suffering in love until a committed life has lost itself in that salvific mystery' (p.65).*

nor a community of faith' and was therefore free to interpret the Bible as he felt (p.10) rather than 'in light of Christ's cross and resurrection' (p.24). For according to Washington, King's philosophy :

> Led him to see Jesus of Nazareth as a mere man who taught love in his Sermon on the Mount. (That is to say that) King did not come to love or to Jesus through the eyes of the Christian faith ... (but) through the syncretistical religion of Gandhi (p.11). Having accepted (Gandhi's) syncretic spirit it is then as though Socrates, Thoreau, Hegel and Jesus were all dumped together into one philosophical bowl like tossed salad (p.9).

The result was that King mistakenly equated the universal principle of love with Love as it is understood in the Christian faith (p.25), confused Christian terminology with the terminology of passive resistance and produced a Christian understanding of revolution which reflects a tradition of Protestantism which has never been plumbed (p.11).

But four major problems afflict Washington's analysis. First, in failing to specify the precise tradition of Protestantism and Christian understanding of revolution, King reflects that Washington totally ignores the more important fact that the broader nonviolent tradition of revolution to which King belongs is three times as old as Protestantism

itself. [26] Moreover it fails to note that vestiges of this tradition arrived in America with its Founding Fathers and has since not only emerged in the writings of such men as Garrison, Ballou and Dymond, but has also been institutionalized in such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation [27] a group from whom King received, and to whom he gave, a great deal of support. [28]

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[26] *In Christianity Versus Violence: A Social and Historical Study of War and Christianity (London: Sheed and Ward 1964), Stanley Windass agrees with Paul Ramsey's War and the Christian Conscience (Durham: Duke University 1961) that 'for almost two decades of the history of the early Church, Christians were universally pacifists. To engage in conflict meant not only a violation of love. It meant a devotion of the human spirit to a physical and thus worldly good' (pp.xv-xvi). And though Jacques Ellul in Chapter One of Violence: Reflections from a Christian Perspective (New York: Seabury 1969) shares views with Charles Plotter in part IV of A Primer of Peace and War (New York: Kennedy and Sons 1915) that since its inception the traditional views of Christianity always included the Pacifist and the Compromised position, all four writers still agree that in Christianity the Nonviolent or Pacifist tradition is three times as old as Protestantism itself.*

[27] *G.H.C.Macgregor's The New Testament Basis of Pacifism (New York: Fellowship Publication 1954) contains the Fellowship's basic position and scriptural exegesis along with a critical response to Reinhold Niebuhr's Why The Christian Church is Not Pacifist.*

[28] *Though King 'never joined a pacifist organization' (p.81 STF), his first exposure to Nonviolence came from a lecture he attended on Crozer's campus by one of FOR's leading spokesmen, A.J.Muste. Though he was not overly impressed by Muste's presentation, King found himself later that year at another lecture on the subject. This one was by Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, and was held at the Fellowship House of Philadelphia. So moved was King by Johnson's fervor that he went out immediately, purchased and devoured within a week a half dozen or so books on Gandhi's life and works. When the Montgomery boycott began in 1955, FOR despatched two of its chief strategists, Bayard Rusten and Glenn Smiley along with a $500 cheque to aid King. And it was FOR's comic book of the Montgomery Boycott that sparked the four Negro college students, Ezell Blair, Joseph McNeil, David Richmond and Franklin McLain, to begin the sit-ins in Greenboro, North Carolina, on 1 February 1960.*

Secondly the claim that King's philosophy led him to see Jesus as a mere man who taught love in his Sermon on the Mount and that he did not come to love or to Jesus through the eyes of the Christian faith but through the syncretical religion of Gandhi, is flatly contradicted by the fact that as an ordained minister at the age of 19, King professed Christ to be God and Love to be his philosophy at least two years before he was introduced to Gandhi's philosophy in Professor Davis' class at Crozer and at least six years before he employed, endorsed or espoused Gandhi's socio-political tactics as the best expression of that Love in Montgomery. Moreover by arguing that King equated Socrates, Thoreau, Hegel and Jesus, [29] it aims to establish *a priori* that King's eclectism was philosophical rather than theological. To support this claim Washington argues that King often began his sermons with 'a philosophical statement' like 'One of the greatest glories of a democracy is the right to protest for right' (p.3). But an examination of all seventeen sermons in Strength to Love reveals that not one of them begins with a philosophical statement; all

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29 *If King in fact equates all these thinkers and if 'in his espousal of passive resistance, he was basically thinking like a philosopher rather than a theologian' (p.5), then why does he select only those aspects of other philosophies that reinforce or support what he believes Christ taught? For example he writes 'Gandhi was probably the first person to lift the Love ethic of Jesus ... to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale (p.79 STF). In King's thinking, Christ's teachings were the yardstick by which all the different elements of his eclectism were measured.*

begin with a verse from Scripture and are followed by a synoptical analysis and exposition of its meaning.[30] This is not to deny its philosophical value or content but simply to say that for King philosophy was little more than the intellectual foundation and semantic instrument for formulating and expressing his particular interpretation of the Christian faith.[31]

Thirdly its suggestion that King did not interpret the Bible in the light of Christ's Cross and Resurrection wilts in the face of his writing:

> Calvary is the telescope through which we look into the long vista of eternity and see the love of God reaching into time (p.167 STL). Christ came to show us the way. Men loved darkness ... and crucified Him, and there on Good Friday on the Cross it was dark, but then came Easter. Easter is the eternal reminder that "truth crushed to earth will rise again" (p.75 TOC). Good Friday must give way to the triumph music of Easter (p.72 STL).

And its claim that King failed to see that Nonviolence as a tactic need not rely on God, is disproved by his

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30 *King was a metaphysical Personalist (p.92 STF) and 'synoptically' is the Personalist's expression for the Hegelian idea of thinking concretely. In the words of E.S.Brightman, King's mentor, 'synoptically' means 'to think interconnectedly and holistically ... to see the parts as related to the whole to which they belong and create a way in which no experience is neglected and all aspects are seen in their relation to each other' (p.13). Person and Reality edited by Peter Bertocci (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1958). Two of the best examples of King employing this method are his sermons 'Antidotes to Fear' and 'Love In Action'; both are in STL.*

31 *Ironically enough, the quotation cited by Washington 'One of the greatest glories of democracy is the right to protest for right' is taken from a speech King gave at a political rally albeit at Holt Street Baptist Church. But such an example - many of which can be found in the literature - is the precise reason this study argues that King's writings and speeches be divided according to their various aims and purposes and read in full.*

writing, as early as 1958, that while considerable political, economic and social victories could be achieved with it, Nonviolence:

> in the truest sense is not a strategy one uses simply because it is expedient at the moment. Ultimately it is a way of life men live by because of the sheer morality of its claim. But even granting this, the willingness to use nonviolence as a technique is a step forward. For he who goes this far is more likely to adopt it later as a way of life (p.71 STF).[32]

And finally its assertion that King confused Christian terminology with the terminology of passive resistance and mistakenly equated the truly universal principle of love with Love as it is understood in the Christian faith, rests on a poor account of these two ideas in the history of Christian thought. For though Washington contends that Nonviolence is acceptable as a technique but not as a philosophy

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[32] *As King found in 1966 with Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael, it is also true that a person who employs Nonviolence as a tactic may later reject it altogether. The turning point for them, Lomax notes (in Lincoln A), had come during the summer and fall of 1964, in Selma, Alabama (when) King mounted his Selma campaign with the aid of white liberals and young students of SNNC. The black students marched with King but their hearts were not in the protest ... They had seen too much, mourned the violent deaths of too many of their comrades to believe any longer that King's nonviolent demonstrations would produce meaningful results' (p.166).*

because it preempts freedom and attempts to be God,[33] even the most cursory glance at the writings of Ellul, Windass, Regamey, Macgregor, Ramsey Douglass or Davies would reveal that the various Christian churches historically and denominationally, have been far from unanimous or consistent in their respective teachings in this matter. As a result, two rival and antithetical traditions have existed in Christendom since the fourth century A.D.: one seeing Nonviolence as some sort of must, obligation or precept; the other

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[33] *The Christian way, according to Washington, is freedom of choice (p.26); the principles of Christianity are forms without specific content (p.24) and the Christian understands that the imitation of Jesus is valid only at the point where he submits his will to the will of God (p.25). Thus, although a Christian is committed to responding to God as Christ did before him, such a response is without an exact formula, though it is an imperative (p.25). Men he contends, 'still have the right to choose for or against God, for or against suffering, for or against Love' (p.26). But surely this is confusing right with power. In Christian thinking there are only two types of freedom - the false, where a man is free to do whatever he likes, and the true, where he is free to do what he ought. Thus to argue that the existence of an imperative to live nonviolently would prevent an individual's freedom of choice, any more than the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament or the Two Greatest Commandments of the New Testament, is utterly absurd. Realizing that the Christian is always obliged to love, Ramsey (C) argues that with St Ambrose's <u>De Officiis</u> and St Augustine's <u>De Civitate Dei</u> in the fourth century, 'the change-over to the just war doctrine and practice' from universal pacifism 'was not a "fall" from the original purity of Christian ethics' but a change of 'tactics only'. 'The primary motive and foundation for approving Christian participation in warfare' Ramsey maintains, 'was the same which ... in a different social context, led Christians out of love for neighbour to disapprove of the use of armed force. Christians simply came to see that the service of the real needs of all the men for whom Christ died required more than personal, witnessing action. It required them to be involved in maintaining the recognized social and political life in which all men live' (p.xvii).*

seeing it as a sort of counsel, option or super-erogation. But both are guided by a certain theology and community of faith that accords a particular interpretation of Scripture the supreme role in shaping its ethical system.

Having examined these four problems of Washington's analysis, it should now become clear that the dominant defect and most inexcusable shortcoming of his work lies in its failure to acknowledge and explain these two rival and antithetical traditions of Christianity and to conduct a thorough or systematic analysis of King's writings. Instead he simply tries to dismiss King as an 'outstanding example' (p.3) of a black Southern Baptist Minister who was 'barely tainted by his academic exposure in the North' (p.3) and simply 'generated more heat than light' (p.10) in the contemporary debate on the relationship between Nonviolence and Christian Ethics.

KING THE MALIGNED THEOLOGIAN

The authors of this third type of interpretation of King's life and work readily concede that King was both a minister and a theologian. For in Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Life, Martyrdom and Meaning for the World, Robert Miller (B) depicts King as a Christian minister whose social and political activism, emanated from his deep and steadfast religious commitment, while John

Rathburn in 'Martin Luther King Jr.: A Theology of Social Action' characterises him as an existential prophet and theologian of social action who sought speculative ground for his civil rights activities. The problem with both their analyses, however, is that neither is 'kaleidoscopic' enough to explain King's true writings or philosophy: both assert the existence of a Christocentric King without being able to trace its consequences in his writings or philosophy. Nowhere is this more evident than in Miller's account of King's views of redemptive suffering and racism or in Rathburn's critical comments on King's ideas of love and revolution.

Admitting that King's outlook on life was deeply imbued with a general Christian doctrine of God and man and a distinctively well-integrated interpretation of the Gospel (p.296), Miller nonetheless contends that intellectually King 'appears pedestrian, out of tune with the lively currents of contemporary discourse in theology social theory and other subjects' (p.285). But just what is the intellectual foundation and textual documentation of this general Christian outlook on life and distinctively well-integrated interpretation of the Gospel? Miller does not say; in fact Miller does not ask. Since King 'never wrote a book or an article which outlined the structure of his beliefs' (p.296), Miller is happy to conclude that he is merely 'implicitly a theologian' (p.296).

Thus, having paid so little attention to his five

books, thirty-odd articles and fifteen major addresses and taken so lightly the fact that King possessed a doctorate in Systematic Theology from one of the nation's leading universities, when forced to explain the origin and nature of so many of King's key ideas like unmerited suffering, racism, integration, evil, revolution and nonviolence, Miller is often confused and uncertain and invariably defers to some secondary source under the pretext that 'King did not always make his views crystal clear' (p.284).[34] For example, in discussing the origin of King's idea of redemptive or unmerited suffering and explaining why Jesus remained more central to King's thinking than Gandhi, Miller argues at one point that King:

> took the white missionary teaching of steadfast endurance and invested it with Gandhi's concept of redemptive suffering, and he gave the resulting amalgam a pragmatic thrust in which he sought to rescue the wrong-doer from his deeds (p.285).

And on the very next page he contends

> King struck through to the core of the gospel, to a psycho-social theology of the cross which identified himself as a black man with Jesus, who knew that he was not to blame for the sins of his fellow men but took responsibility for them anyway. This, as Martin King understood it, was how Jesus' love was redemptive. And this was why Jesus and the "love ethic" of Jesus remained central to his thinking, even more than Gandhi (p.286).

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34 *The problem of course with Miller's citing such authors as Richardson on Nonviolence and evil (pp.247-8); Wright on Revolution (p.294) and Goodman on white racism lies less in the fact that his is a poor way to explain the views of a man whose texts are available than in the fact that in each case it is a matter of the blind leading the blind.*

Perhaps this was how King understood Jesus' suffering to be redemptive, but did the Love ethic of Jesus remain, as Miller contends, more central to his thinking than Gandhi because as a black man King identified himself with Jesus? Or was it because, as contended here, that as a minister and theologian King's very doctrine of Nonviolence was simply the Christian doctrine of Love operating through Gandhi's methods?[35] Similarly, was it King's investing the white missionary concept of steadfast endurance with Gandhi's concept of redemptive suffering,as Miller maintains, that gave his doctrine the pragmatic thrust which sought to rescue the wrongdoer from his deeds? Or was it, as contended here, King's fusion of Christ's concepts of unmerited Love and redemptive suffering with Gandhi's socio-political tactics? Certainly the white missionary concept of steadfast endurance and Gandhi's idea of redemptive suffering alone, could not, as Miller maintains, give any doctrine a pragmatic thrust. Undoubtedly it was Christ's spirit plus Gandhi's methods that gave King's doctrine its pragmatic thrust. Thus, while in King's eyes Gandhi was 'the first person in history to lift the Love ethic of Jesus ... to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale' (p.97 STF), for

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[35] *The profoundly banal point of the relationship between Christ and Gandhi, Nonviolence and Love in King's life and thought has now been mentioned three times in their different ways. With Steinkraus, with Washington and now here with Miller. Indeed it shall not be raised again but it does nonetheless highlight and underscore the need and importance of such a term as Christocentric.*

both Gandhi and King it was Christ who provided them with the initial and supreme example.[36]

Similarly, in explaining King's view of racism, Miller prefaces his remarks by saying that 'James Baldwin, another black preacher's son, has expressed some of King's central insights better than King himself did' (p.285) before adding that:

> Neither he (King) nor Baldwin chose to indict that racism as evil or as the work of evil men. They regarded it rather as a stupid mistake (p. 285).

However true this might be for the novelist Baldwin, the present writer cannot say, but racism for King was not simply a stupid mistake that went unindicted. In reviewing the origin and nature of this 'congenital deformity' which has afflicted our nation since its beginning, King quotes one of his Morehouse mentors, Dr George Kelsey, and the noted anthropologist, Ruth Benedict:

> Racism is a faith. It is a form of idolatry ... it is the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority ... It did not emerge as a faith ... in its beginnings racism was a justificatory device. It arose as an ideological justification for the constellation of political and economic

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36 *This is hardly to suggest that Gandhi was a Christian. However it is good to remember what he said upon his discovery and development of Satyagraha: 'Jesus Christ has been acclaimed as the prince of passive resisters, but I submit in that case passive resistance must mean Satyagraha and Satyagraha alone ... The phrase passive resistance was not employed to note the patient suffering of oppression by thousands of devoted Christians in the early days of Christianity, I would therefore class them as Satyagrahis' (p.115). M.K. Gandhi Satyagraha in South Africa (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House 1928).*

> power expressed in colonialism and slavery. But gradually the idea ... was heightened and deepened ... to point beyond historical structures ... to human existence itself ... (p.69 WDWGFH)
>
> And the greatest blasphemy of the whole ugly process was that the white man ended up making God his partner in the exploitation of the Negro ... (and) sullied the essential nature of Christianity (p.70 WDWGFH).

In light of his poor and overly simplistic explanation of so many of King's key ideas, Miller's charge that King appears intellectually pedestrian and out of tune with the lively currents in contemporary discoveries in theology, social theory and other subjects, must be seen as a hopeless attempt to conceal his failure to conduct a systematic exegesis of King's writings or philosophy.[37] For though he never wrote a book or an article outlining the structure of his beliefs, this study maintains that by examining King's writings and speeches syntopically-exegetically[38] it is possible to obtain a clear expression of his views on the most fundamental problems of the

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[37] *Similarly, for Miller to fail to mention that King's writings and philosophy must be seen theologically in response to Niebuhr, Tillich, Rauschenbusch and Wieman and psycho-socially in response to Fanon, the Black Muslims and other race nationalists, and to contend that King's writings are 'remarkably cliché-ridden' and filled with hoary quotations from outdated nineteenth century figures like James Russell Lowell, Thomas Carlyle, and William Callen Bryant without explaining that King's writings were originally speeches or sermons delivered to common folk not scholars and that it is primarily in those writings rather than in his doctoral dissertation or other books that such quotations appear, is objectionally misleading and comstitute a serious oversight on the central focus of his work.*

[38] *See Chapter IV pp.200-204.*

day, like Love, Peace, Evil, Truth, Nonviolence, Power, Integration, Revolution and twenty other ideas, and a textual documentation of both his general Christian doctrine of God and man and his distinctively well-integrated interpretation of the Gospel. All of which clearly indicates that King was not just 'implicitly a theologian'.

In identifying the major contributions made to King's thought by the liberalism of Walter Rauschenbusch; the Neo-orthodoxy of Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr; the Personalism of Edgar Brightman, Harold DeWolf, Walter Meulder and Allen Knight Chalmers; and the Nonviolent philosophy of Love, John Rathburn provides an account of the origin of many of King's key ideas second only to that found in Ira Zepp's (B) The Intellectual Sources of the Ethical Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. But Rathburn displays a profound misunderstanding of the fundamental relationship between both the metaphysical and the moral and the personal and the social in King's thinking when he attempts to explain how King fused these various intellectual movements with the ministerial philosophy of Howard Thurman and the prophetic tradition of Ezekiel and Amos to form a 'remarkably coherent' 'intellectually firm' and 'ardently held' critical analysis of his religious beliefs (p.38) and a partly pragmatic and partly idealistic militant philosophy and methodology of revolution (p.51). This misunderstanding comes to light in his critical comments

on King's ideas of love and revolution.

For, according to Rathburn:

> ... love serves two purposes in King's philosophy. It can act as the regenerative principle for the individual, governing his moral acts and personal relations. And it can serve as the practical tool for assuring the regulative principle of social justice (pp.48-9).

But here, Rathburn argues, 'lies the ambiguity in King's synthesis'. How can love serve both these functions? On the one hand 'love seems to be natural to man because God's image is ineffably etched into his being (p.47) and on the other hand, it seems to be 'a transforming principle very nearly equivalent to the Protestant doctrine of regeneration' (p.47). Certainly, 'if God is love and man shares in the divine nature, is not love part of the human condition even though all men do not respond in terms of love?' (p.48). And if this is so, does not this aspect of love slight the regenerative aspect on which he so often dwells?' (p.48).

First, in answer to Rathburn's two questions, it should be stated that yes, in King's philosophy love is an important part of the human condition whether all men respond in terms of love or not and no, this aspect of love in no way slights the regenerative aspect of love on which he so often dwells. In fact it is even a pre-requisite for its existence and operation. To explain how and why this is so, it must be realized that contrary to Rathburn's claim love in

King's philosophy has three interrelated aspects or serves three interrelated purposes. The first is metaphysical, ontological or structural; the second is moral and ethical; and the third is dialectical, religious or spiritual.

The metaphysical, structural and ontological aspect of love, or *agape* as King often calls it, stems from his metaphysical and theological beliefs that reality itself, creation, existence, is the manifestation of love, a sharing of love by God with his creatures. In this sense he says

> When I speak of love I am speaking of the supreme unifying principle of all life. (p.190 WDWGFH) Agape means a recognition of the fact that all life is interrelated. All humanity is involved in a single process (p.88 STF). This principle is at the centre of the cosmos (p.163 STL).

Thus, since creation itself is the manifestation and sharing of love by God with his creatures, man participates in love whether he responds in terms of love or not.

The moral and ethical aspect of love on which King so often dwells, arises from the fact that, as a creature composed of body and soul, intellect and free will, man can choose to do what he likes or what God wishes. Thus he has the option, even the obligation to share in God's love in yet another way - an ethical way - to give his life as a good man. In this sense King writes:

> the law of love is the highest law for man, ... as a moral imperative (it) is the norm for all man's actions (p.117 STL) ... the highest good is love ... and the ultimate evil is to be outside of God's

> love (p.143) STL). (In other words) he who loves has discovered the clue to the meaning of the ultimate reality, he who hates stands in immediate candidacy for nonbeing (p.163 STL).

Since men do not always fulfil their moral obligations, do not always respond in terms of love, whenever a person does elect to cooperate and share in God's love in yet another way, then a third aspect of love, the dialectical aspect of love which represents the interpretation, the convergence of the metaphysical and the moral comes into existence. In this sense King writes:

> You may be children of your Father in Heaven. We are called to this difficult task in order to realize a unique relationship with God. We are potential sons of God. Through love that potentiality becomes actuality (p.47 STL).

And quoting St John he writes:

> Let us therefore love one another, for love is God: and everyone that loves is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God: for God is love ... and if we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us (p.190 WDWGFH).

From this analysis it can be seen that in King's philosophy, love served as not just the metaphysical framework and ontological foundation of existence, but also as man's moral obligation, highest good and source of spiritual transformation and beatitude. In his view a man who exists participates in God's love on one level and a man who responds in terms of love participates in it on yet another. And in this respect, the metaphysical, ontological and structural aspect of love

in no way slights the religious, spiritual and dialectical aspect of love on which King so often dwells, but is in fact a prerequisite for both its existence and its operation.

Rathburn's critical explanation of King's notion of revolution also leaves something to be desired. For he contends that:

> King is not entirely clear as to what his 'revolution' entails. Quite obviously it involves the overthrow of segregation as a social system. And to the extent that segregation is part of a larger political and economic complex, his prophetic insistence on social righteousness and collective morality must necsssarily work for at least modification of the whole sum of existing institutions. In economic terms, his 'positive thrust for democracy' on behalf of 'justice and righteousness' involves the reformation of the capitalist system through greater planning. Obviously opposed to the misuse of wealth, he nevertheless holds that 'nothing in wealth is inherently vicious, and nothing in poverty is inherently virtuous'. He simply urges a "better distribution of wealth', as well as the use of 'powerful economic resources' as a means of eliminating poverty (p.53).

But a closer examination of King's writings reveals that his idea of revolution is a bit clearer - even if it is more quixotic - than that. To begin with, it must be realized however that King's idea of revolution or radical transformation as he often calls it, centres primarily on the moral and spiritual aspects of life for both the individual and society. 'All radicals', King wrote:

> Whether they read Gandhi or Frantz Fanon understand the need for direct action, self-transforming and structure-transforming action. This may be their most creative collective insight (p.41 TOC).

Thus, King generally spoke of two types of revolutions or radical transformations: personal and societal.[39]

The personal revolution is an individual's recognition and acceptance of the fact that:

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[39] *In Theories of Revolution: An Introduction (New York: John Wiley and Sons), A.S. Cohan tells us that theories and models of revolution are of two kinds (1) the sociological and (2) psychological. The former theories - including those of Marx, the functionalist and the 'mass society theorist' - focus 'on the factors in society which are responsible for initiating the revolutionary process. (They) see the revolutionary act of the individual or groups within society as the dependent variable, explained, determined, or caused by general or certain specifically identified social conditions' ... and assume that the revolutionary act follows from the occurrence of societal conditions' (p.177). The latter focus on the individual and the perceptions about the social situation. 'Recognizing that the revolutionary acts do not occur in a vacuum' (p.177), Cohan writes, these theorists are less concerned with the actual social conditions prior to the revolutionary situation than they are with the perceptions the members of the populace have of their social situation and how they respond to it. In Talks and Dialogue (The Netherlands: Servire/Wasserman 1967), J.Krishnamurti provides one of the clearest statements by such a theorist:*

'I think it is important to understand from the very beginning that ... we are concerned with bringing about in our lives a total revolution which has nothing whatever to do with the structure of society as it is ... Unless we understand the whole psychological structure of society ... and are entirely free from that structure there can be no total psychological revolution - and a revolution of that kind is absolutely essential' (p.9).

King, like the theorists of both schools, acknowledged the dialectical relationship between the individual and society and eventually dealt with both, though he ascribed primary importance to the individual.

> None of us liveth to himself; and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord or whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Therefore whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's (Roman 14:7-9).

It is a person's metamorphosis and commitment to Christ: it frees him from the bondages of original sin; fortifies him against his natural proclivities toward pride, lust, envy, anger, greed, sloth and gluttony and enables him to say with St Paul: 'I live now, not I but Christ liveth in me' (Gal. 2:20). King maintained that 'only through (such) an inner spiritual transformation do we gain the strength to fight vigorously the evils of the world in a humble and living spirit' (p.16 STL). This is the revolution and transformation King has in mind when he writes:

> If any one is in Christ he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come. If any man is in Christ, he is a new person, his old self has gone and he becomes a divinely transformed son of God (p.152 STL).

Once a person truly surrenders himself and all his activities to the meaning and direction of Christ he is no longer enchained to his nature but lives his life in God, before God and on a basis derived from God.[40]

The societal revolution is divided into three kinds. First there is the scientific and technological revolution

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[40] *For perhaps the most penetrating and profound treatment of this type of revolution see Dietrich Von Hildebrand's Transformation In Christ: On the Christian Attitude of Mind (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc. 1963) particularly chapters 3, 7, 8 and 18 respectively, on 'Self Knowledge'; 'Humility'; 'Confidence In God' and the 'True Surrender of Self'.*

whereby man has conquered so many of his former ills and transformed the globe into a world-wide neighbourhood. Secondly, there are the political revolutions or revolutions for freedom whereby the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia, the Carribean and the United States are seeking to end the exploitation of their lands and their races. And thirdly there is an axiological revolution or world-wide revolution of values calling upon every man and nation to develop an overriding sense of loyalty to mankind as a whole and to cultivate an allegience that transcends race and tribe to live together - black and white, Eastern and Western, Moslem and Hindu. King believes that through his scientific genius man has transformed the planet into a world-wide neighbourhood and now his moral and spiritual genius is charged with transforming it into a world-wide brotherhood, into the Beloved Community.

Thus on the societal level, King's idea of revolution was primarily moral and spiritual as well. It was the call of a minister and a theologian for man to end his reverence before the 'false gods' (p.17 STL) of pride, selfishness, greed and envy manifested in the ever-growing tide of nationalism, materialism, militarism and racism. This is not to say that King's revolution was without any racial, political or economic content. For he did call for a guaranteed annual income for every American family, condemn the US investing of huge sums of money in Africa purely for profit, and beckoned both men and

nations to transcend their traditional slogans of Capitalism and Communism to conquer the triple giants of racism, militarism and materialism. But its principal and perennial focus was on the eradication of evil, the salvation of man and the ushering in of the Beloved Community on both the individual and social levels. To criticise this idea as religiously quixotic, politically naive, or financially impossible is one thing, but to say that it is not entirely clear is patently false.

CONCLUSION

This chapter's review of the literature and critical summary of its three different types of interpretation of King's life and works has admittedly neither raised nor refuted every bone of contention or point of disagreement The King of Peace has with each earlier study on King. But hopefully it has raised and discussed enough of the major differences to distinguish this study's analysis and interpretation of King's life and work from the others, and to suggest that these differences are significant enough to produce an original, a more accurate and a more comprehensive analysis and interpretation of his life and work. So how may its major differences best be summarised?

First, while The King of Peace unequivocally affirms that Martin Luther King, Jr. was a minister, a theologian, a political activist and a social analyst, it should be obvious that this King is not the same minister, political

activist and covert Communist(or minister and civil rights leader-turned Communist) found in the writings of Stang and Lokos. Similarly, he is not the same minister and implicit theologian Miller finds to be intellectually pedestrian and out of tune with the lively currents of contemporary discourse on theology, social theory and other subjects. Nor is he the same King whose thought, in Washington's view, evidences a dominance of philosophy over systematic theology, or whose ideas of love and revolution are, in Rathburn's words, slightly ambiguous, or whose metaphysical Personalism possesses no necessary connection to his doctrine of Nonviolence as Steinkraus claims.

Ordained at the age of 19 and a political activist from the age of 25, this King served throughout his adult life as the assistant pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church or as the pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, with a staunch and unswerving commitment to Nonviolence and Christ, declaring only months before his assassination that 'If there will be one last person in this country to speak for Nonviolence, I will be that person' and:

> If I can do my duty as a Christian ought
> If I can bring salvation to a world once wrought
> If I can spread the message as the Master taught
> Then my living will not be in vain ... Yes, dear Jesus,
> I want to be on your right side or on your left
> side, not for any selfish reasons, I want to be
> on your left side not in terms of some political
> Kingdom on this earth, but I just want to be
> there in love and in substance and in truth and
> in commitment to others, so that we can make this
> old world a new world.

Moreover, with a doctorate in Systematic Theology, twelve years of preaching the Social Gospel, five books, thirty-odd articles and numerous public speeches to his credit, he was elected[41] as one of America's four seminal religious figures, and described by Herbert Warren Richardson (B) as a person all too often regarded 'as a civil rights leader and a man of extrordinary personal valor' rather than 'a brilliant and mature theologian', in fact perhaps 'the most important theologian of our time'.[42]

But what kind of minister was this man King; what was his theology; what were the aims of his political activism and the substance of his social analysis? And where is all this documented in his writings? The answer to each of these questions is contained in one of this study's next three chapters - its psycho-historical account of his life, its systematic exposition of his complete philosophy or its combined dictionary/concordance and

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41 *In 1976 seven Christian periodicals - A.D., The Disciple, The Episcopalian, The Lutheran, Presbyterian Survey, The Reformed Church Herald and U.S. Catholic - chose four Americans for a figurative religious Mount Rushmore. 'This was not an act of worship, idolatory or mere remembrance; it was instead a rededication to the spiritual seeds of this republic and to those who planted them'. From sixty-four names, Jonathan Edwards, James Gibbons, Reinhold Niebuhr and Martin Luther King, Jr. drew common affirmation from the editors of all seven publications as great Christians whose dedication to the love and justice of God shows that what it takes to make America great is Americans willing to serve others. (U.S. Catholic, September 1976, pp.20-23).*

42 *In his two-page article in Commonweal 3 May, 1968, pp.201-3, Richardson unfortunately has little time and less space to expand on his basic theme that 'King created not only a new theology, but also new types of piety, new styles of Christian living' (p.201).*

syntopicon of his writings and speeches,

Unlike any of the previous studies of King, all of which are based on the premise that he was either a minister, theologian, political activist, social analyst or some combination of any two of these things, this study rests on the premise that King was in fact all of these things. Thus the question arises: Is too much being claimed for King? Not really, in fact the major grievance The King of Peace has with all of these studies lies in their emphasizing or explaining one or two of these aspects of King often, at the expense, and to the exclusion, of the others. As a result, their various analyses and interpretations of his life and work are too myopic to lay the foundation for a proper analysis and interpretation of the role of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in his life and thought.

The use of a combined dictionary/concordance and syntopicon to substantiate many of the claims made by The King of Peace raises one further question: Is this study fanatically committed to the primacy of King's text? Again the answer is no. For the evidence amassed in this chapter clearly shows that too many false, confusing and conflicting explanations of King's writings and philosophy have already been produced by too many authors who have paid too little attention to King's own writings. To remedy this situation, The King of Peace has adopted the policy of explaining all King's ideas in terms of his own writings, and leaving little if any

of King's own writings unexplained. In this respect, The King of Peace is less fanatically committed to the primacy of the text than faithfully committed to proving that within the corpus of King's life and writings, there exists a unique doctrine of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics which has yet to be explained and that King's life itself was little more than a daily struggle to practice the doctrine he was so fond of preaching.

In attempting to fulfil its many aims and purposes, the method employed throughout this study has been radically eclectic: chapter one is principally analytical and critical; chapter two biographical; chapter three expository and chapter four lexical, syntopical-exegetical, polemical and thematic.

II

King The Social Factotum

The life of a great man is all of one piece ... yet it is at never two moments the same. It takes on a kind of pattern woven partly by the force of outward circumstances and partly by the creative drive of inward thought and feeling. If the pattern is not clear of itself, it is sometimes helpful to divide a man's career into more or less artificial divisions, that its progress and significance may be made more manifest than ever it was to the hero or his compeers.

- Holmes

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING THE MAN, MINISTER AND POLITICAL ACTIVIST

The thirty-nine year life of Martin Luther King, Jr. has been told by at least six different biographers and twice as many analysts and commentators. The aim of this chapter is neither to replicate their detail nor rival their collective achievement. In laying the foundation for an analysis and interpretation of the role and meaning of Nonviolence and Christian ethics in his life and thought, it simply aims to synthesise their diverse and legitimate insights into a unique account of King the man, minister and political activist.

MAN TO MINISTER

On 15 January, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, Martin Luther King, Jr. was born the second of three children produced by the marriage of Alberta Christine Williams and Michael Luther King. Save with some confusion over his first name [2] and two suicide attempts before

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2 *Adler (B), like each of King's biographers, notes that Martin 'Actuallybegan his life as Michael Luther King, Jr. just as his father began his life as Michael Luther King, Sr. It seems that his father's father, James Albert King, and his father's mother could not agree on a name for their first son. They both felt Luther would make a fine middle name, but whereas James was*

the age of thirteen,[3] little in his early life makes it anything but prosaic. True enough he surrounded himself with books before he could read and learned to recite scripture before he was five, but nothing in this respect makes his life appreciably different from that of any other first-born son of a second-generation Negro fundamentalist minister.

Reared through the nation's great depression in a home where meat was always on the table, a house was never rented and the car was never left unpaid for too long, King grew up in a community where at least sixty-five percent of the people were on government welfare and attended the local segregated elementary schools - Yonge and David Walker. He accompanied his father to church during the week. After school he delivered newspapers and on Sunday he sang in the choir. And while his efforts with the violin proved effete, eventually he fulfilled a promise he made to his mother at the age of six - to

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inclined toward Martin, his wife wanted Michael. The outcome of the struggle was that as long as the mother was alive the boy called himself Michael'. And it was not 'until 1934, when "Michael Jr." was five years old, that the elder King had both his name and that of his son officially changed to Martin' (p.165). For this reason in the early chapters of his book, King: A Critical Biography, David Lewis (B) generally refers to King, Jr. as Mike.

3 *By all accounts, King tried to take his own life twice: once when his beloved Grandmother, Jennie Williams, was accidentally knocked unconscious by his younger brother, A.D. and again when she died suddenly from a heart attack. Both times he hurled himself from the second floor window of his home and escaped injury.*

'get himself some of those big words and use them'.[4] By the time he was eleven, the family's fortunes had so flourished that they moved from the wooden, two-storey, twelve-room Victorian house of his birth on Auburn Avenue, to a more substantial yellow brick house three blocks away at 193 Boulevard Street and enrolled him in Atlanta University's private laboratory school. Two years later, when the school closed down in 1942, Martin was filtered into the city's only Negro High School, Booker T. Washington.

By then he had become the station manager for one of the city's white newspapers and earned the nickname of 'Tweed' for his dapper attire. Amongst his friends - Rial 'Rooster' Cash, Joe 'Shag' Roberts, Oliver 'Sack' Jones and Howard 'Mole' Everett, he cultivated a reputation as one who could take care of himself with his fist but preferred to defend himself with his words. To them, the podgy, fun-loving King was remembered not only as an active swimmer and a prized member of the football and baseball teams but also as an uncomplicated friend and an enviably good mimic. Academically, he was a model of deference to both his elders and his teachers, and distinguished himself by capturing second place in the Elks annual oratorical competition and skipping grades nine and twelve to enter college at the age of fifteen.

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[4] *Almost from the beginning, Bennett (B) observes, King made words and symbols central to his orientation of life. To form words into sentences, fling them out on the waves of air and watch people weep, shout and respond: this fascinated young Martin. 'You wait and see', he told his mother at the age of six, 'I'm going to get me some big words' (p.17).*

But neither his academic precociousness nor his family's relative affluence prevented him from realizing that to white America he was just 'another nigger'. This was first brought to his attention when he was only six. A couple of his closest friends then were the sons of the neighbourhood grocer. 'None of us', King later recalled, 'thought about these boys as being white'. Surely 'they went to one school and I went to another, but I didn't think too much about it. Until one day after school, when I ran across the street to compare notes, their mother said that I could not play with them any more because they were white and I was coloured. I cried'. Two years later, when he accompanied his father downtown to buy a pair of shoes at the Five Points Store, King learned that being coloured meant he could only purchase a pair of shoes if he sat in the back of the store. And after winning the Elks oratorical contest in Valdosta, Georgia, at the age of 15, King and a group of friends unwittingly sat down in the front seat of the bus on their way home only to be denounced by the driver as a group of 'black sons of bitches'. But however painful and humiliating, these and similar experiences were short-lived.

And having mastered the basics of reading, writing and racism and passed the entrance examination to Morehouse College, King took great pride in the fall of 1944 by upholding a family tradition and becoming a man who could not fail, a Morehouse man.

Morehouse was an all-male Negro college founded in 1879 by a Negro, Rev. William Jefferson and supported by the American Baptist Home Society until 1906. It consisted of a student body of about 400 and is known for its campus ferment and ceaseless contribution to Negro leadership. But King's impact there was negligible. Admittedly, he sang in the Glee Club, won the Webb oratorical contest in his sophomore year and joined the campus chapter of the NAACP, but during his four years as an undergraduate, he lived off campus and at home. Each summer he busied himself unloading cargo for the Railway Express Company or working in the stockroom of the Southern Spring Bed and Mattress Company. While on campus the young sociology major, in the words of Bennett (B), remained 'aloof', away from the eddies of day-to-day college life,wrestling with the problem of a vocation. At the time he was drawn toward law and considering medicine but deep down he wanted to be a minister-but not in the image of his father or his maternal grandfather, Adam Daniel Williams.[5]

A pioneering Negro businessman with the Midas touch and a host of spiritual insights, it was A.D.Williams who took over the debt-ridden Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1894. With a few credits in theology from Morehouse College and

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[5] *While 'most of King's biographers', Williams notes, point with some pride to King's grandfather's plantation-style field -hand status, Martin Luther King, Jr. left his father's farm for the streets of Atlanta where ... he was preaching in two small Baptist churches before he had "paper one" ... By taking evening classes, he (eventually) did get his diploma and went on to take classes at Morehouse College. (And) A.D. Williams had been cut from the same tough cloth' (p.150). See fn. 6 & 7 of Chapter I.*

the broken English of his constituency,[6] he forged it into one of the city's strongest institutions of its kind and remained one of Atlanta's leading pastors until his death in 1931. Under the leadership of his son-in-law, Daddy King, whom he had earlier asked to give up his own pastorate, at Traveller's Rest Baptist Church, Ebenezer grew from a congregation of several hundred to a congregation of several thousand. As a result A.D. and Daddy King were both financially secure and independent of white folk and both played a leading role in the ongoing struggle of race relations.[7] But like so many other members of Atlanta's

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[6] *Commenting on A.D's 'knack of persuading people to give freely to worthy cause', Reddick (B) recalls a humorous incident that arose out of Rev. Williams misuse of a verb. In reporting the amounts that had been raised to one of the preliminary conferences of a fund-raising group, the Rev. Mr. Williams had said: 'Mr. Jones done give $20. Mr Smith done give $15 and I done give $25'. The next day, one of the more proper Auburn Avenue businessmen telephoned Martin's grandfather that he wanted to see him immediately and, when the clergyman came, gave him a lecture on the correct use of auxiliary verbs. 'Thus you see,' he concluded, 'you should have said: 'Smith has given $15, instead of Smith done give $15.' The clergyman was a bit miffed but thanked his friend and went away. A few nights later the final reports were made; the minister, with a twinkle in his eye, told the group that his grammar had been corrected but that, when he looked over the figures for the total contributions made by all, he found that 'I done give a hundred dollars but the gentleman who corrected me has given nothing.' (p.84)*

[7] *As a chartered member of Atlanta's NAACP, A.D. along with a group of other prominent citizens led a campaign in 1906 to defeat a bond issue which contained no provisions for Negro educational facilities. Their campaign not only resulted in the construction of Atlanta's first secondary educational facility, Booker T. Washington, when the Georgian, a local Hearst newspaper called the Negro protestors 'dirty and ignorant', Williams organized and headed up a boycott which led to the paper's eventual demise. And Daddy King, whom Williams (B) reports was 'a social climber, pushy and aggressive' (p.165), was a chartered member of Atlanta's Voters League, on the Board of Directors of Citizens Trust Company and on the board of trustees of Morehouse College, Morris Brown College and Atlanta University.*

black bourgeoisie they worshipped success and separated themselves from the masses of Negroes. Their socio-religious elitism, coupled with the proverbial hand-clapping, amening and plethora of untrained ministers in the Negro church, plagued young Martin's call with reservations and doubt. This is where Morehouse had its greatest impact on King.

In the 1940's, as today, Morehouse possessed a number of first class seminary-trained ministers. Two of them greatly influenced King: Dr Benjamin Mays, its President and Dr George Kelsey, the director of its School of Religion Department. Both men exhibited characteristically different styles. Dr Mays, a Phi Beta Kappa and graduate of Bates College in Maine, who usually spoke at the College's Sale Hall Tuesday morning chapel session, preached a social gospel talking about justice and how to help people solve the problems they face in their daily lives, while Dr Kelsey deployed the pulpit histrionics that King so often deplored as irreverent and demeaning to Christ's message. Nevertheless Kelsey succeeded in convincing King that a good minister must also be a good philosopher and together, Kelsey and Mays showed King that the ministry could be both intellectually stimulating and emotionally satisfying. Together they provided him with an alternative ideal to his father and his grandfather and convinced him that in Christ' Christ's ministry there was a place for a man like him.

The turning point came in the summer of his sophomore

year when King and several other men from Morehouse went to work in the tobacco fields of Connecticut. They asked King to lead them in their daily devotion and the response he received,coupled with the overwhelming sense of satisfaction he derived from that experience, convinced him that the ministry was his calling. But after returning home King waited a full year before telling his parents of his decision. Daddy King proposed immediately that Martin should preach a trial sermon - the content of which no one remembers - but it was so successful that within a year Martin was licensed as assistant pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church. And within a year, on 25 February 1948, he was ordained a minister in the Baptist Church at the age of 19. So profound was his dislike, nay antipathy, for the untrained, unlettered minister, that when he graduated from Morehouse with a B.A. in sociology four months later, it was a foregone conclusion that he would attend some seminary or theologate. The only question was which one.

From Chicago Theological Seminary, Crozer, Colgate and Andover Newton, King chose Crozer despite his father's initial objections.[8] And in September 1948 he arrived in

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[8] *Williams (B) argues that because King came from a home where the father dominated and the mother assumed almost equal power, he could not evolve into a father figure (p.216). This seems contradicted by the fact that in the four most important decisions of his life - those concerning his choice of graduate schools; his wife; his electing to stay on in Montgomery after the fire-bombing of his home and his protesting against America's involvement in Vietnam, King shunned his father's advice. 'There are only*

the industrial town of Chester Pennsylvania as one of six Negroes in this formally Baptist, now non-denominational seminary of about one hundred students.

Crozer was King's first integrated educational experience. Painfully aware of the white stereotype of the Negro as always late, loud and messy, King overreacted, Lewis notes (B), dressing impeccably, brushing his hair mercilessly and studying relentlessly (p.28). But such behaviour was not without its dividends. For at Crozer, King maintained an A-average and was involved in a host of extra-curricular activities. Socially, he frequented the Penn Relays, partied in the suburbs, and was elected class president and narrowly escaped marrying an Alabaster.[9]

Academically, King broadened his horizon under the tutelage of Martin Scott Enslin, Kenneth Smith and George Davis. While Enslin guided him through the New Testament and Smith refurbished his acquaintance with Liberalism,

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two life approaches to power:', Bennett (B) writes, 'resistance and submission. But King seems to have adopted quite early a psychological posture that bridged the two. Nothing indicates this more clearly than his responses to his father ... He neither revolted nor submitted. He heard his father out, patiently and respectfully, and then did what he wanted to do ... he had mastered the technique of resisting by apparent submission. This was ... a projection on his personal life style' (p.24). Reddick (B) p.61 shares Bennett's view.

9 *Of all King's biographers, Lewis alone records this 'deeply tragic romantic encounter' Mike had at Crozer. The girl's name is never given, but it is reported that she was an attractive daughter of the white superintendent of the buildings and grounds and that Mike had asked Rev. Barbour to marry them before 'a long fatherly lecture ensued' on the horrendous complications of miscegenation (pp.32-3).*

the social gospels of Walter Rauschenbusch and the Neo-orthodoxy of Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr, Davis introduced him to his first detailed analysis of Gandhi and the philosophy of Nonviolence.[10] King supplemented these courses with classes in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania and late-night discussion in the dormitory room of Professor Smith or the living-room of J. Pius Barbour, a family friend and graduate of both Morehouse and Crozer,who was now living in Chester. King is recorded to have spent many hours in Barbour's impressive Sixteenth Street parsonage indulging in his first love, eating, and grappling with the Rauschenbusch-Niebuhr controversy on the nature of man and the role of love in his life,and the theological behaviourism of Henry Nelson Wieman.

In his senior year, King attended a lecture on campus by A.J. Muste, head of The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and a Christian socialist who championed the cause of Nonviolence. Unimpressed by Muste's presentation, which he felt terminated in a negative pacifism, King was sufficiently curious about the validity and applicability

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[10] *Reddick (B) notes that in his first year Martin studied history and criticism of the Bible; in his second, he took Church history as special phases of the lives and works of major prophets; and in his third year the psychology of religion, ethics and social philosophy (p.78). Zepp (B) however, provides the most detailed textbook-by-textbook and class-by-class analysis of King's training at Crozer in The Intellectual Sources of the Ethical Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. It is particularly worth noting that when Zepp's study appeared as a book in 1974 it was co-authored by Kenneth Smith (B) and entitled Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

of Christ's turn-the-other-cheek philosophy to attend another lecture later that year on the same topic by the President of Howard University, Dr Mordecai Johnson, at the Fellowship House of Philadelphia. A Morehouse graduate, Dr Johnson was a powerful Baptist preacher who had recently returned from India deeply convinced of the applicability of Gandhi's tactics for the Negro's quest for freedom. [11] So impressed was King by his message and fervor that he claims to have gone out immediately, purchased and devoured a half-dozen or so books on Gandhi's life and works the very next week.

The effect Gandhi's writings and philosophy had on King was revolutionary indeed. For prior to reading Gandhi, King was convinced that the Love ethic of Jesus was only effective in individual relationships and that His precept 'love thy enemies' was valid only when individuals were in conflict with individuals. But after reading Gandhi, King confessed:

> I saw how utterly mistaken I was. Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale ... (And) I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom (p.99 STF).

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[11] *See Reddick (B) pp. 80-1 for a recollection of how Dr Johnson, like King after him, became convinced that the Gandhian way - the Gandhian resolution of the paradox of the necessity for love and the necessity for force - answered his dilemma of how to forcibly fight for social justice when mere appeals failed to impress those whose vested interest were endangered by such social change.*

So King said after the boycott in Montgomery of 1955-56. Immediately after Johnson's lecture, however, and his reading of the dozen or so works on Gandhi, he remained unconvinced that any amount of fasting, boycotts, civil disobedience or demonstrations alone could appreciably change the face of American racism. But until Montgomery in King's mind, the question of the best means available for the Negro to transform his social and political situation remained unanswered.

In 1951 what Reddick termed 'King's golden days' came to an end. This is not to say that King's three years at Crozer were trouble-free. For in addition to having a gun brandished at the end of his nose by a North Carolina classmate who falsely accused him of overturning his room, when King and a friend once took their guests to a nearby restaurant in Camden, New Jersey and were refused service because they were black, their failure to leave prompted the manager of the restaurant to storm outside, fire his pistol in the air a couple of times and exclaim that he would kill for less. But at Crozer the young fundamentalist minister King had been 'knocked from his dogmatic slumbers' and became a promising theologian.[12] Here he had begun his dual quest for a positive social philosophy and a method to eliminate social evil. And

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[12] *Reddick (B) reports that Sankey L. Blanton, the President of Crozer, often had Martin to his home and at times would leave 'this very bright young man' in charge of the class the president taught. Moreover, in answer to an inquiry from Dr Mays of Morehouse Dean Charles Batten wrote that 'we have just had a period of comprehensive examinations, and only one man was granted honors in them; it was King ... [who] seems to know where he wants to go and how to get there' (p.78).*

here he had been introduced to the metaphysical system which would become his for life - Personalism. But now it was June of that year and he was about to graduate with the Pearl Plafker award for outstanding scholarship , a green Chevrolet from his parents and the $1,300 J.Lewis Crozer Fellowship to the graduate school of his choice. King had turned down a place at Yale for an opportunity to study Personalism at Boston University. Here Borden Parker Bowne had helped to create it as a philosophy. Here Edgar S. Brightman and Louis Harold DeWolf had transformed it into a theology. And here Walter Muelder, Allen Knight Chalmers and Peter Bertocci were teaching it as both.

King took up residence at 397 Massachusetts with an old Morehouse friend, Philip Lenud, who was attending divinity school at neighbouring Tufts University, and immediately began studying with Professor Chalmers and Muelder. Exploring the practical application of Non-violence under these two men, King soon came to see that though Nonviolence as a method is physically passive, spiritually it is exceedingly active. Later, under the direction of Brightman and DeWolf, he received the metaphysical and philosophical grounding for both his idea of a personal God and belief in the intrinsic worth of every human being by discovering that the clue to the meaning of ultimate reality lies in personality - finite and infinite

(p.82 STF). Then just before his death in 1953, Brightman had begun to supervise King's reading of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind. Though King himself later rejected Hegel's absolute idealism as 'rationally unsound' because 'it swallowed up the many into the one', he permanently incorporated three aspects of Hegel's thinking into his own cosmosophy: (1) the philosophical method of rational coherence (2) the fact that reality is a dialectical process and (3) that belief that growth comes only through struggle.

In Boston, King devoted his spare time to additional courses on Plato and Existentialism at Harvard, co-organizing the Friday night meetings of the King-Lenud philosophy club and bathing in the panoply of pleasures associated with finding a wife. His qualifying examination booklet at the end of his first year, Lewis (B) reports, exhibited a fundamental understanding of the Greeks and the pre-Socrates as well as a clear and mature analysis of Personalism (p.39). The head of his department of Systematic Theology, and eventual doctoral dissertation supervisor, L. Harold DeWolf, marked it 'excellent' and later remarked that of all the doctoral students he had at Boston University - some fifty in all - 'I would rate King in the top five'.

Yet even amidst his first year efforts to achieve

such an accolade, the Don Juan King met his Waterloo.[13] Actually, Martin had been looking for a companion for some time. He had confessed to one Atlantan visiting Boston, Ms Mary Powell: 'I wish I knew a few girls from down home to go out with'. Mary happened to know a girl who was studying just across town at the New England Conservatory of Music. Her name was Coretta Scott. She was born and raised in Marion, Alabama and had graduated from Antioch College in Ohio before her interest in music had taken her to the Boston Conservatory where she was studying voice. Her family owned a trucking firm, a chicken farm and a combined grocery store/petrol-station.

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[13] *King's erotic escapades before and after marriage escaped the attention of Bennett, Miller and Mrs King. Reddick (B), however records that while he was at Morehouse, the neighbourhood girls were more than a passing fancy (pp.55;61). Lewis (B) reports that Rev. Barbour had always 'noticed an interesting dichotomy in King's conduct' at Crozer. 'During the day Mike was the Faustian student' ... (but) during the evenings he 'displayed a healthy non-academic interest' in the many unattached young ladies in Chester. 'They were not usually attractive', he adds, and 'Mike was prone to refer to them as "light" sisters, his adjective for female acquaintances who were triumphs of matter over mind' (p.32). Williams (B) uncovers whores in Oslo (p.198); Martin in a nude tete-a-tete (p.190); and one of King's freckle-faced conquests (p.185) who tells him of Martin's antipathy for all Sisters - Person B toldhim: "Martin often said he was willing to fight and die for black people, but he was damned if he could see anything pretty in a black woman"'(p.151). In a word, Schlesinger(D) says, 'King was not only a great and honorable citizen and a noble leader, he was also, like other distinguished leaders, a passionate man. This was well known to his close associates and did not disturb them ... Black friends stressed the importance of machismo ... and recalled the historic obligations of evangelical preachers in the south to the women of the congregation. In any case ... Martin really believed in the gospel of love ... After the exertions and triumphs of the March on Washington, King had relaxed in his suite at the Willard Hotel with members of both sexes'(p.389). But what difference does all this make?*

In short, Coretta had much to offer and Martin was captivated . But when she was told of the young minister's desire to meet her, initially Coretta 'wasn't interested' in meeting any narrow-minded pious-acting preachers like the ones she knew at home. Mary assured her that Martin was quite different and, after some haggling, she acquiesced to having her phone number passed on to him.

When King phoned her later and she agreed to meet him the following day for lunch, they drove to the Sharaf's Restaurant on Massachusetts Avenue and during their conversation Martin was delighted to learn that Coretta knew something 'besides music'. As they drove back to the Conservatory, Coretta recalls, Martin suddenly became very quiet and said 'You have everything I have ever wanted in a wife ... character, intelligence, personality and beauty' (p.55). Coretta remained silent, trying to keep her poise, and prudently Martin pursued the issue no further. One meeting led to another - movies, parties, concerts and dining at King's favourite soul (Negro) food place, the Western Lunch Box. 'The more I saw him, the more I liked him' Coretta later confessed to Bennett. ' What impressed me most was how often he spoke about what he hoped to contribute to the race and humanity at large ... The more he talked, the more he grew in stature' (p.47). And the next time Martin proposed, Coretta found herself willing to sublimate her career to his art. And despite the initial objections of Daddy King, the couple were eventually married in

Coretta's family garden in Heiberger, Alabama on 18 June 1953 by none other than Daddy King himself.

After the wedding the couple returned immediately to Boston. There Coretta finished her studies while Martin began to work on his dissertation and apply for jobs. His dissertation, A Comparison of the Concept of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman, eventually totalled some 343 typewritten pages and proportionally his job offers were no less fecund. As a result, King was not only faced with offers from two Churches in the East, the deanship of a small college, a teaching post and a letter of interest from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, but was also:

> torn in two directions. On the one hand, I was inclined toward the pastorate; on the other hand toward educational work. Which way should I go? And if I accepted a church, should it be one in the South, with all the tragic implications of segregation or one of the pulpits in the North? (p.4 STF).

Undecided, he wrote the officers of Dexter and told them he would be home in Atlanta for the Christmas holidays and would be happy to preach one Sunday in January 1954.

As King began going over his trial sermon the night before he delivered it to Dexter's comparatively small but upper-income congregation, he recalls:

> I was aware of a certain anxiety. Although I had preached many times before ... I was very conscious this time that I was on trial. How could I best impress the congregation? Since the membership was educated and intelligent, should I attempt to interest it with a display of scholarship? Or should I preach just as I had always done, depending finally on the inspiration of the spirit of God? I decided to follow the latter course. I said to myself, "Keep Martin Luther King in the background and God in the foreground and everything will be all right. Remember you are a channel of the gospel and not the source" (p.3 STF).

Almost a month after King explained how the 'Three Dimensions of a Complete Life' consists of a proper proportion of self-love, love of God and love of neighbour, an air mail special-delivery letter arrived from Dexter telling him that he had been unanimously called as its pastor. After talking things over with Coretta, he decided to satisfy his 'fondness for scholarship later' and fulfil his 'moral obligation to the South' (p.7 STF) by accepting the call on the condition that he would not be required to take up his full responsibilities until 1 September 1954.

In June Coretta finished her studies and the couple were to spend the next three months vacationing in Atlanta. Excluding the summers, King had been in school for nineteen years without a break and the last six had been an intense Herculean effort to develop himself in the mold of his two Morehouse mentors, Benjamin Mays and George Kelsey. To this end, Crozer had awakened him from his dogmatic slumbers, placed his footing firmly in the history of philosophy and theology and trained him in preparing sermons and officiating at

religious ceremonies. And in Boston, he fortified his religious, philosophical and theological background and found himself a lifelong companion. To balance his academic activities while learning the principles of prudence and frugality with other people's money, he had returned home each summer since entering Crozer and operated the family church while his parents took their annual vacation. And on more than one occasion he had become involved in the politics of the state National Baptist convention where the atmosphere was dominated by talk of elections, vote trading and other things a little less than religious.

But it was now the summer of 1954 and the five foot-seven, twenty-five year old, stocky, broad shouldered, short-necked, mahogany-coloured King with his almond-shaped sanguine eyes, receding hair line and rich baritone voice was on his way home - to the South. A forceful intellect, indefatigable worker and ambitious soul, little did he know he was already standing on the shores of immortality.

King's early days at Dexter, by his own account, were 'the happiest in his life'. In September the couple moved into the white-framed parsonage at 309 South Jackson and began to set up home. Martin rose in the morning at five and began and ended each day with a prayer and three hours' work on his dissertation. The remainder of the day he filled with such church duties as counselling, funerals, marriages, visiting the sick

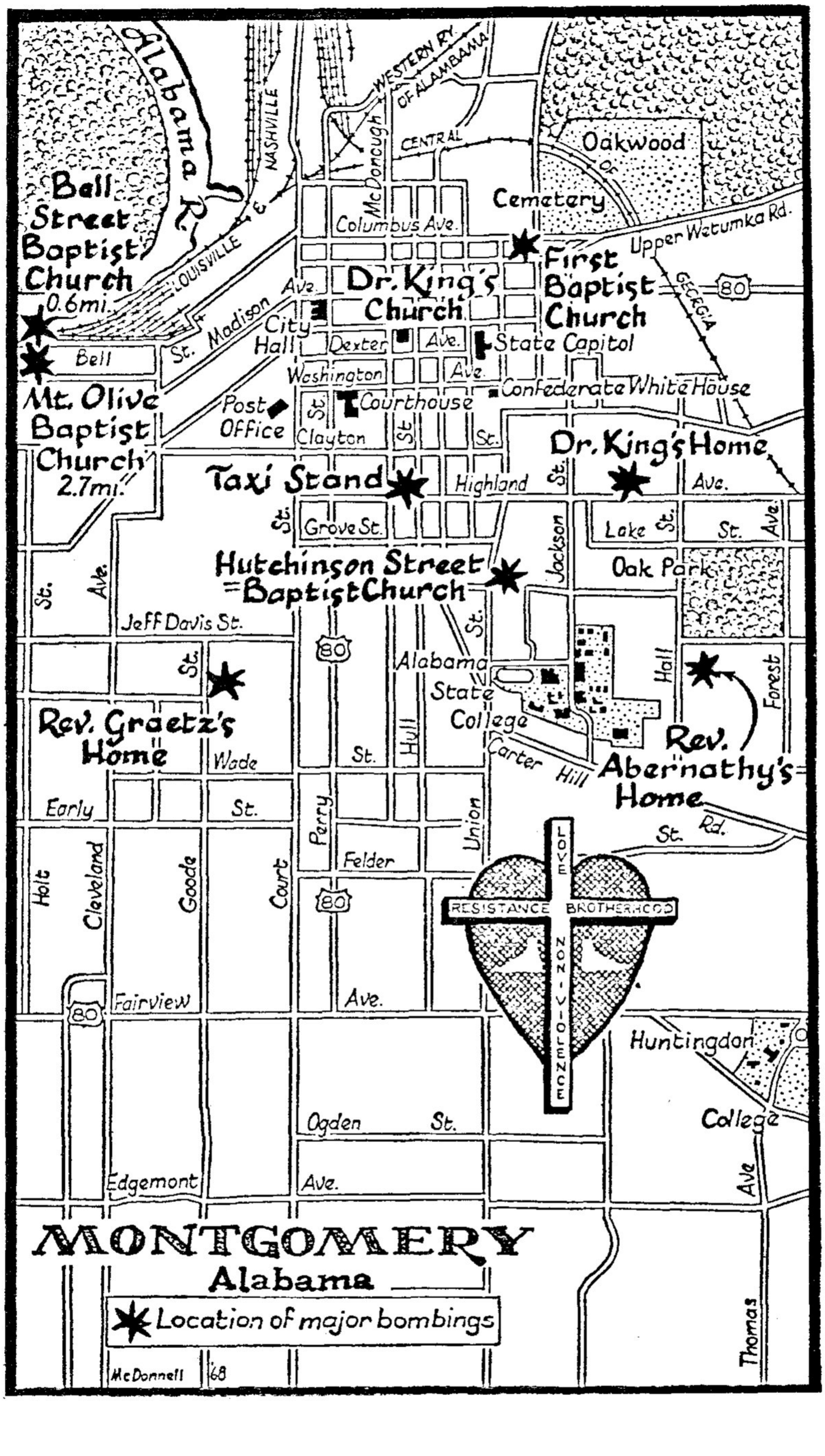
and preparing his sermons, while Coretta acted as his secretary and busied herself with various committee meetings and the choir. Within the first few months, Martin reorganized Dexter's finances along the lines of Ebenezer's and revived its standing committees on religious education, social and political action, scholarship fund raising and support of young Negro artists. By the following spring his reputation as a friendly pastor, intelligent preacher and eloquent speaker was firmly established and on 5 June 1955 he received his doctorate in Systematic Theology. In November the local chapter of the NAACP offered him the presidency, but because Coretta was expecting their first child he declined. And by December, the church's income had increased three-fold. Indeed, nothing in Martin's first fourteen months at Dexter gave the slightest hint of an impending crisis.

But that is not surprising. On 17 May 1954, the United States Supreme Court issued one of its historic decisions in a case between Brown and the Topeka, Kansas Board of Education. In this case the High Court not only overturned its 1896 decision on Plessy vs Ferguson and ruled that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal, it also ordered that public educational facilities be desegregated with all deliberate speed. But the immediate impact of this decision, even to a minister like King who believed that ministers should also be leaders in social progress, seemed remote. As a judicial ruling that advanced the Negro's cause of

justice and equality, it was certainly announced in church on Sunday. But as a judicial decree, it was something nonetheless that King - and perhaps every other Negro - thought would eventually be implemented by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or through some other myriad of governmental agencies. And so all were permitted to think until 1 December 1955.

In downtown Montgomery that Thursday evening, a Negro seamstress named Rosa Parks boarded a Cleveland Avenue bus. She was returning home from work at a leading department store, Montgomery Fair, and had not the least intention of breaking the law. Tired from the long hours on her feet, she sat down on the first available seat behind the section reserved for whites. More whites boarded the bus a few stops later and, as was the custom, the driver turned to the Negroes in her row and said 'Let me have those seats'. But by then every seat on the bus was taken, meaning that if Ms Parkes complied with the directive she would have had to stand. While the three other Negroes promptly stood and moved to the back of the bus, Mrs Parks refused. The driver immediately called the police who took her to jail and charged her with violating the city's segregation ordinance and disturbing the peace.

Ms Parks phoned E.D. Nixon, a friend of hers and former Chairman of the NAACP before it was banned from Alabama, who came and signed the bond for her release. Through him word of her arrest reached a few influential


Alabama R.
Ball Street Baptist Church 0.6mi.
Louisville & Nashville
Western Ry. of Alambama
Central
McDonough
Columbus Ave.
Dr. King's Church
Oakwood Cemetery
Upper Wetumka Rd.
First Baptist Church
Georgia
80
Madison Ave.
City Hall
Dexter Ave.
State Capitol
Bell St.
Washington Ave.
Confederate White House
Mt. Olive Baptist Church 2.7mi.
Post Office
Courthouse
Clayton St.
Dr. King's Home
Taxi Stand
Highland Ave.
Grove St.
Lake St.
Jackson St.
Oak Park
Hutchinson Street Baptist Church
Jeff Davis St.
Alabama State College
Hall St.
Forest Ave.
Rev. Graetz's Home
Wade St.
Hull St.
Carter Hill
Rev. Abernathy's Home
Early St.
Perry St.
Union St.
Felder St.
Rd.
Holt St.
Cleveland Ave.
Goode St.
Court St.
RESISTANCE
BROTHERHOOD
LOVE
NON-VIOLENCE
Fairview Ave.
Huntingdon College
Ogden St.
Edgemont Ave.
Thomas Ave.
MONTGOMERY
Alabama
Location of major bombings
McDonnell '68

women of the community, arousing the rage of the Women's Political Council who suggested that E.D. organize a boycott to protest against the city's buses. E.D. concurred and agreed to spearhead the protest. The next morning he phoned Ralph Abernathy, the pastor of Ms Parks' First Avenue Baptist Church to enlist his support. Then he phoned King. For nearly three hours the three men stayed on the phone discussing various strategies. Finally Nixon proposed that a meeting of all the community's ministers, social and civil leaders, be held that evening and King offered his church as a meeting place. With the approval of the president of the Baptist Ministerial Alliance, Reverend H.H. Hubbard, King began phoning all the other Baptist ministers. The Methodists were holding a denominational meeting that afternoon in one of the local churches; Abernathy volunteered to contact them there. Meanwhile Nixon entreated Ms A.W.Ward, a prominent dentist, to contact a number of civic leaders. As news of the meeting and Ms Parks' arrest spread through the community, speculation rose as to whether or not she was an NAACP *agent provocateur*.

That evening virtually every organization in the Negro community was officially represented at the meeting with the ministers comprising the largest single faction. Since E.D. had to work that night, responsibility for chairing the meeting fell on the shoulders of Reverend L. Roy Bennett, the president of the Inter-

denominational Ministerial Alliance, who opened the meeting with a prayer followed by an account of Ms Parks' ordeal and a proposal that in protest the Negroes of Montgomery should boycott the buses on Monday 5 December. Bennett then concluded his remarks by saying, 'This is no time to talk; it is time to act'. The unanimous feeling of the group was that the boycott was valid and desirable. The ministers agreed to recommend it to their congregations on Sunday. And after an alternative transportation scheme involving eighteen Negro taxi companies and two hundred and ten cars was designed to ferry the people to and from work, the meeting was adjourned with everyone agreeing to meet again on Monday evening at Holt Street Baptist Church to determine if, and how long, the protest should continue.

With 100% cooperation from the Negro community on Monday, the one-day boycott to secure a first-come first-served policy within the bounds of a segregated system proved ineffectual. And the rest is history. At the meeting that evening after some five thousand people sang out 'Onward Christian Soldiers' and heard King urge them to protest courageously with dignity and Christian love,[14] a motion was passed to establish an

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[14] *King maintains that 'this was the most decisive speech of my life ... it had to be militant enough to arouse my people to positive action and yet moderate enough to keep this fervor within controllable Christian bounds... Could the militant and the moderate be combined in a single speech, ... I had to face the challenge head on and attempt to combine two apparent irreconcilables' (pp.45-6 STF).*

organization known as the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and continue the protest. Martin was elected its president[15] and the boycott stretched on for a full 382 days. Officially, it did not end until Wednesday, 14 November 1956 when some thousand Negroes voted to end their protest. But this was purely a ceremonial gesture, in the light of the fact that the previous day the United States Supreme Court had decided to uphold the findings of a special three judge US District Court that Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses were unconstitutional.

The Negroes' success in Montgomery immediately catapulted King into national prominence. But more importantly, through this extraordinary combination of what Alder (B) terms 'choice, chance, coincidence and necessity' (p.159), the man, King, the cause, civil rights, and the creed, Nonviolence, were brought together to effect the turning point in the life of a people.

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[15] *Though King was significantly 'marginal to the germination of the Montgomery plot', as Bennett (B) points out (p.61), it has been suggested by him (p.65), Alder (B) (p.60) and others, that he was elected president because he was so new to the community he had not had enough time to become identified with any of the various factions whose divisiveness had so paralyzed the body politics of the Negro community. Lending credence to this, King contends, when he arrived in Montgomery, that 'I found the Negro community the victim of a threefold malady - factionalism among the leaders, indifference in the educated group, and passivity in the uneducated (p.22 STF).*

But 'it is a point of immense importance', writes Bennett,

> that the act preceded both the man and the idea. King did not seek leadership in Montgomery; leadership sought him. He did not choose non-violence, nonviolence chose him, imposing itself on him, as it were, as an interior demand of the situation (p.61).

Hence 'basic to the understanding of Montgomery and of King', he argues:

> is an understanding of this fact. Negroes had already changed. They needed only an act to give them power over their fears, an instrument to hold in their hands and a man to point the way. Montgomery furnished all three, giving Negroes not only an act, but also a remarkable fisher of men and new ideology, nonviolence.[16] Man and method were products and not causes of the event (p.60).

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16 *This is not to say that King was the first Negro leader to introduce Nonviolence into the Negro community. As Walton (B) pp.25-30 and Bennett (B) pp.73-75 both point out, Nonviolence had always been a submerged element in the world view of a certain group of Negro leaders who like James Weldon Johnson, a graduate of Atlanta University in the 19th century, could see no practical alternative. Benjamin Mays, Mordecai Johnson and Howard Thurman, former Dean of Chapel at both Howard University and Boston University, headed another group of Negro leaders in the 1930s who had not only made a pilgrimage to India but spoke encouragingly of Nonviolence in both moral spiritual terms as well as in terms of its potential application to the Negro's cause. But it was not until the founder of the Sleeping Car Posters, A.Philip Randolph, attempted to create a mass-based civil disobedience movement in 1940, that it went beyond the verbal and theoretical stage. Acting on the 'Provisional Plan for Brotherhood Mobilization' that James Farmer, the first National Director of CORE (Congress on Racial Equality) had submitted to A.J.Muste and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, CORE staged a number of small and ineffectual Freedom Rides in Chicago and other Northern cities in 1942. And in the 1950s the Negro minister and congressman from Harlem, Adam Clayton Powell, and Howard Thurman more fully examined the potentials of this technique for the Negro liberation struggle from a theological and political point of view in their respective works Marching Blacks and Jesus and the Disinherited. But it remained for King, with the help of A.J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, Glenn Smiley and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to transmute Gandhianism to the only thing in the Negro community to give it relevance*

As the elected leader and spokesman for the Negroes of Montgomery, the minister King for the first time encountered the real powers of the world that Christ, his Master had set out to conquer.[17] There he learned the meaning of Rauschenbusch's words that 'to Christianize the Social Order' meant that a minister should keep in contact with the common people and infuse their efforts at social amelioration with the religious spirit. He wrote later during this time:

> my mind, consciously or unconsciously was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount, with its sublime teachings of love, and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. As the days unfolded, I came to see the power of nonviolence more and more. Living through the actual experience of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual consent, it became a commitment to a way of life. Many of the things I had not cleared up intellectually (before) concerning nonviolence were now solved in the sphere of practical action (p.83 STF).

By the end of the boycott King was convinced that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of Nonviolence was the most potent weapon available to the Negro in his quest for freedom. And through it all, he displayed

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and force - the Negro church. Herein, Bennett (D) rightly contends, lay King's genius. In marrying Gandhi's methods to the Negro religious tradition, King 'solved technical problems that had stumped Negro leaders for generations ... by clothing a national resistance movement in the comforting garb of love, forgiveness and nonviolence' (p.194). He gave the Negroes a vehicle for staging an open revolt without calling it that; he gave a powerless minority a means by which it could present its demands in a placating fashion to a powerful majority.

17

For King's own account of this experience see pages 95-100 in Chapter IV, 'The Methods of Opposition', of STF.

an unparallelled ability in articulating ideas, dramatizing events and drawing together people of diverse viewpoints despite the fire-bombing of his home, the calumny of a colleague (pp.133-37 STF), and his temporary crisis of courage (p.114 STF).

As publicity, invitations from heads of states and public accolades poured in on him over the next six months,[18] King began adjusting to a new role of being more than just a minister and his responsibilities grew. In January a group of ministers from ten southern states met at his family's church in Atlanta to map out a strategy for achieving integration in the South, formed an organization known as the Southern Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration and agreed to meet the following month in New Orleans. There they changed the name of the organization to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), elected King its president and broadened the aims of their programme to include not only fighting against all forms of segregation but also registering all eligible black voters

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[18] *On 18 February 1957, Time Magazine ran a cover story on how the protest that began as a demand for fair treatment within the bounds of segregation ended up abolishing segregation itself and how the 'scholarly Negro minister' who headed this protest in little more than a year had risen to become one of the nation's most remarkable leaders of men. On 3 March King and Coretta, along with such other noted black leaders as Ralph Bunche, Adam Clayton Powell, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Lester Granger and Norman Manley boarded a plane at the invitation of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the head of the government-elect of Ghana, to share in the country's Independence Day celebrations at Accra. In April, King became the first pastor and youngest person ever to win the NAACP Spingarn Medal for making the year's greatest contribution to race relations. And in June he received his first in a series of honorary degrees, this one from Dr Benjamin Mays at Morehouse College.*

in the South. Thus through the efforts of Ralph Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth and C.K. Steele, King became an institution and they served as its founding treasurer, secretary and first vice-president respectively.

From its beginning SCLC was primarily a church-oriented organization committed to Martin's concept of Nonviolence, a concept which at that time Bennett (B) notes 'stopped far short of collective civil disobedience'(p.82). For then, King only advocated the right of individuals acting as individuals to violate 'unjust local laws' that were in conflict with national laws. Every man, he contended, has the right, even the obligation, to break certain local laws in order to abide by the national law.

On 17 May, 1957 King delivered his first national political address in Washington D.C. before a crowd of some thirty-five thousand who gathered in a Prayer Pilgrimage at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate the Supreme Court's1954 decision in Brown vs the Board of Topeka, Kansas. Sharing the platform with A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Adam Clayton Powell and wearing a black robe, Bennett (B) reports, King arraigned both political parties for betraying the course of justice, denounced the executive for being too silent and apathetic; criticized the legislature for being too stagnant and hypocritical and called for strong leadership from the federal government, white liberals, white moderates and the Negro community itself before breaking into 'a rythmically compelling flight of oratory' exclaiming

> Give us the ballot and we will no longer plead - we will write the proper laws on the books.
>
> Give us the ballot and we will fill the legislature with men of goodwill.
>
> Give us the ballot and we will get people judges who love mercy.
>
> Give us the ballot and we will quietly and lawfully implement the 17 May 1954 decision of the Supreme Court.
>
> Give us the ballot and we will transform the salient misdeeds of the bloodthirsty mob into the calculated good deeds of orderly citizens.

And by the end of the year he was the most sought after speaker in America.

1958, according to Ms King, was a comparatively peaceful year. And a Jet magazine article, 'Man on the Go' reported that year that King had travelled 780,000 miles and delivered over two hundred and eight speeches, his most important of course being the 'Freedom Now' address on 12 February which was carried simultaneously in twenty-one mass meetings being held in key southern states. As a result of this speech and other political pressures, a meeting of Negro leaders was held at the White House with President Eisenhower on 23 June. Martin, Roy Williams, A.Philip Randolph and Lester Granger, put forth their modest and extremely moderate proposal requesting that the President push for a new Civil Rights Bill to implement Negro rights under the Constitution, direct the Justice Department to act under existing statutes, protect Negroes seeking to register to vote and halt the bombing of Negro homes and churches. But little, indeed

nothing was done. King simply realized, Coretta (B) notes, that despite his personal sincerity 'Eisenhower could not be committed to anything which involved a structural change in the architecture of American society. His conservatism was fixed and rigid, and any evil defacing the nation had to be extracted bit by bit with a tweezer because the surgeon's knife was an instrument too radical to touch this the best of all possible societies' (p.162).

Three months later, on 17 September, King's first book, Stride Toward Freedom, was published and received excellent reviews.[19] The terms of his contract required that he make public appearances in a number of northern cities including Chicago, Detroit and New York. And everywhere he went the crowds were large and receptive, except in Harlem where a group of Black Nationalists who opposed his doctrine of Love and Nonviolence objected to his scheduled appearance at Blumstein's, a white-owned store in the community.

King arrived at Blumstein's and was autographing books when a heavy-set woman, later identified as Ms Izola Curry, made her way through the crowd and asked one of the store managers: Is this Martin Luther King, Jr.?

'Yes', came the reply.

She then made her way to King, and asked,

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19 *For a list of these reviews and the reviews of King's four other books, see pages 155-159 of William Harvey Fisher's (B)* Free At Last.

'Are you Martin Luther King, Jr.?'

'Yes', King nodded.

'I have been looking for you for five years', she said. Then cursing and pulling what looked like a knife from the front of her dress, she plunged it into the upper left side of his chest and began pounding on him with her fist and babbling incoherently.

King was rushed to Harlem Hospital where one of the surgeons who performed the three-hour operation to remove the blade of the Japanese steel letter-opener from his chest, Dr Emile Naclerio, said the instrument had penetrated the outer wall of his aorta and had he so much as coughed or sneezed he would have died.

Rumour quickly spread through the community that King's stabbing was part of an organized conspiracy by the Black Nationalists or White Supremacists. But the conflicting explanations Ms Curry gave to the police for her actions indicated that she was not only deranged but acting alone. For first she accused people of torturing her, and King, whom she had never seen before, of trying to convert her to Roman Catholicism. Later she identified herself as an anti-integrationist who wanted to kill King because he was the head of the NAACP. King gave a press conference in the hopsital, said he felt no ill-will to Ms Curry and wished that all thoughtful people would do all in their power to get her the help she so desperately needed. Ten days later, he returned to Montgomery.

On 10 February the following year with a grant from SCLC and the American Friends Service Committee and in response to an invitation from Prime Minister Nehru and the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, King arrived in India. 'To other countries I may go as a tourist, but to India I come as a pilgrim', he said as he set foot on the soil of New Delhi, accompanied by Coretta and close friend Lawrence Reddick. The first evening the party dined with Prime Minister Nehru. Afterwards King and Nehru talked for nearly four hours comparing the Indian's struggle for freedom with the Afro-American's struggle for equality and discussing the different types of commitment to Non-violence - as a tactic or a way of life. The next morning the party made its way to Raj Ghat, the shrine where Gandhi was cremated. Later that afternoon they met the first president of India, Rajendra Prasad, his vice president, the philosopher-politician, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and a host of other officials who led India's struggle for freedom. As they travelled to Calcutta, Madras and Bombay over the next three weeks, and King spoke at a number of universities and held a few press conferences Coretta would sing a few Negro spirituals on the same program and Professor Reddick gathered material for his forthcoming biography on King, Crusader Without Violence.

By the time King returned to America on 10 March he was more committed to Gandhi's idea of non-violence than ever before and convinced that it could 'work effectively even under totalitarian regimes'. On Sunday 29 November of that year, Mrs. King records that he told the members of his congregation:

> For almost four years now ... I have been trying to do as one man what five or six people ought to be doing ... History has thrust something upon me which I cannot turn away ... Thus after prolonged and prayerful consideration, I have no choice but ... to submit my resignation as pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church to become effective on the fourth Sunday in January 1960 (p.183).[20]

Two days later on 1 December, King served notice on the nation that the time had come for a broad, bold advance in the Southern campaign for equality. This new advance was to include a more intensive voter registration campaign - a Crusade for Citizenship, a full-scale assault on all forms of discrimination and segregation and a new method of nonviolent struggle involving large masses of people.

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Williams notes how 'Martin Sr was immensely relieved' (p.37) at King's move to Atlanta. Not so much because he was to co-pastor his father's church but simply because he 'wanted his son out of Montgomery long ago (after the bombing of his home and many threats on his life). Bayard Rustin, he reminds us, relates how on bended knee, Daddy King had begged his son to give up the Dexter Avenue post and the MIA (p.39). And while collecting material for this study, this writer was often told of Daddy King's periodic chiding of Martin as a 'damn fool' for his persistent public manifestations of commitment to black people and the cause of right in face of his many adversities.

After returning to Atlanta, being embroiled in a court case and subsequently acquitted of falsifying his Alabama state income-tax returns for 1957 and 1958 by an all-white jury of twelve southerners on 26 May, skirmishing began in October. King's first target was one of the largest symbols of segregated lunch counters in Atlanta, Rich's Department Store. And this mass of people consisted of seventy-five college students. Why college students? Because it was they who, on 2 February of that year, had advanced his concept of confrontation and direct action to its 'mass' level in Greensboro, North Carolina. Inspired by a Fellowship of Reconciliation comic book on King and the Montgomery bus boycott, a freshman at North Carolina's Agricultural and Technical College, Joseph McNeil, his room mate and two of their friends went to a Woolworth's store on 1 February and quietly demanded to be served. Of course, they were refused. That night, however, they recruited reinforcements from a militant sector of the student body and contacted the head of Greensboro's local NAACP, to solicit his organization's support. The next day the four returned to Woolworth's with their hastily assembled group to continue the struggle; again they were repelled. The following day they returned with even a larger group. Eventually, as picketing began at a number of Woolworth's other stores in the South, as well as at a number of its chain outlets in the North, they succeeded.

Their success sparked off a spate of sit-ins at similar stores by students in Durham, North Carolina and

Winston, Salem on 8 February. Within the next three days, the sit-ins had spread to Virginia and by the end of March, students had staged sit-ins in every Southern state except Mississippi. But neither the Urban League nor the NAACP did anything to assist the students in their first wave of attacks. Realizing their creative energies might be dissipated without a proper structure and hoping they would align themselves with SCLC, King did.[21]

Through the efforts of Ella Baker, SCLC's first executive secretary, a three day meeting was held at Shaw University in North Carolina beginning on Good Friday 15 April 1960. The Methodist Minister who had played a major part in the Nashville movement, James Lawson, and

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[21] *It is within this context that Bennett writes 'The adulation King received (as early as) 1957 cannot be explained entirely by his own act' (p.83). The Negro leadership spectrum just then was in a state of considerable confusion (p.88). The NAACP's and Urban League's programme of litigation,lobbying and pleading with the business community 'had not really changed since the days of King's grandfather' (p.89). 'As King's star rose, voices within and without the National Urban League and the NAACP called for a new departure and a re-examination of their basic promises (88). King's significance during his first period of national leadership lay primarily in the direction and momentum he gave to the diffuse gropings of people.... By giving the people another ideology ... King gave them a new way of thinking about their condition and a new tool for changing it. Above anything else, he sensed and managed to convey to an articulate strata in the Negro community, particularly youth, the revolutionary idea that the explosive force needed for the freeing of Negroes had to be generated within the breast of Negroes' (p.90).*

Dr King were the two keynote speakers. Lawson and King's ideas on Nonviolence and approaches to the students were considerably different. While Lawson talked knowledgeably of the power structures in the Negro and white communities, displayed a considerable amount of hard-headed political calculation and argued that Nonviolence should be accepted only as a political tactic, King insisted on speaking in moral terms, preached about changing the hearts of white and black segregationists and argued for an absolute commitment to Nonviolence as a way of life.[22] In the end, the students decided to hold a second meeting at Atlanta University where again Lawson, Baker and King were present. There they voted to set up an organization of their own, the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC). Not knowing that most of their future financial support would eventually come from the mainly-white Northern Student Movement (Williams (B) p.39), they decided to adopt a policy of Nonviolence similar to King's in return for the financial support they were to receive from SCLC.

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22 *Williams (B) reports: 'Miss Baker was not impressed with King's talk at the Shaw meeting' (p.39). 'He missed the point of the meeting' Williams notes. 'The kids did not want preaching. They had been arrested, beaten, and gassed by the hundreds. They wanted leadership ... As Miss Baker put it "He preached rather than dealt with" ... Some say it was at this point in time when the students began calling King De Lawd.' (p.40).*

Thus by the time King accepted the students' help to desegregate Rich's Department Store, they were already extremely well organized under the banner of the Atlanta Student Movement. Their plan was simple: everyone arrested at Rich's was to remain in jail until a settlement was reached. On 14 October King and thirty-six others were arrested and charged with trespassing. All vowed to stay in jail one year or ten years if it took that time to desegregate Rich's. They had been in jail about a week when Mayor Hartsfield secured a two-month truce to negotiate. Charges against King and the students were dropped and news spread through the community that a settlement had been reached. A friend of King's family, Jessie Hill phoned Coretta and others inviting them to Paschal's, an integrated restaurant operated by Negroes, for a reunion dinner celebration. When Coretta arrived she did not see Martin. Someone then told her he had not been released.

Later she discovered why. Back in April or May, he had been arrested in De Kalb County, a well known stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan, for driving without a valid licence - he had neglected to change his Alabama licence for a Georgia one. When he and Daddy King appeared in court on 23 September, Martin was fined twenty-five dollars and given a one-year suspended sentence. Martin had forgotten about this but the De Kalb County officials had not.

Thus as he was about to be released from jail on the sit-in charges, the De Kalb County police were there to secure custody of him on the grounds that he had violated his probation. All this occurred on a Saturday; a hearing was set for Tuesday and Martin had to remain in jail until then. At Tuesday's hearing, Judge Oscar Mitchell found King guilty and sentenced him to four months hard labour at Reidsville State Prison in Tatmall County. Judge Mitchell's decision only triggered another unforeseen chain of events.

1960 was a Presidential election year; voting day was less than two weeks away and neither candidate could court the Negro vote with a man of King's status in jail. Both candidates knew him. The Republican, Vice President Nixon, had met King in Ghana and also talked with him in the White House. The Democrat, Senator Kennedy, had met him on several occasions as they darted across the country addressing different audiences for different reasons. But alarmed by Kennedy's gain in recent polls and fearful of upsetting any Southern white votes, Nixon remained silent, saying he had no comment to make on the jailing of the Negro leader. Kennedy, however, seizing the opportunity, not only phoned Coretta to express his concern but through the efforts of his brother and Campaign Manager, Robert, also secured King's release on $2,000 bail, pending appeal. The consequences of his efforts and his 'phone call are still debated today.

As was customary on the night of King's release, on 27 October a mass meeting was held at the family church in

Atlanta. There King told of his ordeal in jail but because he had a policy of not endorsing presidential candidates, he said nothing political. Then Daddy King stood up and said:

> I had expected to vote against Senator Kennedy because of his religion. But now he can be my President, Catholic or whatever he is. It took courage to call my daughter-in-law at a time like this. He has the moral courage to stand up for what he knows is right. He has shown his sympathy and concern and his respect for Constitutional rights of all Americans. I got all my votes and I've got a suitcase and I'm going to take them up there and drop them in his lap. [23]

Later King himself released a statement saying:

> I am deeply indebted to Senator Kennedy who served as a good force in making my release possible. It took a lot of courage for (him) to do this especially in Georgia. For him to be that courageous shows that he is really acting upon principle not expediency. He did it because of his great humanitarian bent. [24]

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[23] *Though Bennett (B) writes in 1964 that Daddy King was a staunch Republican with a bit of hindsight this certainly has to be doubted on the national level. If in 1960 he endorsed Kennedy could he truly - and in good conscience - have endorsed Goldwater over Johnson in 1964? In light of the events mentioned above how could he have endorsed Nixon in 1968 and 1972? And in 1976 he was publicly one of the first 'Negro leaders' to endorse Carter. So just how Republican is he?*

[24] *Both these quotations, from Daddy King and Martin, come from a leaflet found in the King files at Boston University and entitled 'American Justice On Trial'.*

That Kennedy was acting more out of expediency than principle or that he was more cunning than courageous, is a fact none of his biographers doubt.[25] Moreover, all of them legitimately agree that in capturing the presidency of the United States a week or so later by a margin of a mere one hundred thousand votes - and mostly black votes -, Kennedy gained more from those skirmishes in Atlanta than King whose immediate efforts to desegregate the lunch counters of Rich's Department Store met with no success.

But the sit-ins continued throughout the South in 1960 bringing with them a degree of integration to hundreds of communities. And in March 1961 the director of CORE, James Farmer, conceived of a plan to put the sit-ins on the road. In April, Farmer wrote to President Kennedy telling him of the Freedom-Rides plan to test various laws prohibiting segregation on interstate travel, by using bus loads of black and white riders using the lavatory and eating- and drinking-facilities reserved and designated for members of the opposite

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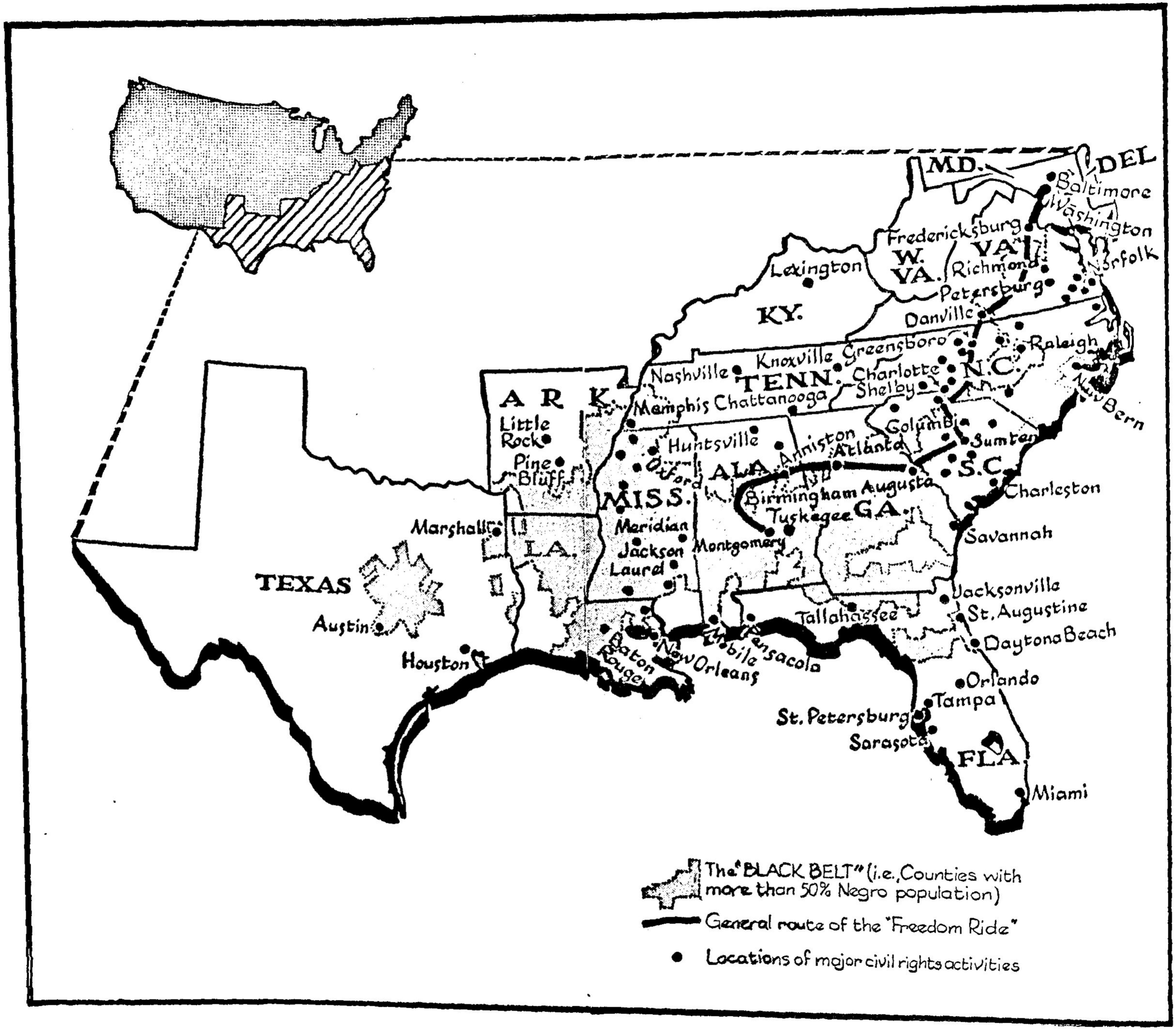
25 *Williams (B) p. 47, and Bennett (B) record the phone calling and calculated speculation that took place between the 'dominant figures' Mayor Hartsfield, Attorney Morris B. Abramas of Atlanta and Harris Wofford, a Kennedy advisor on minority affairs, before Wofford 'came up with an idea that contained minimum political risk and promised maximum political advantage' (p.118).*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Richmond
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Nashville
TENN.
Charlotte
N.C.
Shelby
Memphis
Chattanooga
New Bern
ARK.
Little Rock
Columbia
Sumter
Huntsville
Anniston
Atlanta
Pine Bluff
Oxford
ALA.
S.C.
Charleston
Birmingham
Augusta
MISS.
Tuskegee
GA.
Marshall
Meridian
Savannah
Montgomery
Jackson
Laurel
LA.
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Tallahassee
TEXAS
Daytona Beach
Austin
Mobile
Pensacola
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Houston
Orlando
Tampa
St. Petersburg
Sarasota
FLA.
Miami
The "BLACK BELT" (i.e., Counties with more than 50% Negro population)
General route of the "Freedom Ride"
Locations of major civil rights activities

race. On 4 May, four pairs of white and black non-violent volunteers boarded a Greyhound and Trailways bus in Washington D.C. and with the support of SNNC and King acting as their coordinating chairperson, they set off for a trip through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and New Orleans only to 'catch pure hell'. Bands of raging whites, knowing the passengers' commitment to Nonviolence, attacked the buses, dragging the passengers off, beating them up and even throwing them into jail. In Anniston, Alabama, one bus even had its windows smashed and tires punctured before being destroyed by a bomb.

Two weeks later another group of Freedom Riders set out to arrive in Montgomery on 20 May where, amidst a mob of three hundred jeering whites, King was there to meet them and see the first to leave the bus, James Zwerg, a white exchange student from Fisk University, beaten unconscious. Others getting off the bus were also beaten and police did nothing. As darkness fell on the city and Governor John Patterson found himself unable to control his citizens, Attorney General Robert Kennedy dispatched four hundred U.S. marshals to restore order and an announcement was relayed over the radio that a mass meeting was to be held for the Freedom Riders at Ralph Abernathey's First Baptist Church the following evening.

As King addressed the twelve hundred supporters jammed inside the church, outside a crowd of several thousand gathered shouting 'burn the church down' and

hurling rocks through the stained glass windows. 'A small squad of marshals and a handful of unwilling city policemen', Williams (B) notes 'separated the Christians from the lions'. While:

> Up in Washington, pressure was being brought directly to bear on Governor Patterson to use the National Guard to disperse the mob ... But even as Paterson called out the guard, he told Kennedy that Major General Henry Graham, the Commander of the Guard, was unable to see to the safety of Martin King. Then Robert Kennedy ... made a statement that revealed the best in the Kennedys: "Have the general call me. I want him to say it to me. I want to hear a general of the US army say he can't protect Martin Luther King Jr." (p.50).

By dawn the besieged were able to go homeand at seven that morning the first bus of twelve Freedom Riders, seventeen reporters and six armed soldiers pulled out of the Trailways bus terminal, with what Bennett (B) terms,'an incredible escort of twenty-two highway patrol cars, two battalions of national guardsmen, three U.S. Army reconnaisance planes and two helicopters on its way to Jackson, Mississippi' (p.126).

With the strength of the Justice Department the Freedom Rides continued throughout the summer of 1961 and achieved a considerable measure of success, hallmarked by the sign seen today on all interstate public transportation which reads:

> Seating aboard this vehicle without regard to race, colour, creed or national origin, by order of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

During the same period King was recruiting many of the SCLC personnel who would assist him in his future campaigns in Albany, Birmingham, St Augustine, Selma and Chicago. With the addition of Wyatt T. Walker[26] as executive director; Bernard Lee as a special assistant to King; Andrew Young as director of voter education; Hosea Williams as director of voter registration; C.T.Vivian as director of SCLC affiliates;[27] T.Y.Rogers as director of the ministers leadership training program and Walter Fauntroy as director of its Washington Bureau,[28] Bennett (B) observes, the 'programatic and pragmatic confusion (p.129) which had hampered the conference since

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[26] *Since 'King tended to withdraw from the chores no man can avoid if he wants power to accomplish his purposes', Bennett writes ... 'Walker supplied the extra dimension becoming to King what every great man needs - an indispensible aide who performs and takes the blame for organizationally vital cores' (p.129). Before discussing King's 'lack of organizational ability' with Joanne Grant, a reporter for the National Guardian, however, Williams (B) contends that 'it is common knowledge that (King) was not the field general he could have been' (p.167). Quoting Grant, he then adds, 'it was very important to him that he should make the decisions, yet he couldn't. He wasn't able to think through things and make up his own mind' (p.168). Indeed, 'had (he) been able to organize, expand, and control more effectively the destiny of SCLC', Williams adds, 'he could have turned the illusion of power and success into significant reality' (p.168). Yet Williams fails to reconcile this claim with his later contention that King was only 'armed with feather dusters' for .... 'he was a black man and therefore always was and always would be naked of power' (p.173).*

[27] *SCLC, it will be remembered, was a coalition of about 85 church-oriented organizations.*

[28] *For a more detailed background on each of the aforementioned people on King's staff see pages 200-202 of Mrs King's (B) works.*

its beginning came to an end. And by the fall of 1961, he maintains, 'SCLC was honed to a fine fighting edge, lacking only one act and an opportunity to give it body and an identifiable posture' (p.129). That opportunity came on 15 December when Dr William D. Anderson, a Negro physician and head of the Albany Movement, phoned King for help.

The Movement had been in progress for nearly three weeks under the organization and direction of SNNC. Two of its members, Cordell Reagan and Charles Sherrod had gone to Albany in early November to initiate a voter registration drive and improve the political participation of blacks in the county. When three of its other members tried to integrate the restaurant at the main bus station in Thanksgiving Week, they were arrested. Two weeks later a group of Freedom Riders including SCLC's Youth Division director, Bernard Lee, arrived to help and they too were arrested. As more students joined in the protest, more went to jail. Finally, in the hope of negotiating a settlement, Mayor Kelly released one hundred and eighteen of the juvenile prisoners butthe negotiations failed. At that point he activated Georgia's National Guard and Dr Anderson phoned King.

King and Abernathy arrived in Albany and appeared at the rally that evening. From that point on, Williams (B) notes:

> stories fall apart. Some say King was invited to lead the demonstrators in protest the next day; others claim that there had been no place on the program for King, that he got to Albany when all was already in motion and simply stationed himself at the head of the nonviolent protest (p.53).

In any event, King, Abernathy, Dr. Anderson and two hundred and fifty others were arrested the following day as they attempted to march to City Hall. In the negotiation that followed, the city's commissioners agreed to desegregate the bus terminal and railroad station in return for an end to the mass demonstrations. Prisoners were released and the bus company agreed to desegregate, but the commissioners then refused to ratify the agreement officially. As a result Martin and the other leaders moved to resume their campaign.

Action continued sporadically for almost a year, through the summer of 1962. During that period Martin was arrested four times. Four Negro churches were destroyed and despite the steady flow of clergymen and lay people from all over the country to support the cause, demonstrations and boycotts proved ineffectual. Much to his credit, Albany's police chief, Laurie Pritchett disarmed the demonstrators

by arresting them promptly and peacefully for assembling illegally, parading unlawfully and disturbing the peace. Then in August, just as King and his cohorts were preparing their final assault, the city officials secured a federal injunction against the march and dissension erupted among the ranks. The students argued that Martin should ignore the injunction, federal or not. But after consulting with his friend, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who advised him to close-up shop in Albany, King disappointed the students, only to confess later that it was this injunction that 'torpedoed' his efforts in Albany.[29]

Within six months King had moved from the agony of Albany - a battleground he did not choose with a faction ridden army he never fully commanded - to the triumph of Birmingham, as a man who, in Bennett's (B) words, 'knew exactly what he wanted and how much he would have to pay to get it' (p.134).

In May of 1962, while King was still embroiled in Albany, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth had proposed at an SCLC meeting in Nashville, Tennessee, that his organization, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) and SCLC join forces in a city-wide campaign to desegregate the most thoroughly segregated city in America- Birmingham, Alabama.

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29 *This was to precipitate a significant change in King's doctrine of civil disobedience. Later in Birmingham, King was to ignore the federal injunction, arguing that it was a misuse of the judicial process. See passages indexed under 'Injunctions and Civil Disobedience' in Chapter IV 'The Kaleidoscopic King'.*

The board agreed but decided to postpone any action until early the following year. So it wasn't until 1963 that King, Abernathy, Walker and Young embarked on the toughest battle of their civil rights career, convinced that as Birmingham goes, so goes the rest of the South.[30]

Project 'C' (for Confrontation) was originally scheduled to begin on 12 March, but due to a Mayoral election between the Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene (Bull) Connor, Albert Boutwell and Tom King, it was postponed for a week. A further run-off between Boutwell and Connor produced yet another delay. In the meantime King and his colleagues established their headquarters in Room 30 of the Gaston Motel and formulated their final plans. They decided to focus their efforts on desegregating the lunch counters, dressing rooms and rest rooms and reforming the employment practices of the major downtown department stores.[31] Then as King allayed the fears of the local leaders about 'outsiders' running the show and putting the finishing touches on his Birmingham Manifesto,[32] Young, Bevel and

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[30] *For King's description of the most thoroughly segregated city in America see pp.47-50 of Why We Can't Wait, Chapter Three - 'Bull Connor's Birmingham'.*

[31] *In attempting to reform the hiring practices of the downtown department stores, Bennett states, the Birmingham campaign, like the one in Albany, sought not merely the integration of facilities but the recognition of the Negro community. In this respect a new concept was added to the freedom movement wherein the full resources of the Negro community were brought to bear in an across-the-board attack on the system of colour-caste (p.130).*

[32] *For the contents of this Manifesto detailing the causes of the demonstrations see Bennett (B), pp. 132-3.*

Walker organized mass meetings, conducted community workshops on Nonviolence and recruited volunteers to march. Each willing volunteer was required to sign the following pledge.

COMMANDMENTS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS

I HEREBY PLEDGE MYSELF - MY PERSON AND BODY - TO THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT. THEREFORE I WILL KEEP THE FOLLOWING TEN COMMANDMENTS:

1. MEDITATE daily on the teachings and life of Jesus.

2. REMEMBER always that the nonviolent movement in Birmingham seeks justice and reconciliation - not victory.

3. WALK AND TALK in the manner of love for God is love.

4. PRAY DAILY to be used by God in order that all men might be free.

5. SACRIFICE personal wishes in order that all men might be free.

6. OBSERVE with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.

7. SEEK to perform regular service for others and for the world.

8. REFRAIN from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.

9. STRIVE to be in good spiritual and bodily health.

10. FOLLOW the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration.

I sign this pledge, having seriously considered what I do and with the determination and will to persevere (pp.63-4 WWCW).

On 2 April 1963 Boutwell defeated Connor by a clear majority and on 3 April the protest began. In the first three days, thirty-five people were arrested in the lunch counter sit-ins alone. Another forty-two people were arrested for parading without a permit on a march to City Hall on Saturday 6 April. From then onwards demonstrations were staged daily with increasing strength, building to a crescendo synchronizing with the major events of the Easter season.[33] As King negotiated with the city's merchants and officials during the opening stages of the campaign, trying to get them to desegregate store facilities, establish a fair employment policy, create a bi-racial committee to work out a time-table for further desegregation and drop the charges against the four or five hundred protestors already arrested, the merchants were prepared to concede but city officials were not. On 10 April, the officials secured an injunction against any further marches, but Martin promptly declared that it was the product of a misuse of the judicial process and hence, in good conscience, could not be obeyed.

Good Friday, 12 April, was the day set by King and his colleagues for violating the injunction. After proclaiming to those assembled at Zion Hill Church that

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[33] *This was not done for any religiously symbolic reason. As King himself explains: 'We decided ... to center the Birmingham struggle on the business community, for we knew that the Negro population had sufficient buying power so that its withdrawal could make the difference between profit and loss for many businesses ... thus we felt that our campaign should be mounted around the Easter season - the second biggest shopping period of the year (pp.54-55 WWCW).*

morning that 'things were so bad in Birmingham that they could only be changed by redemptive suffering', Martin led a small group of demonstrators on their march down the forbidden streets. As they neared the town centre Bull Connor bellowed to his men 'Stop them; don't let them go any further'. At that point King, Abernathy and fifty-three others were arrested. Some were released immediately but King remained in jail for eight days, two of which he spent in solitary confinement.[34] A phone call on Monday from his panic-stricken wife to President Kennedy by way of his press secretary, Pierre Salinger and brother, Robert Kennedy, effected his release the following Saturday, 20 April.

Back in Room 30 of the Gaston Motel that evening, King argued that the time had come for Birmingham's crusade for freedom to escalate to a new level. And despite the criticism he and the other leaders of the campaign anticipated, they decided to add a dramatic new dimension to their struggle - the use of Birmingham's

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[34] *During this time, on the margins of newspapers and scraps of writing paper supplied him by a friendly Negro trusty, King composed the now famous 'Letter From Birmingham Jail' in response to a published statement by eight clergymen who charged that his campaign in Birmingham was both 'unwise and untimely'. Beyond all doubt this 'Letter', in which Martin so eloquently explains what brought him to Birmingham, the difference between just and unjust laws, the four pre-requisites to any nonviolent campaign and in what sense he was a creative extremist, constitutes the North-Star of King's rhetorical constellation. Without it his other works - as Lord Byron said of Gray's 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard'- would not be sufficient for his unique acclaim. For the complete text of his 'Letter' and the names of the eight clergymen he was addressing, see Chapter Five, pp.76-95, of Why We Can't Wait.*

black school children.[35] James Bevel, Andy Young, Bernard Lee and Dorothy Cotton, began visiting colleges and high schools where they found the students hungry for participation in a significant social effort. Their response exceeded even their wildest dreams. By the fifties and hundreds, the youngsters attended the mass meetings. And after two weeks of training in the techniques of Nonviolence and a short speech from King on D-Day, 2 May, the first platoon of exuberant and well-disciplined youngsters paraded out of Birmingham's Sixteenth Avenue Baptist Church and down the streets of the city singing 'We Shall Overcome'. Immediately after this first group was arrested, wave upon wave of more children followed until some nine hundred were jailed on that day alone.

King proclaimed the next day 'Double D-Day', and with the eyes of the nation on him, a thousand or so

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35 *Johnston (B) reports the dialogue King had that evening with Father Mikeljon, Reverend Redding and Rabbi Kaplan, three white clergymen who criticised his prospective use of the children (pp.148-50). But it is Williams (B) who recalls that King had used children tentatively in Albany (p.55) and truly captures the irony of this criticism coming from the lips of a people whose ancestors in Europe had foolhardily dispatched hundreds of thousands of them on the crusades for the Holy Land and thought nothing of working them fourteen hours a day in the nation's mills less than half a century ago. How strange, he remarks, is this criticism coming from a people who in some sections of this country had established their school systems around the work hours of the young, from a people whose forefathers had stolen black children from Africa and on these shores took them from their mothers' breasts to sell (p.56). Surely two wrongs don't make a right, but it is almost as if the people who protested against the use of the children, he writes, had come face to face with their own past in which children had counted for nothing' (p.56).*

children marching towards him and a host of police and firemen marshalled all round him, Public Safety Commissioner, Bull Connor, turned on the fire hoses and unleashed the Alsatians to stop them. The savage sight of dogs tearing into unarmed children and a hundred pounds of water pressure blasting them to the four corners of the earth, so devastated even his own men, that when a group of adults paraded out of New Pilgrim Baptist Church later that evening and Bull Connor again barked out: 'Turn on the water; unleash the dogs' not one of them moved. 'Turn on the hoses, dammit', he shouted again, But all remained still.

As letters protesting against Connor's handling of the situation flooded the White House all the next week, the Children's Crusade continued. A total of three to four thousand people were arrested. As the jails were filled, stockades were set up and protestors were detained in the hallways. Finally on 4 May, President Kennedy despatched his Special Assistant on Civil Rights, Burke Marshall, and Assistant Deputy Attorney General, Joseph Dillon, to Birmingham with orders to negotiate a settlement. Within the week an agreement was reached in accord with all the demonstrators' original demands. [36]

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[36] *Shortly after Marshall's arrival, Lewis (B) writes, 'Birmingham businessmen were made aware of the keen interest in a negotiated settlement on the part of powerful Northern industrialists. Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury, contacted Edward Norton, chairman of Royal Crown Cola. Frank Plummer, president of Birmingham Trust National Bank, and William H. Hulsey, board chairman of Realty Mortgage Company, who now began to take an active part in the chamber-of-commerce deliberations headed by Sidney Smyer, a prosperous real-*

While the stores in Birmingham were beginning to desegregate their lunch counters and up-grade their Negro employees, President Kennedy was preparing to submit to Congress certain civil rights legislation he had originally planned to postpone for a year, and King embarked on a triumphant tour, speaking to crowds of over 25,000 in Los Angeles, 10,000 in Chicago and 125,000 in Detroit's Freedom Walk. Throughout the nation, Negroes were so aroused by their victory in Birmingham that when A. Philip Randolph proposed a massive march on Washington for 'Jobs and Freedom' in June, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, John Lewis of SNNC, Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, James Forman of CORE, Witney Young of the Urban League and the leader of every major civil rights organization agreed.[37] But the Negroes were not

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estate executive. Secretary of Defense McNamara was also helpful, through his business contacts inherited from his days as director of Ford Motor Corporation. Eugene V. Rostow, dean of Yale University's Law School, asked one of his graduates Roger Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel, to intercede with the president of his corporation's Birmingham subsidiary, Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Rostow had valuable contacts in both camps. Through Yale law professor Louis H. Pollack, the Administration was able to convey to the NAACP its determination to engineer a settlement, provided Martin and Fred could be persuaded to water their demands slightly. Pollack flew to Birmingham to assist Marshall in the final stages of negotiation (p.198).

37 *Whether the 28 August 1963 event at which some 250,000 people heard Martin Luther King, Jr. mesmerise the nation with his famous 'I Have A Dream' Speech was ultimately a march on Washington or a farce by Washington is a debate that will go on for ever. For the most detached and accurate account of how the impetus and control of the march shifted from the hands of the Negro leaders to the men in the White House and the head of the labour unions see Schlesinger (D) pages 376-9. Lewis' (B) account on pages 221-225 of his work fails to provide as much detail about the two Kennedys' initial reactions to Randolph's proposal.*

the only Americans aroused by Birmingham. Fearful that this inch of Negro progress might become a mile, the 'rednecks', as Williams calls them, struck back: first with the assassination of a Jackson, Mississippi civil rights worker, Medgar Evers, just outside his home on 12 June, then with the bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on 15 September.

At a joint funeral held for three [38] of the four girls killed in the church bombing, Coretta recalls King's words:

> (These) heroines of a holy crusade for freedom and human dignity ... did not die in vain. God still has a way of wringing good out of evil. History has proved time and time again that unmerited suffering is redemptive. The innocent blood of these little girls may well serve as the redemptive force that will bring new light to this dark city (p.243).

But it did not. And with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy two months later on 22 November, the nation seemed to be saying that it could not. Still as 1963 drew to a close and Lyndon Johnson assumed the reins of the presidency, King was at the peak of his career: SCLC had grown from its five-man $63,000 budget in 1960 to a forty-five man, $800,000 budget in 1963 and Martin's second and third books Strength to Love and Why We Can't Wait were both published.

1964 opened with King being heralded Time Magazine's

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38 *Embittered by King's entire campaign in Birmingham, the father of the fourth girl refused to have anything to do with the joint service.*

Man of the Year and the undisputed Negro leader.[39] Nevertheless he made no effort to translate his appeal into a national movement. And since Birmingham he had been under increasing pressure from three fronts: Negro moderates who wanted him to de-escalate the growing racial crisis; Negro militants who were finding his Nonviolence too slow and too conciliatory; and members of his own group who were calling on him to establish a standing army of twenty-five thousand nonviolent demonstrators and launch a national campaign of civil disobedience which would include the nonpayment of state and local taxes, general strikes and the blacking of public transportation facilities. Despite these internecine differences, the NAACP, SNNC, CORE and SCLC agreed to form the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) early that year to accelerate their registration of black voters in the South by recruiting, training and despatching to the area large numbers of college students who were seeking a socially meaningful experience.

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39 While Time Magazine's article of 3 Jan. 1964, was quick to point out that King had neither the 'brilliance' of Roy Wilkins, the 'sophistication' of Witney Young, the 'inventiveness' of James Farmer, the militancy of John Lewis nor the 'wit' of James Baldwin, King was happy to be first. ‹ Indeed, the same person who told Williams (B) of King's antipathy for black women (p.151) also told him of King's reaction to an October 1963 poll in Newsweek magazine. 'Martin got up and rushed to the newstand. He had a copy of Newsweek already opened to the poll. He kept looking at it, and after a while, he must have known that I thought it was all disgusting, so he closed up the magazine. He pretended to be contrite. He said, "I know I shouldn't care what they think about me. I ought to pay it no mind and do what I must. I shouldn't be so vain". But he was feeling good because he was first' (p.189). For a good analysis and comparison of the 'Big Brass' - Wilkens, Young, Forman, Farmer, Powell and King, See Warren's (D) Who Speaks for the Negro p.132-221.

In March, the head of Florida's St Augustine NAACP, a Negro dentist named Dr R.N. Hayling, called upon King to re-enact there his Easter victory of Birmingham the year before. But unlike Birmingham, where Martin's chief opposition was the local police and city officials, in St Augustine, Bennett (B) notes, King's forces were battered about nightly by groups of local rowdies brandishing chains, clubs and vials of sulphuric acid (p.202). Police chief, Virgil Stuart claimed his eighteen-man police force was unable to stop them and King's appeals to President Johnson for federal intervention were to no avail. Following the arrest on Easter Sunday of Mrs Malcolm Peabody, the 72 year-old mother of the state's Governor, and an inter-racial group of women for trying to attend services at Trinity Episcopal Church, the campaign was destined to continue through the summer.

On 11 June King announced plans to seek his twelfth jail sentence and immediately staged a sit-in with Abernathy and a party of sixteen at the luxurious Monson Motor Lodge overlooking Montanza Bay. By the time he and its owner, James Brock, completed their twenty-minute conversation, Police Chief Stuart had arrived to arrest the party and book them for violating Florida's unwanted guest law. Everyone was released on bail two

days later but owing to King's previous commitments,[40] it was 25 June before his efforts in St Augustine resumed. Five days of white violence and nonviolent Negro suffering ensued and on 30 June 1964 a Birmingham-type agreement was announced but never materialized.[41] While certain biographers like Bennett and Miller suggest that King's disappointment in St Augustine was balanced by the signing of the nation's most comprehensive Civil Rights Act on 2 July, history must still record that like Albany and Atlanta, St Augustine was for King an unmitigated failure. And this was just the beginning of King's troubles.

Five days of rioting erupted in Harlem in mid-July when a New York police lieutenant shot and killed a black teenager. Mayor Robert F. Wagner hastily summoned King to New York for conselling and King had not bothered to advise Adam Clayton Powell or other local leaders of his invitation. Williams (B) reports, 'rather he glided in like Jesus walking on water, and the locals popped him pretty good' (p.192). In other words, there were many

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[40] *On 15 June, King was to receive an honorary degree in New Haven, Conneticut at Yale University's 263rd commencement ceremony before conducting a week-long tour of several southern states in aid of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.*

[41] *Williams (B) wonders why a Birmingham-type agreement should even have been desired. For there 'the movement's demands were met with strings attached: "within ninety days", "within sixty days", etc. (Moreover) nowhere is there mentioned the application of law, and so the demands that were made and agreed to remained in a vacuum, dependent upon the moral sense of the Birmingham community - a community that reacted with the bombing, not only of the King brothers, but of the twenty-four girls, four of whom died in their Sunday school classroom'. In such an atmosphere, he concludes, 'victory was pyrrhic ... (and) it was plain that as soon as Birmingham got off television and the front pages it was business as usual' (p.180).*

objections - Adam Clayton Powell's being the loudest - and King left the city rejected by the blacks (p.191).[42]

Moreover 1964 was another presidential election year. And as a result of the COFO's efforts in general and the special determination of SNNC in particular, a multi-racial political party was formed in the state of Mississippi, known as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)[43]. One of its chief and immediate aims was to unseat the regular all-white Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Convention on the basis that no Southern congressman or delegation was truly or justly representative of 'the people' in his or her area because nine-tenths of all southern states forbade the registration of black voters as late as 1964. But even with these facts clearly in their

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42 *While Williams admits that 'Powell and King were at odds from time to time', he contends that 'they managed to make peace ... As far as Powell was concerned, King could rule the roost in every section of the country but New York. For he (Powell) was boss of Harlem by virtue of pastoring its largest Baptist Church and being elected its Congressional representative'. But King's rejection of Powell's advice concerning the hiring of Bayard Rustin in 1960 (see Miller (B) p.95) and failure to invite him to participate in the 23 August 1963 March on Washington suggests not only that their peace was a false one but that Powell was anxiously awaiting a time when he could repay King's magnanimity.*

43 *For a detailed account of the early history and problems faced by the MFDP see Chapter IV in Carmichael and Hamilton's (E) Black Power*

favour, this was no mean task. Still,Ella Baker, the former executive secretary of SCLC now working for SNNC, had persuaded Martin to interrupt his St Augustine campaign to conduct a whirl-wind tour of Mississippi in support of their cause from 20-24 of June. On completing his tour, King learned that three SNNC workers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, were missing and later found dead [44].

With this in mind, when the MFDF was preparing to mount its challenge early in August, all of its members were adamantly opposed to settling for anything less than the complete removal or dismissal of Mississippi's regular delegation, and King led them in this stance. However, at the convention in New Jersey on the 22 of that month, when President Johnson's aides, led by Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, offered them a compromise of 'two seats now and more seats later', King accepted, and then led the battle to persuade other members of the MFDF to accept as well. This, Williams (B) notes, 'not only soured SNNC's people on him again',[45] it also ruined his credibility and popularity

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[44] *This happened in Philadelphia, Mississippi, and when the bodies of the three men were found on 4 August it was revealed that the two whites, Goodman and Schwerner, were shot, while Chaney, the only black, was chain-whipped and mutilated. The County Sheriff and deputy were later convicted for their deaths.*

[45] *In Albany, the students had gone sour on King for 'closing-up shop' to comply with the federal injunction. Then during the summer March on Washington in 1963, they had given him low marks for not supporting John Lewis' right to free speech. Some say King did support Lewis, but if he did, Williams (B) argues, 'Lewis would have delivered his talk just as he', James Forman, Tom Kahn and others had 'written it' (p.187). Though 'memories have dimmed as to the individual reactions to the original SNNC text', 'there is unanimous agreement' the biographer David Lewis (B) writes, that none of the other March*

with such leaders of 'the grass roots masses as Fannie Lou Hammer'.[46]

Immediately after the convention, King flew to West Germany at the invitation of its Mayor, Willy Brandt. And after preaching in churches on both sides of the iron curtain, he stopped in Rome for a twenty-minute meeting with Pope Paul and briefly vacationed in Madrid before returning to New York on 14 October, when he was privately informed that he had been selected as the 1964 recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. As the twelfth American and third Negro,[47] Martin was the youngest person ever, at 35, to receive this prize.

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sponsors dissented from the decision that its contents be altered' (p.222). Williams (B) observes (p.187), that while King succeeded in bringing his non-violent philosophy before the largest possible audience that day and placed his talk in the never-never land of I Have a Dream', David Lewis (B) notes that what Lewis intended to say 'was coruscatingly agressive ... the altered peroration was much gentler' (p.223). True, Lewis could have walked off the program but instead, Williams (B) says, 'he chose to stay on, presenting that neat harmonious picture so desperately needed by the leaders of the March' (p.187) and still provided the most militant talk of the day. For a detailed account of Lewis' speeches before and after its bowdlerization see p.223 of Lewis' (B) work.

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Whether King 'completely misjudged' this issue and thereby bungled 'his greatest opportunity to break out of the mould of moral suasion into something of infinitely more value - power politics' (p.192), as Williams (B) contends, is debatable. For though the people in the MFDP were 'a tough group' and the evidence in their favour was massive and undeniable (p.194), there is nothing to suggest that with his full-time interest or prestige King could have mounted a successful nationwide protest on their behalf, - particularly when, as Williams (B) himself notes, the MFDP was thrown out of the Atlantic City convention for refusing to compromise, and its challenge to the regular Mississippi delegation was later dismissed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 228 to 143.

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Ralph J. Bunche, the U.N. official who arranged the Arab-Israeli truce in the Palestine War, and Albert Luthuli, former leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, were the two other Negroes to receive the award, in 1950 and 1960 respectively.

The public reaction to his selection ranged from jubilation to bitter criticism. From a hospital bed in Atlanta's St Joseph's Infirmary where he was resting from the year's travails, Martin announced that every penny of the $54,000 prize money would go to the civil rights movement and said 'It fills me with deep humility and gratitude to know that I have been chosen as the recipient of this foremost of earthly honors ... I see it as a tribute to nonviolence and a sign that world opinion is on the side of those struggling for freedom and dignity'.

Shortly after his release from the hospital, King totally abandoned his political neutrality and spent the remainder of October campaigning for the Johnson-Humphrey presidential ticket. The signs of Johnson's landslide victory were numerous. And King's endorsement of him, coupled with a perennial opposition to civil rights by the Republican nominee Senator Barry Goldwater and his thinly-veiled appeals to racists, assured Johnson of a high percentage of the Negro vote. Consequently, the results of November's election brought no surprises. But by the time King had returned from the Nobel Prize ceremony, held on 10 December in Oslo with King Olav and Crown Prince Harold of Sweden, the organizational unity essential to sustaining a successful voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama, had been perceptibly strained.

What had begun in 1960 as a begrudging commitment by SNNC to King's doctrine of Nonviolence in return for

modest financial backing, became in 1962 a complaint in Albany that 'we do all the work, while King gets all the credit'. Then, following King's handling of John Lewis' 'March on Washington' speech in 1963, and the MFDP affair in 1964, SNNC tacitly adopted a policy of non-alliance. Indeed, Williams (B) notes, 'SNNC voted against participation in the big march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, but asked individuals to go along if they wished' (p.201).[48] Moreover, when King was arrested during the early stages of that campaign, members of SNNC had invited Malcolm X, the former spokesman for the Black Muslims, who recently formed his own Organization of Afro-American Unity,[49] to address their nightly meeting. But all this transpired in February.

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[48] *Disagreement on such key issues as concepts of leadership, working methods and organizing voters for independent political action or for Democratic Party politics had resulted in irreconcilable differences between the SCLC staff and SNNC staff in Selma. See Williams (B) p.200.*

[49] *Though Martin and Malcolm had talked together on occasion and discussed their different philosophies in a friendly way, (see Johnston (B) pp.220-1), this was the first and only time Coretta met Malcolm. She remembers he told her: "Mrs King, will you tell Dr King that I had planned to visit him in jail? I won't get a chance now because I've got to leave to get to New York in time to catch a plane for London where I'm to address the African Students Conference.' I want Dr King to know that I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult, I really came thinking that I could make it easier. If white people know what the alternative is, perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr King" (p.256). 'Impressed by his obvious intelligence', Mrs King admits that she still found it difficult to 'reconcile' his basic 'sincerity' with 'some of the Muslim principles'. But by then, three weeks before he died, Malcolm was no longer a Muslim, a fact which was given wide news coverage. For a more extensive and illuminating comparison of the Ministers and Martyrs: Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. than contained on pages 255-259 of Coretta's work, see David Luellen's (B) unpublished doctoral dissertation.*

In early January 1965, King and some SLLC staff members went to Selma where SNNC had been working since the previous fall. They began holding mass meetings and escorting potential Negro voters to registration offices. In protest against the difficulties they encountered trying to register them, King and Abernathy led a march of three hundred demonstrators from Brown's Chapel AME Church, to the Selma Courthouse on 1 February. Everyone was arrested and while most of them were released immediately on bail, King and Abernathy remained in jail for five days for refusing to post bail.

Two weeks after their release, the Selma campaign claimed its first victim. In Marion, Alabama, on 18 February, a young black youth, Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot by a band of charging police and white racists as he tried to protect his mother. He died eight days later. Three days after he was shot, another shot was fired fifteen hundred miles away at New York's Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, silencing for ever one of America's true black leaders, Malcolm X, and thereby destroying its only bridge to the then-growing faction of black militants.

During the truce that was called to bury the dead and mourn the loss, King flew to Washington DC to confer with President Johnson on 5 March. In their two-hour meeting, King described the conditions of Negro voters in Alabama and Selma and urged Johnson to ensure that the proposed Voting Rights Bill would provide for federal registers to sign up the voters. He returned to Selma only to announce

that on Sunday, - 'Bloody Sunday' - 10 March he would lead a fifty-four mile march from Selma to Montgomery ignoring Governor George Wallace's order prohibiting it. For some disputed reason,[50] King was persuaded at the last moment not to lead the march himself. Instead, he asked Hosea Williams and John Lewis to lead it.

Five hundred or more men and women - mostly black - marched out of town that day and up Highway 80. As they approached Edmund Petters Bridge, they were confronted by Sheriff Jim Clark of Birmingham, Colonel Al Lingo of the Alabama Highway Patrol and sixty mounted state troopers. Major John Cloud ordered the marchers to halt and gave them two minutes to turn back. Less than a minute had passed when Cloud shouted: 'Troopers, forward!' Sixty club-swinging horsemen charged the defenceless columns, knocking down demonstrators as they knelt to pray. The troopers charged again, this time throwing tear-gas grenades in response to Sheriff Clark's orders to 'get those goddam niggers' and the spirit of the onlooking mob of whites chanting 'kill them; get those SOB's'. At the end of the day,

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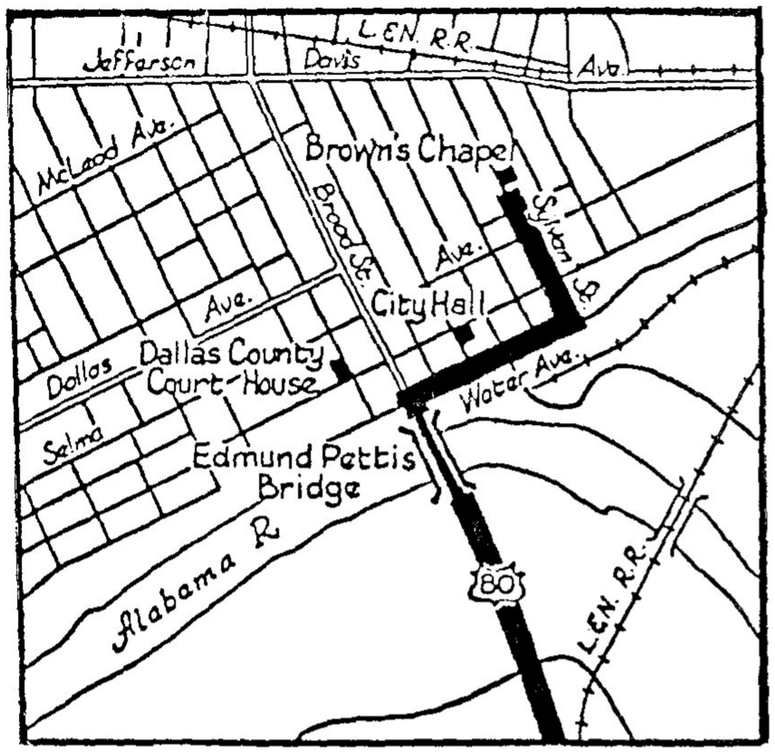
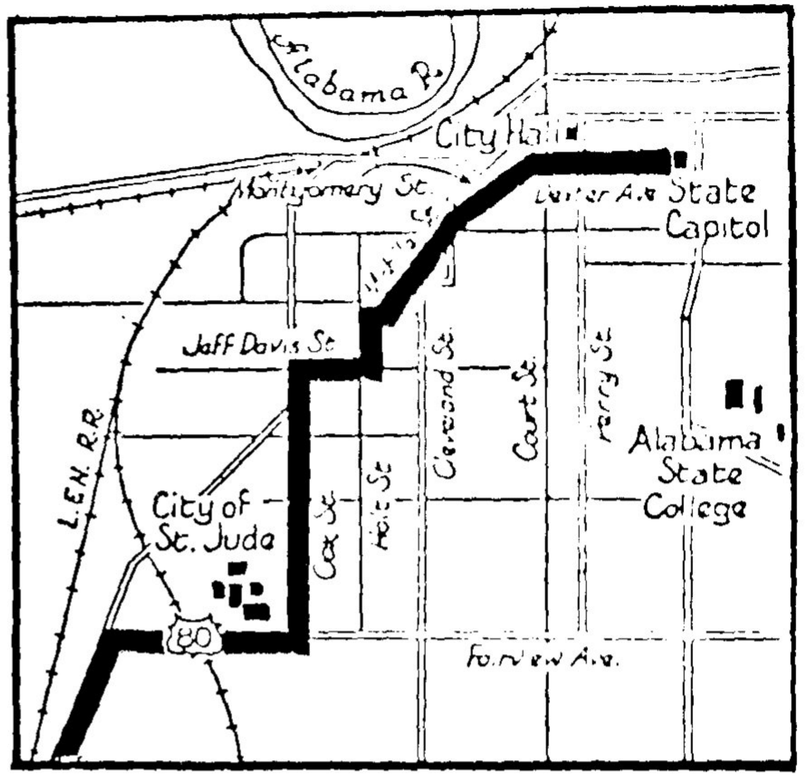
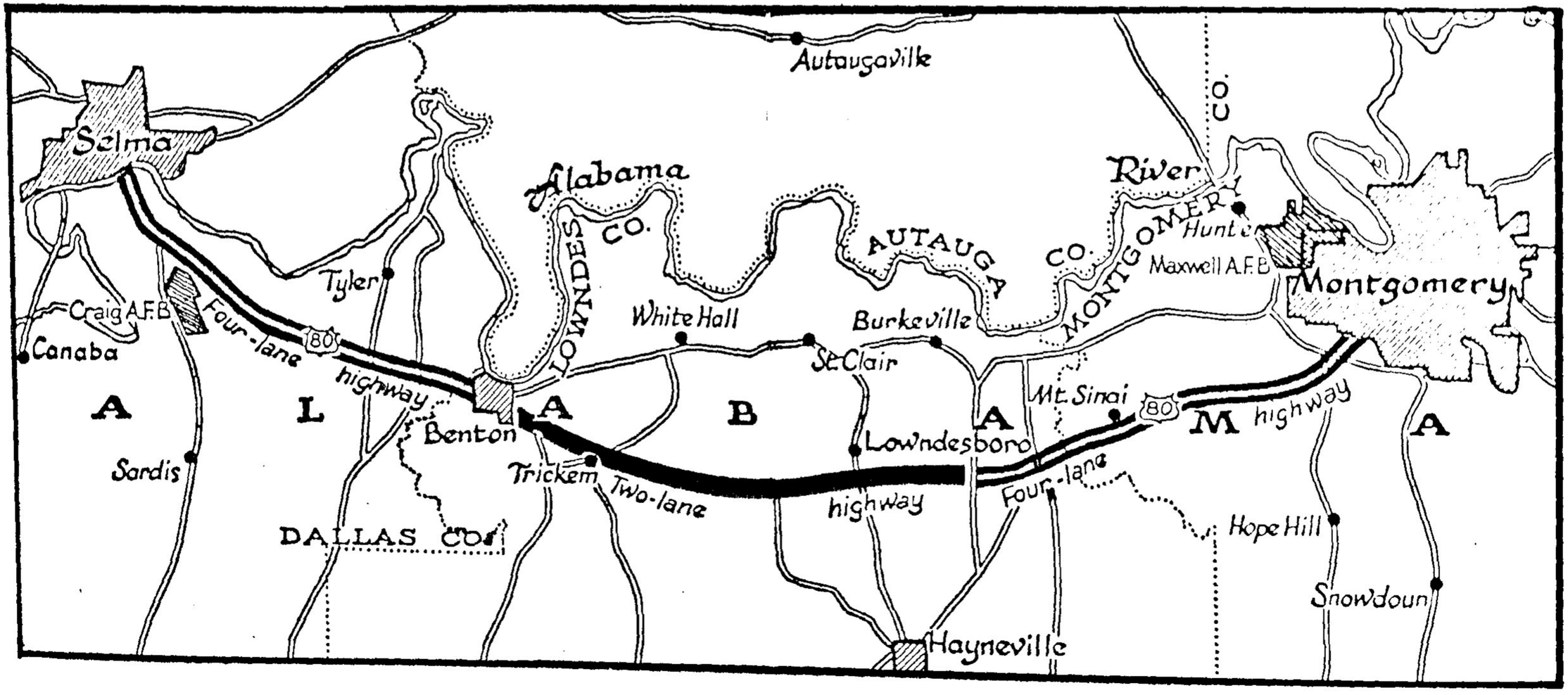
[50] *Mrs King (B) contends that 'it was SCLC strategy for leaders to avoid arrest in the early stages of a campaign else the army would be deprived of its generals' (p.259). But the order of events in Albany and St Augustine confirm Williams' (B) view that this policy was often 'pliable' (p.201). For this reason I should like to ask Williams which 'record' revealed to him that 'King was absent at the key moments he was most needed to lead a mass confrontation during every demonstration he participated in'. The simple assertion by Joanne Grant (William's informed analyst and former classmate) (p.191) that 'this pattern happened in Albany, Danville, Birmingham, St Augustine and every single place' does little to convince me that the day King was assassinated, in Memphis, 4 April 1968, was the only time he happened to be in the right place at the wrong time.*

SELMA



MONTGOMERY





sixteen had been hospitalized; fifty more were injured and the nation was sickened at the sight of horsemen swinging clubs, cracking bull whips and using electric cattle prods to chase unarmed men, women and children.

Dismayed yet dauntless, King announced the same day that he and Abernathy would lead another march to Montgomery on Tuesday 12th despite the federal injunction Alabama's officials had secured prohibiting it. Martin issued a nationwide call for clergymen and lay people to join him on the march. At eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, fifteen hundred marchers - seven hundred and fifty of whom were clergymen of various denominations - paraded across the Edmund Petters Bridge where again they were met by a group of state troopers and ordered to halt. They knelt down on the roadway for a short prayer, and afterwards, King directed them to turn back.[51] Yet the Selma campaign claimed its second victim that night when James Reeb of Boston,a white Unitarian minister and father of five, was attacked by four

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[51] *The SNNC people were angry, baffled and confused by King's actions, Williams (B) reports. They had barely concealed their contempt for King's behind-the-scenes bargaining earlier in Albany at the March on Washington and in New Jersey at the 1964 Democratic Convention, and they sensed he had made another deal without informing those who were prepared to absorb the beating. During a later hearing in federal court, where Judge Frank Johnson asked Martin: 'Is it correct to say that when you started across the bridge, you knew you did not intend to march to Montgomery', he replied: 'Yes, there was a tacit agreement at the bridge that we would go no further' (pp.202-3).*
Why did King have to bargain? Why was it necessary for him to advise Washington of every plan, (p.203) Williams asks. Perhaps it was because after Birmingham, as Williams notes, 'King was under government surveillance not so that it might offer him protection, but for purposes running counter to the movement's' (p.184).

Klansmen wearing sports jackets and shouting: 'White nigger, where's your hammer and sickle?'. Reeb's skull was battered and two days later he died without ever regaining consciousness.

Two thousand people attended Reeb's memorial service at Selma's courthouse on Friday, 15 March, and that evening President Johnson told a joint session of Congress before nationwide television cameras:

> At times, history and fate meet in a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom ... What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of the American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life ... Their cause must be our cause, too. Because it is not just Negroes but really all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.

In concluding his address, President Johnson said that the passing of his proposed Voting Rights Bill was his number one priority, but the battle in Selma was far from over.

Nearly a week of marching, singing, speeches and more arrests followed Reeb's funeral before Wallace's injunction against the march was lifted. President Johnson federalized Alabama's National Guard and despatched four thousand regular army troops to Alabama. And finally, on 21 March, exactly two weeks after 'Bloody Sunday', Martin led more than 10,000 people out of Selma up Highway 80 under the full protection of the United States government. Four days later they arrived in Montgomery where their march

ended in a nationally televised rally on the steps of the state capital. But before the words of Martin's speech - 'I stand before you this afternoon with the conviction that segregation in Alabama is on its death bed' - could even be printed in the paper next morning, death claimed the life of Mrs Viola Liuzzo, a wife and mother of five, who was shot dead as she ferried a car-load of marchers back to Selma on Highway 80. The campaign ended there on a very sour note: three dead, four thousand arrested, hundreds involved in impending court cases and fewer than fifty Negroes had been added to the register to vote.

Johnson's signing of the Voting Rights Act on 6 August 1965 theoretically brought the Selma saga to a successful end.[52] But even this new legislation which eventually served to register more than 800,000 southern black voters proved too much, too little, and too late to be of any immediate consequence. Indeed five days after its signing, when King was vacationing in Puerto Rico, rioting erupted in the Los Angeles County of Watts, California. Thirty-five were dead, twenty-eight of them black. By the time King and his colleague Bayard Rustin, rushed to the scene, they realized there was nothing they or

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52 *In a brilliant historical, sociological, political and legal assessment of the people, events, issues and organizations behind Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Voting Rights Act of 1965: Protest at Selma, David Garrow explains how President Johnson's 'initial decision there would be a Voting Rights Act of 1965, though influenced substantially by members of Congress of both parties... was primarily the result of the very skillful actions of SCLC in Selma'. Its 'deft creation' of certain events in Selma he argues, spurred support both in Washington and across the country for more stringent voting rights safeguards to be enforced not by the federal courts but by the federal executive branch (p.235).*

their doctrine of Nonviolence could do. Sensing this decline in his personal influence for some time and the shift in the mood of the Negro community to the left, King felt the need to establish himself and his program beyond the South.[53] Hence in April that year, just after the Selma struggle, he had proposed to SCLC's board that the organization should expand its activities into the North and the West. Following that meeting in Baltimore on 2 April, Ms King (B) recalls, Martin told reporters 'You can expect us in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles and Chicago ... I tell you, we will take the nonviolent movement all over the United States'(p.271).

In January 1966, King began to lay the foundation for his campaign in Chicago where his opposition was not just the sophisticated and well-integrated political machine of Mayor Richard Daley. Chicago was also the home base of Dr Joseph Harrison Jackson, pastor of Olivet Baptist Church and long-time critic of King.[54] Neverthless King

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53 *As late as 1963, Bennett (B) observes critically, King had still made no attempt to translate his appeal into a national movement (p.157).*

54 *From the very beginning of King's career to its tragic end, Dr Jackson, himself a Negro and president of 6.5 million-strong National Baptist Convention, was opposed to King and his movement. In 1960, Dr Jackson beat off an attempt by King and other civil rights-oriented ministers to oust him from office as the NBC's president. The following year, he discharged King from his post as vice president in charge of the youth division. And when King and his proteges were on their way to Albany, the National Baptist Convention was in session, but Dr Jackson turned a deaf ear to all King's pleas for help. For Jackson supported 'law and order' and was vigorously opposed to civil disobedience, militancy, demonstrations or anything which might disturb the status quo.*

rented a dilapidated, old, run-down flat for $90 a month and from the beginning of February became a part-time Chicagoan. His immediate objective in working with the city's Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations was to learn the idiosyncracies of Northern racism; formulate a list of priorities; cultivate a following and set a date for his first rally. After a preliminary assessment of the situation, in a meeting with his top aides James Bevel, Andy Young, Jesse Jackson and Hosea Williams, King decided to focus his efforts on housing and 'A Rally to End Slums and Freedom Festival' was set for 10 July at Soldier Fields Park.

On Monday 6 June, as preparations for the rally were being made, word reached King at an SCLC board meeting in Atlanta, that James Meredith, the young black man who had integrated the University of Mississippi in September 1962, had just been shot as he began his 220 mile 'March Against Fear' to test the progress of the civil rights laws in Mississippi. Meredith was taken immediately to a nearby hospital in Memphis, Tennessee where Stokely Carmichael, leader of SNNC, Floyd McKissick, director of CORE and Jim Lawson, head of SLLC's affiliate

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He had gone on record in Human Events, October 1966 as saying 'I believe the Negro has been used by persons with interests contrary to the best interests of the United States'. Hence it is not surprising to know that in 1967, Jackson replaced King as President Johnson's Negro preacher in residence. For documentation and a further substantiation of all these points, see Williams (B) pp. 54,91 and 144.


MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Danville
Winston-Salem
Greensboro
Salis-bury
Nashville
Knoxville
ARKANSAS
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
Asheville
Shelby
Charlotte
Rock Hill
Spartanburg
Greenville
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Sumter
Orangeburg
The Meredith March, 1966
Memphis
Chattanooga
Hernando
Oxford
51
Huntsville
Gadsden
Clarks-dale
Grenada
Mississippi
GEORGIA
Greenwood
Birmingham
Anniston
Atlanta
Augusta
Greenville
MISSISSIPPI
Yazoo City
Philadelphia
Canton
Tuscaloosa
ALABAMA
Marion
Selma
Montgomery
Tuskegee
Meridian
Vicksburg
55
Jackson
Savannah
McIntosh
Natchez
Laurel
Hattiesburg
Albany
Dorchester Center
Dothan
McComb
The Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Brunswick
Atlantic Ocean
Bogalusa
Mobile
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
Baton Rouge
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
Panama City
Pensacola
St. Augustine
New Orleans
Gulf of Mexico
Daytona Beach
Locations of major civil rights activity
Montgomery

in Memphis, met King and together they went to comfort and confer with Meredith. In a brief meeting held in Meredith's room, the four men decided that they should - and would - continue Meredith's march, a march that would revolutionize the movement.[55]

Headquarters were set up at Lawson's Centenary Methodist Church and the next morning King, Carmichael and McKissick drove to the spot where Meredith was shot to begin their march down Highway 51 toward Jackson, Mississippi. They were followed by a couple of state Highway Patrol cars, but 'the creative tension they induced along the highway was second only to the tension that was developing among the triumvirate itself', Lomax writes in Lincoln (B):

> McKissick and Carmichael objected to the presence of white sympathizers who wanted to join the march; Martin, of course, insisted upon an integrated march. But this was not the gut issue; as they marched deeper into Mississippi the three men became absorbed in a debilitating argument over the basic philosophy that would undermine the civil rights movement from that point forward. The group marched into Greenwood, Mississippi, where hundreds had gathered in a local park for a rally. And it was there that Carmichael mounted the platform and issued his now famous and rasping call for "black power!"

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[55] *Though Meredith recovered enough to join the group for the final day's march from Tougaloo College to the State Capital in Jackson and witnessed Martin address the largest turnout of black people ever gathered in Mississippi, it seems the whole experience left him bitter enough to tell Williams (B) some years later: 'The march started after I was shot and because I was shot ... Everybody knew I was going on the walk before I went. Not only did no one go, nobody mentioned it. Then Stokely Carmichael's stature increased as a result of the march, also McKissick, but Carmichael's mostly. But I was the central figure in the whole thing' (pp.94-5).*

> Later Carmichael was to confess that he raised the issue during the march to get national attention; then he added, "Martin, I deliberately raised the issue here to force you to take a stand for black power."[56]
>
> Martin smiled dryly and then commented, "I have been used before; one more time will not hurt."
>
> Perhaps it did not hurt, but Martin Luther King was to spend the remainder of his life and all of his energies attempting to combat the forces unleashed by Carmichael's strident call for "black power".[57]
> To counteract these rioting forces, Martin determined to lead a "poor people's" march on Washington during the spring and early summer of 1968 (pp.164-5).

But that march was scheduled more than a year after King's battle in Chicago with Mayor Daley's forces.

50,000 Chicagoans converged on Soldier's Field Park on Sunday, 10 July to hear King's demands and to follow him to City Hall. As it was Sunday, Mayor Daley was not there and the doors of City Hall were locked tight. So King nailed his demands for school integration, better municipal transportation in the black neighbourhoods,

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56 *Martin had already voiced his opposition to the slogan 'Black Power' earlier in a meeting with the other leaders of the march. There he said that he feared the term would alienate white supporters, sympathizers and financiers. As an alternative he proposed the term 'Black Equality'. It was voted down. When Martin threatened to withdraw from the march if a satisfactory decision could not be reached, the decision Carmichael violated was made that neither slogan would be used. For a clearer explanation of King's view of the origin, nature and goal of Black Power see VII Power 8 in Chapter IV, 'The Kaleidoscopic King'.*

57 *Since the centre of gravity in the Negro community had shifted from New York's lower Manhattan, the NAACP, the Urban League and the bureaucrats to the South, Atlanta and King, the SCLC, SNNC and CORE with the Montgomery boycott of 1955, Martin had been the prism through which the nation had viewed the racial struggle, the civil rights movement. All deference and homage were shown pre-eminently, if not exclusively, to him. But after the Meredith march, Lewis (B) reminds us, 'the cameras of mobile television units had no place for nonviolent leaders ... the media yielded to a monopoly of ... the Black Power militants' (p.356).*

more low rent housing units and careful monitoring of the policies and practices of financial lending institutions,[58] to the door. At a meeting held the following morning with a representative cross-section of Chicago's community leaders, Daley flatly rejected all of the group's demands.

That night as Martin and Coretta were dining with Mahalia Jackson and a crowd was assembling to discuss the march planned in protest against Daley's decision, rioting began near the church where their meeting was to be held. Police caused the initial commotion trying to stop kids in the sweltering summer heat from using water from the fire hydrants to cool themselves off. The kids retaliated by throwing rocks and breaking a few windows. The police responded with greater force and for nearly two weeks there were sporadic outbursts of violence, fuelled largely by police harassment and the Negro's aggravated desire to eradicate his daily poverty, humiliation, powerlessness and despondency.

After all the violence had subsided, King led another march on 5 August. This one was through the Gage Park section of Chicago's South-west Side where

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58 *In the United States there is a practice by which lending institutions attempt to control the residents, renovations and ownership of certain sections of a town by exercising discriminatory practices toward people who live in that district. Because real estate brokers, mortgage companies and banks tend to circle this area on the map with a red line the practice has become known as 'Redlining a District'. This is what King and SCLC wanted a more careful monitoring of.*

his nonviolent platoon was greeted by crowds of angry whites, - members of the American Nazi Party and 'Komrades' of the Ku Klux Klan - hurling bricks and calling for black blood. King planned another march through Al Capone's former town of Cicero, Illinois for 28 August. But two days before, fearing for the fate of the marchers, Chicago's Commission on Religion and Race called a conference of Mayor Daley, Archbishop John Cody, representatives of Chicago's Real Estate Board and Housing Authority and a number of local black leaders. A summit agreement was reached. Martin described it as 'most significant' but knew it was a defeat.[59] The students called it a 'sell-out', and all agree that it was never implemented. But, as Williams (B) explains, Chicago was a 'strange

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[59] *'Indeed', Lewis (B) writes, ' a review of the accomplishments of the SCLC in Chicago, after the Summit Agreement, were not impressive. Fewer than two thousand families had organized into tenants' unions and compelled landlords to recognize them officially and to make firm commitments. An SCLC-sponsored union-to-end-slums rent strike, lasting six months, achieved concessions for six hundred tenants in the Lawndale section of the city. Two grocery corporations, Hi-Low and National Tea, agreed to carry products of black corporations and to deposit in black banks the income from their stores located in the ghetto. These accomplishments, although symbolically impressive, left the surface of the problem barely scratched. Moreover, the labors of the SCLC staff in organizing a political machine in the ghetto aborted miserably. It was only in the wake of the July chaos that the readiness of the national business community to invest in the ghetto made it propitious for Martin's Chicago lieutenant, Reverend Jesse Jackson, to announce that Operation Breadbasket, focusing on jobs, would henceforth be a national undertaking.' (p.366)*

campaign'.[60] From beginning to end, Daley insisted that nothing was wrong with Chicago. Then he shared the rostrum with King when the final agreement was announced. Why?[61]

Following his charades in Chicago, Martin came under increasing pressure from both blacks and whites who argued that it was no longer possible to stage a non-violent march in America. By early 1967, he had dropped out of the Gallup Poll's top ten most admired leaders and the most crucial issue facing the nation was no longer civil rights but the escalating war in Vietnam. In keeping with the Zeitgeist, Martin summarised the

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[60] *It 'was doomed from the onset', Lomax (B) writes. 'By making a national public issue of the plight of Chicago's Negroes, Martin was on the verge of exposing not only a corrupt political system but the influence of the underworld in ghetto economic life. In Chicago, Martin found himself fighting 'The System', that powerful combination of exploitation merchants, corrupt politicians and amoral gangsters who would not yield power to the nonviolent and the civilized.' Contrary to Lomax's (B) claim, however, Chicago was not Martin's first and last campaign outside the South (p.171). Halberstam (B) reminds us that in the late spring and early summer of 1967, shortly after King published his fourth book, Where Do We Go From Here, there was the campaign in Cleveland, Ohio. A city much smaller than Chicago, with a Mayor Ralph Locher who was putatively not as smart as Daley, but here too the economic and political forces of racism defeated and foiled King's nonviolent assault, despite his alliance with the city's Black Nationalists and white liberals (pp.190-3).*

[61] *If Daley was the 'master strategist', Johnston (B) describes, who, to 'disarm adversaries ..., would out-promise them, out-maneuver them, charm them and then cow them' (p.218) then could we have expected him to have concluded the campaign any other way? It certainly began with Daley making King's arrival in Chicago a major event complete with newspaper men, television cameras and a welcoming speech just for him. (See Johnston (B) pp.224-5 for King and Daley's final dialogue).*

history of the United States' involvement in Vietnam and proposed a five-point programme[63] to bring this 'nightmarish conflict' to an end, before an overflowing crowd at New York's Riverside Church on 4 April 1967.

The immediate reaction to Martin's 'Time to Break Silence' speech was universally negative. The Washington Post said 'Dr King had done a grave injury and diminished his usefulness to his

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[62] *See Chapter IV 'The Kaleidoscopic King' XXV Vietnam 4 'Six Crucial Facts about the War'.*

[63] *See Chapter I 'The King of Peace' p.39 for an enumeration of these five points.*

[64] *This was not the first time King had spoken out against the war. In 1965, shortly after returning from Oslo with the Nobel Prize, Rowan (B) reminds us, he had begun addressing this aspect of US foreign policy and called for immediate negotiations. In July of that year, he told a crowd in Los Angeles that 'the issues of racial justice, poverty and war are inextricably bound together'. And when certain advisers of his expressed their doubts about the wisdom of linking these three issues, Martin retorted: 'One cannot just be concerned with civil rights. It is very nice to drink milk at an unsegregated counter but not when it has strontium 90 in it.' In August he said he was going to write President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam and the leaders of South Vietnam, the Soviet Union and America in an effort to bring the war to the conference table. Finally in September, he called on the chief US delegate to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, to seat Communist China in the UN, halt the American air strikes in North Vietnam and negotiate with the Vietcong (p.215). A phone call from President Johnson and a private meeting with Ambassador Goldberg, Halberstam (B) says, convinced him then that he should confine his comments to the civil rights arena for he was not an expert on foreign policy. So, feeling a little embarrassed and guilty, having been told it wasn't a Negro's place to speak out on Vietnam, Martin quietened down (pp.206-7). But speaking that evening in 1964 with all 'the humility of his limited vision' as the Co-Chairman of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About the Vietnam War, before those assembled in Riverside Church that evening, was a very different King, a King who, in Lewis' (B) estimation, 'reveals a political maturity and courage possessed by no other civil rights leader and ... unexpressed by the great majority of national political leaders'(p.350)..*

cause, his country and his people: the Detroit News said he was risking 'his credentials as a civil rights leader on the questionable merits of his foreign policy statement' Life Magazine said he went beyond 'his personal right to dissent' when he connected progress and civil rights with a proposal that amounts to abject surrender in Vietnam and a suggestion that youths become conscientious objectors rather than serve in the armed forces. And 'one by one', 'Martin's traditional allies' began 'deserting him',[65] Lewis (B) writes (p.357). Dr Ralph Bunche stated that Martin 'should positively and publicly

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[65] *An example of one such desertion was 'embarrassingly manifest at a fund-raising banquet in Great Neck, New York' writes Lewis (B) (p.358) in a story better told by Halberstam (B). In early March ... 'King, Witney Young of the Urban League and John Morsell of the NAACP had appeared for an evening of speeches, questions and answers. The subject of Vietnam came up, and King was asked how he felt. He answered with a relatively mild criticism of the war, the morality of it, and what it was doing to America. Young was asked the same question and he dissented. There was the other war here in the ghettos, and that was the war the Urban League was fighting; he as an individual couldn't speak for the Urban League, but then he made his personal stand clear: communism had to be stopped just as Hitler should have been stopped in World War II. As the evening was breaking up, Young and King got into a brief but very heated argument. Young told King that his position was unwise since it would alienate the President, and they wouldn't get anything from him. King angrily told him, "Whitney, what you're saying may get you a foundation grant, but it won't get you into the kingdom of truth." Young angrily told King that he was 'interested in the ghettos, and King was not. "You're eating well," Young said. King told Young that was precisely why he opposed the war, because of what it was doing to the ghettos. The argument, with a number of people still standing around, was so heated that King's lawyer quickly broke it up. Afterwards King felt badly about having spoken so angrily in public, and telephoned Young to apologise. They talked for more than an hour, failing of course to resolve their very basic differences (p.206).*

give up one role or the other', that of civil rights leader or that of international conciliator. Carl T. Rowan, the black former Ambassador to Finland and Chief of the United States Information Agency, termed Martin's decision to merge civil rights and peace 'tragic'. Bayard Rustin, strategist, tactician and organizer of Martin's 1963 March on Washington insisted that the spill-over of civil rights into international diplomacy would cripple the progress of black citizens. And the national headquarters of both the NAACP and the Urban League went on record as deploring Martin's conjunction of civil rights with the war in South-East Asia.

But even as King's influence and popularity was falling in some quarters it was rising in others, thanks to the efforts of one of his top lieutenants, Reverend James Bevel,[66] who had been granted a year's leave of absence from SCLC to devote his energies full-time to the recruitment of black youths for an anti-war front.

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[66] *Halberstam notes: 'The far-left groups who organized the peace march recruited Bevel because they wanted King'... 'They wanted King because they wanted a mass basis; they already had the automatics, the pacifists, their very own, but they wanted a broader constituency. As one peace organizer said, "There were a lot of people we felt wanted to come in on this, you know, good-hearted Americans for whom someone like King would make it easier, be a good umbrella... we could say, Look here, we've got King, and it makes them all breathe easier. They think, Why it's all right, it's safe"... 'King had seemed interested himself, but very slightly so. They contacted Bevel and they found he was interested, and ended up coming to their meetings. "Then the question was," one of them said, "could he deliver King? He said he could and he promised, but weeks went by and no King. We began to wonder. Then finally he came through. (pp.204-5).*

And contrary to the predictions of Stanley Levison,[67] King's long-standing friend, legal adviser and fund-raiser, SCLC revenues increased after each of King's statements on the war. Eleven days after his Riverside address, Martin appeared in New York with A.J.Muste, Dr Benjamin Spock, Floyd McKissick, Stokely Carmichael and others to address a group of more than 125,000 demonstrators who had marched from the city's Central Park to the United Nations Building in protest against the war. Clearly Martin's speech that day was not in the category of his August 1963 'I Have A Dream' speech, writes Lewis (B), but by then King was much less of a dreamer (p.361). And though Halberstam (B) suggests King was 'uneasy about some of his new' allies (p.187) such as Dr Spock and William Sloan Coffin, Chaplain of Yale University, the oration he received, after movingly describing the indiscriminate American devastation of life and property in Vietnam and the double burden this placed on America's own poor and black, was no less thunderous.

From New York, after a brief stop-over in Cleveland, King went to Berkeley, California, as part of the

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67 *Levison, according to Schlessinger (D) pp. 381-9, was the basis for Hoover and the FBI's claim that SCLC had been infiltrated by the Communists. In the interest of the organization, Levison at one time left the SCLC but later was invited back by King personally. Hoover's charge was never substantiated, but it is strange that Levison's name does not appear in the works of Stang, Lokos or Reeder - or any of the writers in Chapter I, pp.32-44), who alleged that King had some overt or covert relationship with Communism.*

Spring Mobilization against the war. There students greeted him with election posters calling for a King-Spock presidential ticket. But even as Martin was declining their quixotic offer and coming to the realization that civil rights could never again be the sole focus of his public concerns, riots were breaking out in Mississippi, New Jersey, Michigan.[68] To counter-act this increasing trend toward violence, Martin declared: 'Nonviolent protest must now mature to a new level (corresponding) to heightened black impatience and stiffened white resistance'. This new level is 'mass civil disobedience'.[69] Then at an SCLC meeting in Atlanta, King the dreamer presented what Lewis (B) terms 'his final positive prophylactic' (p.371) to avert a racial holocaust - a Poor Peoples March (PPM) in Washington D.C. to take place in April 1968.

The plan was bold and its stratagem imaginative. Its four-fold aim was to secure (1) a 12 billion dollar economic bill of rights guaranteeing employment to all those able to

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68 *Casualties from these 1967 riots were: 10-11 May - one black student dead in Jackson, Mississippi; twenty-three people dead and 725 injured in Newark, New Jersey 12-17 July; and forty-three dead with another 324 injured in the worst riots of the century in Detroit, Michigan from 23-30 of July.*

69 *The 'disinherited people all over the world', wrote King, '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' (p.53 TOC).*

work (2) viable income to all those unable to work (3) an end to discrimination in housing and (4) rigorous enforcement of the nation's statutes, which called for integrated education by recruiting squadrons of non-violent volunteers from the American cities and five rural districts and bringing them to Washington D.C. to lobby in both Houses of Congress and the Cabinet's Headquarters. 'Despite the continued opposition of his top advisers - Bayard Rustin, Michael Harrington and others, - Lewis (B) writes, 'At the January planning session in New York', King virtually forced the SCLC board to acquiesce to this new campaign (p.373). But 'the SCLC leadership was not at all sure that the second march on Washington would not be counter-productive', Lewis (B) continues. Thus before 'the final plan was completed in mid-February, Martin summoned a January meeting of ministers in Miami, Florida, to obtain their official sanction. They voted to follow their leader' (p.369), though many pondered the wisdom of congregating so many black and poor people in the nation's capital while others obviously wished to be excused from this commitment.[70]

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70 *Lomax (B) tells us of one man who did excuse himself from this commitment, Bayard Rustin, choreographer of King's 1963 March on Washington. 'Rustin took to the floor of the Miami meeting called by King', and bluntly told the black clergymen assembled that Martin no longer had the power to lead such a prolonged nonviolent protest. Rustin flatly refused to direct the protest march and then called a press conference to tell all the world that he was not associated with the project' (p.174). Williams (B) presents in its entirety on pages 110-112, Rustin's pre-segregation memo to King detailing what he thought the 'Strategy and Tactics, Aims and Objectives' of PPM should be.*

As the finishing touches were being put to King's plan on Lincoln's birthday, 12 February 1968, a strike was called by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employers Local 1733 in Memphis, Tennessee. Local 1733 was a union of sanitation workers, 90% of whom were black and 80% of whom were then being paid $1.70 per hour, a mere 10c above the minimum wage. Naturally, the workers were seeking a better wage, but more importantly they were seeking recognition as a legitimate bargaining unit. Henry Loeb, Mayor of Memphis, conceded the union's demands for a hospital and insurance programme as well as a pension fund. But he refused to sign a written agreement and rejected its three major demands for a 10% wage increase over the next two years; payroll deduction of union dues and official recognition as the exclusive bargaining unit. The members of Local 1733 found the Mayor's position totally unacceptable and began to enlist the support of the local NAACP, Negro clergymen and black community. All of this failed to gain the immediate attention of King who was flying about the country trying to mobilize support for his PPM and stopped long enough in New York to pay tribute to Dr W.E.B.DuBois at the Freedomways Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of his birth, on 23 February.

During the first four weeks of the strike, writes Lewis:

> the city officials generally remained a jump ahead of the strikers, whose invasion of city hall, light skirmishes with the police, and marches down Main Street were ignored by the white citizens and finally enjoined by the chancery court. Through the use of nonunion workers escorted by police, garbage collection was re-established on a regular basis in white neighbourhoods. Jerry Wurf, national president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, arrived in the city and defied the injunction on marches, as did Tom Powell, head of the Memphis AFL-CIO Central Labor Council (pp.378-9).

The ministers, led by Dr Ralph Jackson, an African Methodist Episcopalian prelate and the Reverend James Lawson grasped the broader political potential of the garbage strike and set about organizing community support for it. On 18 March, Lawson, as head of SCLC's affiliate in Memphis, phoned King and asked him to aid the members of Local 1733 by leading their March demonstration.[71] Knowing the April PPM was as much of a class war as a racial struggle and hoping to galvanize support for his

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[71] *Reflecting an unprecedented organizational ability (p.175), Lomax (B) notes, 'Memphis did appear to offer the classic preconditions for a desperately needed nonviolent victory'. Lewis (B) concludes: 'Desegregation had been superficial. The mayor was widely disliked by the black community. This was Southern terrain where ministerial leadership was respected and where the reactions of black people - middle class or poor - fell within the range of manipulable predictability. "We Shall Overcome" was still sung in Memphis and there was no coalition of CORE and SNCC to shout down those gentle lyrics' (p.379). But again things aren't always what they seem. The city's Negro community was certainly inspired and united by the death of its two black garbage men Jake Snipes and Harry Sylvester, who were accidentally crushed in the shaft of a garbage truck as they tried to get out of the rain. See Johnston (B) (pp.255-57). But it was far from unanimous about what it wanted to do.*

own campaign, King agreed, despite the advice of his colleagues Bernard Lee and Andy Young, who argued that Memphis was not an integral part of the Poor People's Campaign.

By the time Martin arrived in Memphis, the movement already had some six thousand supporters, but 'there were unmistable signs of trouble', (p.176) Lomax (B) notes. Members of a gang known as the Invaders had maneuvered their way onto the planning committee and openly proposed that the march be turned into a violent demonstration. Martin's men advanced the case for Non-violence and won in a ballot. But by now the stage was set. As marchers gathered at Clayborn Temple, members of the Invaders and other more militant black youths congregated on the periphery. Before King could lead the demonstrators a few yards, he was shoved from behind and a group of jeering youths stormed ahead of him, smashing store windows, turning their picket signs into weapons and looting both clothing and liquor stores. As the police moved in rocketing tear gas and flailing their billy clubs, King was rushed off into a white Pontiac and sped away to safety. The rioting lasted three hours; sixty were injured, more than one hundred and fifty arrested and one person was killed.[72]

72

Three thousand eight hundred National Guardsmen were called in to impose a dusk-to-dawn curfew. But 'this display of police and military power', Lewis (B) observes, contrasted peculiarly with the limited amount of property damage. Less than a hundred store windows were broken and only about sixty businesses reported loss of any merchandise, the great majority of it taken from display windows. (And) by all accounts, the police were more indiscriminately violent than were the small numbers of looters (p.382).

President Johnson appeared on television three times that evening to denounce the violence as senseless and inexcusable. From New York, Adam Clayton Powell suggested Martin might better be called 'Martin Loser King', while Roy Wilkins recommended that the April Poor Peoples March be cancelled. At a press conference that evening, before leaving Memphis, Martin invoked all his oratorial talents to draw a clear line of distinction between the conduct of the marchers and that of the militant interlopers.[73] But doubt and speculation grew concerning his ability to ever lead another nonviolent march. Dejected and depressed, Martin knew Nonviolence was on trial in Memphis and, determined to revalidate his own leadership credentials, he vowed to return the following week.

On Wednesday 3 April Martin returned to Memphis and learned that the city had been granted a federal injunction against any further demonstrations. 'We are not going to be stopped by mace or injunctions', he told the press. 'We stand on the First Amendment'. 'In the past, on the basis of conscience, we have had to break injunctions and if necessary we (still) may do it'. And that night he told the people in

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73 *Andrew Young did not believe in the conventional militancy that was given as an excuse for disrupting (this) Memphis march, writes Johnston (B), (p.263) ...'much of the militancy that had been used against King ... had been too well organized ... the disruption had been too well organized. He knew the people involved (and) they were not capable of that kind of orchestration' (p.265). In an inquisition of three of the interlopers before a planned second march, one of them, George King, confessed that they had been paid by the FBI. Later his friend Louis, whose last name is not given, also confessed and added 'they had them in a lot of demonstrations; I'm not the only one!' (p.266).*

Memphis' Mason Temple:

> I don't know what will happen now. But it really doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountain top, I won't mind ... I'm not concerned ... now. I just want to do God's will ... and ... I want you to know this evening that we, as a people, are going to get to the promised land. So I'm happy tonight. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

Most of Thursday 4 April was spent in Room 306 of the Lorraine Motel, planning the Monday demonstration. Lewis (B)[74] writes: 'The Invaders sent word that they were sticking to their agreement, and Martin was nerving himself to defy a federal injunction for the first time. He had accepted a dinner invitation from Reverend Samuel Kyles that evening. Slightly more than 205 feet across from Lorraine Motel, there is a seedy transient hotel, located at 422½ South Main Street. At 3.15 pm according to the sign-in sheet, a man calling himself John Willard rented Room 5B overlooking the balcony of Martin's room at the Lorraine. Approximately one hour later, he purchased a pair of Bushnell binoculars and took them to his room, along with a Remington 30.06 telescopic rifle and a box of soft-point bullets. Next to Willard's room was a bathroom whose window granted an almost unobstructed sight of Martin's balcony.

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74 *In Chapter 1 p.22, 'The King of Peace' argues that David Lewis' King: A Critical Biography is a study unrivalled in detail, scope, scholarship or literary style. From the page and a half description of King's last day (quoted here) and its short explanation of King's failure in Chicago (fn.59 this chapter) and the machinations behind Martin's Birmingham victory (fn.36 this chapter), it is easy to see why.*

Slightly off to the side was a tree whose foliage, but for the unusual Memphis weather, might have partially obstructed the view of the Lorraine. If Martin King were to appear on his balcony, an assassin would easily be able to fire on him.

Shortly before 6 pm, Solomon Jones, Jr., a chauffeur for a prominent black mortician, arrived at the Lorraine to drive the civil rights leader to the Kyles residence. Martin was almost ready but could not find his favourite tie. Ralph pointed to a chair: "There is it, Martin". Martin knotted the tie around the collar of the shirt that Ralph had carefully washed that same day. He joked with Kyles about his wife's ability to prepare soul food. Referend Kyles reassured him; his wife knew the traditional recipes. Martin pushed aside the plate-glass sliding door and stepped outside onto his balcony. The party would have left the hotel minutes sooner, but Ralph wanted time to sprinkle himself with his favourite toilet water. His friend waited on the balcony. In the courtyard below were the chauffeur, Jones, Jesse Jackson, Andy Young, and Ben Branch, a local musician. "Do you know Ben?" Jesse asked. "Yes", Martin said, doing a superb job of appearing to slide into a mood of folksy comradeship. "Ben, be sure and sing 'Precious Lord, Take My Hand'," he requested. After the dinner there was to be another church rally. "Sing it real pretty", he added. Solomon Jones shouted up to him to wear his top coat. It was chilly. "OK, I will".

The sound of the shot was so loud that James Laue, who had room 308 at the Lorraine, thought initially that it must have come from the tarpaulin-covered swimming pool in the courtyard. He had just tuned in the TV to the national news when he heard the shot. Andy and Ralph were already leaning over Martin, who was on his back, one leg caught in the balcony railing. Blood gushed from a facial wound three inches in diameter. "Martin, Martin, it's Ralph", his alter ego kept repeating. But already the flow of blood had ceased, exposing several layers of tissue. Laue looked at his watch. It was 6.08 pm... Martin King was dead before he reached the hospital'.

III

THE CHRISTOCENTRIC KING

A nation interprets its present experience in terms of key events in its past... The center of memory for the Christian Community is the person of Christ. His life... illumines the rest of experience. The principle and purpose of the universe is embodied in Him. In confrontation with Christ, man comes to a new understanding of God and himself. (For) the cross reveals God's universal love, everywhere expressed though not everywhere recognized. And the power of reconciliation in Christ's life is the power of reconciliation in all human life.

- Barbour

THE COSMOSOPHY OF A DREAM: AN ANALYSIS AND EXPOSITION OF THE INTRINSIC UNITY AND FUNDAMENTAL TENETS OF HIS BASIC RELIGIOUS, METAPHYSICAL, MORAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL THINKING

With the now famous 'I have a Dream' speech he delivered to the 250,000 people at the March on Washington on 28 August 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. succeeded in bringing his philosophy before one of the largest crowds ever assembled in America.[1] The aim of this chapter is to explain the cosmosophy of that Dream by unraveling the intrinsic unity and expounding the fundamental tenets of King's basic religious, metaphysical, moral and socio-political thinking.

To begin with, it should be said that Martin Luther King, Jr. was neither a political theoristnor a philosophical purist. As noted in Chapter I and described in Chapter II, he was basically an ordained minister and trained theologian who was thrust into the additional roles of a political activist and a social analyst. As a result, he became a

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[1] *Although Zepp's (B) pp.293 reviews Lewis' (B) and Miller's (B) comments on the origin and composition of King's 'Dream Speech' and all three men agree that King had delivered portions of it earlier that year on the Freedom Walk in Detroit, this has little bearing on either this assertion or this chapter for two reasons. First of all the Detroit audience was considerably smaller than the Washington crowd. And secondly, we are not analysing this speech qua speech but analysing the philosophy or cosmosophy on which it rests.*

philosophical eclectic,[2] an eclectic whose eclectism became little more than the intellectual foundation and semantic instrument for formulating and expressing his interpretation of the Christian faith and providing an *ad hoc* rather than systematic explanation[3] of the various principles, policies and creeds which shaped and guided his political actions.[4] While he was a student at Crozer

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[2] *King's eclectism is not just confined to his dovetailing of Christ's doctrine of Love with Gandhi's tactics of Nonviolence. It also reveals itself in his arguments on the nature of faith, integration, the types of obligations, the end of man, the problem of segregation, the right to disobey unjust laws, the essence of democracy and culprit of the riots where he quoted St Paul (XIV, 5a-b), John Killen (XIX, 2a-b), Harry Emerson-Fosdick (IV, 5), St Augustine (V, 2), Martin Buber (XVIII, 6), Thomas Aquinas (IV, 7b) Cicero (VII, 6), and Victor Hugo (XXII, 8c) respectively. [To avoid duplicating in this chapter any passage used in Chapter IV's systematic textual exegesis of King's 25 Key ideas, a citation policy has been adopted to refer to the specific passage in 'The Kaleidoscopic King (Chapter IV) which illustrates or substantiates the arguments being advanced here. Thus the numbers in parenthesis following each of these writers names gives the specific passage in 'the Kaleidoscopic King' where King invoked them to explain an idea of his own. In example, the (IV, 5) after the name of Harry Emerson-Fosdick means if you turn to idea IV, passage 5 you will find King quoting. For brevity, 'The Kaleidoscopic King' will hereafter be referred to as KK.]*

[3] *As early as 1954 when King was completing his doctorate and applying for jobs, he realized (see Chapter II p.93) that his choice was between pastoral work and academia. He deliberately chose pastoral work vowing to satisfy his fondness for scholarship later. Had life been so kind as to grant him his three-score years and ten, perhaps we would have a few volumns of King's systematically and more elaborately explaining most of his ideas examined here and in Chapter IV.*

[4] *Chapter IV pp.207-208 contains a classification of King's writings according to their various aims and purposes.*

Theological Seminary and Boston University, his thoughts were greatly influenced by the ideas of Walter Rauschenbusch, Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, Henry Nelson Wieman, Gandhi, Thoreau, Edgar S. Brightman, Hegel and others.[5] And in this respect, King's attempt to deal with the nature of man, the universe, society and God and the role of religion, love and the church in bringing the four together, must be seen as a fragmented theological response to Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis, Niebuhr's Moral Man in an Immoral Society and Harvey Cox's Christianity in a Secular Society. But in broader philosophic and political terms, his thought should be seen as an alternative to Marxism, Communism and Capitalism and an attempt to establish the philosophical and political foundations of a 'socially conscious democracy'[6] on the

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5 *Much has been written about the influence each of these men has had on King in Zepp's (B) The Intellectual Sources of the Ethical Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.; Smith's (B) 'An Exegesis of Martin Luther King's Social Philosophy' and Rathburn's (B) 'Martin Luther King: Theology of Social Action'. In addition to what has already been said in Chapter II concerning King's days at Crozer and Boston University, more will be said later in this chapter. For King's own statements about the influence each of these men had on his thought, consult the passages in KK indexed (pp.335-341) under each of their names.*

6 *See KK XIV 3c.*

basis of a Christocentric Personalism and doctrine of Realistic Pacifism.[7]

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7 *Opinions concerning the originality of King's thought are as varied and conflicting as those concerning whether he was a philosopher or a theologian. Lewis (B) for example argues that King 'was not an original philosopher'. Though he was of 'a tolerant cast of mind, his intellectual range was, in fact, narrow... (and) much of his philosophical intelligence partial and impressionistic'. Admitting that he was 'highly sensitive'... 'competent scholastically' and even 'capable of insight bordering on genius', Lewis (B) concludes that 'his intelligence was essentially derivative' (p.44-5). Miller (B) on the other hand contends that though 'King's religious thought was remarkably cliche-ridden... and appears pedestrian and out of tune with the lively interests of contemporary discourse in theology, social theory and other subjects... a structure of insights - original or not - remains... that is distinctively Martin Luther King, Jr.' (p.285). Steinkraus (B) maintains that 'King's wedding of Personalism and Nonviolence in both theory and practice is virtually original in the development of American Personalism' (p.103). And Richardson (B) argues that King's 'creative proposals for dealing with the structure of evil and profound understanding of the way in which structures of evil drive men to act evilly... gave his theology a critical focus that is duplicated nowhere else on the contemporary scene'. Similarly, his 'stress on friendship gave his theological ethics a specificity that contrasts markedly with other contemporary options' (p.201-3). This study contends that the originality of King's thought lay less in its actual teachings of Christocentric Personalism and Realistic Pacifism because his early death prevented them from being more fully developed. Rather it lay in King's harmonious eclectism; in his borrowing from other thinkers both Christian and non-Christian only those aspects of their thought which were compatible with a legitimate interpretation of Christ's teachings on Love, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. And in this sense King's thought is more than just derivative. One must bear in mind that a Christian theologian is less concerned with novelty or originality per se, and more concerned with finding a suitable style and apt terminology for expressing not the ephemeral systems of intellectual fashion but the enduring truth of Christ's message.*

THE INTERPENETRATION OF THE RELIGIOUS AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL THROUGH THE METAPHYSICAL

What is Christocentic Personalism? It is King's unique wedding of Christianity and Personalism.[8] The fact that King was a metaphysical Personalist has been established or discussed in each of the studies in three other chapters.[9]

But it remains for this chapter to say that in King's thinking Personalism was more than just a metaphysical response to the dualism of Kant, the idealism of Berkeley, the absolutism of Hegel or the pragmatism of James,[10] it was a philosophical interpretation of the origin, nature, purpose, function and goal of the universe, both in respect to its components and composed totality. Like Scholasticism, it was a unitary synthesis, a whole in which

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8 *'Historically various metaphysical systems have been used to express the Christian world-view', Barbour (E) reminds us. 'There are some systems that are incompatible with Christianity and others that seem more compatible, but there is no unique "Christian metaphysics" '(p.262). Ironically enough, Barbour himself writes 'In Part three (of Issues in Science and Religion) we will argue that the categories of process philosophy are consonant with the personalistic concepts of biblical religion' (p.262).*

9 *For King's affirmation of being a personalist see KK (XIV, 4).*

10 *In discussing the forerunner of American Personalism, the authors Daniel Williams and Sydney Ahlstrom write, 'The Methodist personalist, Borden Parker Bowne (1847-1910), came by way of Hegel and Lotze's idealism to a position beyond the Kantian critical philosophy'. (p.462). He began this philosophical career fittingly with a sharp criticism of the materialist evolutionist, Herbert Spencer. He then went to Germany for advanced study at Göttingen under Rudolph Herman Lotze, who is remembered for his concern for bringing the facts and methods of science and religion into a unitifed idealistic philosophical synthesis (p.288). Bowne never pretended to be a theologian.' His career was in the Philosophy Department of Boston University, where a chair is now named in his honor. 'His influence on many generations of seminarians was nevertheless great with Professors A.C. Knudson, Edgar S. Brightman, together with many other men in various Methodist seminaries making more specific doctrinal applications'. In each of their systems*

all the parts are mutually interlocked; it was a *philosophia perennis* that: (1) excluded every unacceptable form of monism and subjectivism (See fn.20), (2) solved the problems of the one and the many, individuality and specific difference, matter and spirit and God the transcendant and God the immanent, (3) established a solid basis for a rational universe and faith in a super-natural and (4) posited a final cause to explain why the multiform heterogeneous bodies which make up the universe achieve a perfect unity of interdependence in coming into existence, and why they exhibit a harmonious unity of purpose.

How did Personalism accomplish these four tasks? By postulating the five following metaphysical, epistemological, cosmological, axiological and theological features of reality.

First, Personalism contends that metaphysically reality is a unity of persons. 'The universe', writes Brightman (D_2), 'is one order of being - a personal order [11] (p.245) unified by the will and immanent causality of a supreme Self' (p.300). As such, its 'ultimate Unity is an interactive pluralism of persons who are free within

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'Bowne's characteristic emphasis (idealistic, personalist, imminen-istic value-oriented, and ethical) persisted', (p.289). See Smith and Johnson's (D) The Shaping of American Religion. For a more complete list and philosophical treatment of the major intellectual currents Personalism sought to address and provide alternatives to, see Chapters 1, 2 and 6 of Brightman's (D) Person and Reality.

11 *'What is commonly called Nature and the human organisms that are a part of it, as well as human and animal consciousness, are all in sense manifestations of one interacting order that is essentially personal. Nature has no existence of any kind apart from God. Nature is in the Divine Personality as part of its conscious experience. "All the choirs of heaven and furniture of earth"... is contained within the unity of God.'* Brightman (D_2), p. 295.

limits and whose discontinuity and interaction are sustained by the creative activity of the cosmic Continuant (p.357). The whole system of physical and organic nature, he maintains, is the active conscious will of a cosmic Person, who operates within Nature according to the norms of reason and value... Personal selves are ultimately dependent upon the will of the supreme Person, but they are no part of it (p.300).[12]

Secondly, Personalism argues that epistemologically, reality admits of a unity of truth - scientific, philosophical and religious, both reason and revelation. 'The truth is the whole' said King, quoting Brightman and

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12 *Realizing the problems one might have and conceptualizing such a universe Brightman (D_2) writes, 'There seems to be no way of picturing the constant interaction of each person with other persons or with the cosmic Person. Yet we must overcome the temptation to think of interaction in mechanical terms (p.277). 'Indeed, in this personalistic philosophy the metaphysically real is not a whole and its parts. It is not a whole of logically interconnected parts... nor is it a whole of parts mechanically combined. Both these wholes give way to a more dynamic model... the new model may be conceived as a more flexible unity of purpose - the kind of unity which exists between a cosmic Purposer and finite purposers who enjoy relative autonomy and its moral responsibilities... the unity between him and his moral creatures can be one of cooperative interaction toward the same goal. Such cooperative unity of Purposer and purpose is the ideal of interaction which a personalist substitutes for the ultimate static unity of an unchanging Absolute'. (p.300). This way 'Personalism... retains the separateness and dignity of all personalities, while finding profound meaning in oneness of purpose, worshipful communion and loving cooperation between God and man' (p.299).*

13 *See KK (XIV, 3b).*

not Hegel[14] and the task of the metaphysician, Brightman (D_2) argued, is 'to ransack the whole' of man's 'experience for all the light and darkness it reveals' (p.3). Just as 'the existence of God' could 'not be established independently by religious experience unsupported by other philosophical considerations',[15] for Brightman (D_2) no 'metaphysics which claims to give a full account of human experience' could 'proceed on the assumption that no insight into the structure of reality can be provided by religious experience' (p.309). Hence King writes: 'Reason devoid of the purifying power of faith, can never free itself from distortions and rationalization' (p.166 STL)

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14 *Because of King's contention that growth comes from struggle, Bennett (p.) and others have suggested that he was a 'latter-day Hegelian'. But King could only have been a Hegelian to the extent that St. Augustine was a Platonist or St. Thomas Aquinas was an Aristotelian. For King's Hegel had been Christianized by Bowne and Brightman's Personalism and it was Brightman before Hegel who introduced King to the philosophical method of rational coherence (KK XIV.3a). For when Bowne and Brightman like Lotze wrote the 'truth is the whole', their aim was to provide the foundation for a synthesis of philosophy and religion, reason and revelation. This was not Hegel's objective. Moreover, anyone familiar with King's writings would have to agree that Hegel's greatest contribution to King was his 'dialectical' manner of thinking, his constantly speaking in terms of 'both-and', 'yes-and-no', his manner of combining apparent opposite and conflicting points of view. This is a feature King shared with Reinhold Niebuhr and is best illustrated in his arguments on the Communist-Capitalist debate (XIV,3b-c), the nature of the Negro (XX, 17a), the nature of man (II, 5) and the best method available to the Negro to obtain integration (IV, 13a) and freedom (XX, 9c).*

15 *For how can a God who is 'separated either from nature or the rest of experience and history', Brightman (D_2) asks, 'claim the whole heart and mind of man, let alone be understood' as the ground of all being'? (p.309).*

and while:

> There is a widespread belief that there is a conflict between science and religion... this is not true... their respective worlds are different and their methods are dissimilar. Science investigates: religion interprets. Science gives man knowledge which is power, religion gives man wisdom which is control. Science deals mainly with facts: religion deals mainly with values. The two are not rivals. They are complimentary. Science keeps religion from sinking into the valley of crippling irrationalism and paralyzing obscurantism. Religion prevents science from falling into the marsh of obsolete materialism and moral nihilism. (p. 4 STL)[16]

Thirdly, Personalism contends that cosmologically Nature is 'one realm of Experience within the mind of God.' This "natural" realm is the continued basis for the interaction and intercommunication persons actually find possible. In and through this realm, the volition of God works actively for increase of value experience through the ages.[17] God has been creating new orders of energizing within himself as he sought to transform the "passive Given"[18] in nature in accordance with his norms of value. The telic processes, the interrelations

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[16] *An excellent comparative analysis of roles, methods, models and relationship of science and religion and a survey of the various theological positions thereon can be found in Chapters 5,6,8 and 9 of Barbour's work. Page 126 contains a good summary of the position held by L. Harold DeWolf, King's doctoral dissertation supervisor.*

[17] *Bear in mind that a Christian philosophy of history is essentially temporalistic if the ongoing of history reveals God and a drama in which there is real action and real progress. 'A bow of promises', writes Brightman (D_2), derives its meaning from its relation to the flood it precedes. The divine immanence in history can only be understood if time is real for God (p.325). For King's view of history as the struggle between good and evil see KK (X, 2all).*

[18] *"The Given", Brightman explains, its one term for a complex situation (p.349), 'It consists of the eternal, uncreated laws of reason... the equally eternal uncreated processes of non-rational consciousness which exhibit all the ultimate qualities*

between the orders of nature, the struggle in cosmic and biological evolution to make possible a world in which minds could interact and communicate with each other, the constant promptings in men to discipline themselves by the vision of mutual respect and forgiving love as part of their fellowship in a creating-created world - 'this total undertaking' Brightman writes, 'is the work of the cosmic Person whose very nature it is to will increase in value everywhere and under all conditions' (p.365-6). According to Brightman Nature must be seen as 'the best instrument thus far forged to help persons grow. In it 'the divine purposes operate consistently... allowing persons freedom, within limits, to realize potential good and evil...'. What happens to them of course depends in large part upon 'their willingness to cooperate with each other and the God who moves in nature and in human life in accordance with his rational and valuational norms (p.297).[19]

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of sense objects... and whatever in God is the source of surd evil. The common characteristic of all that is "given" is, first that it is eternal within the experience of God and hence had no origin other than God's eternal being; and secondly, that it is not the product of will or created activity... Thus the Given is on one hand, God's instrument for the expression of the aesthetic and moral purposes and, on the other hand, an obstacle to their complete perfect expression' (p.341-2).

19 *A review and critique of the major objections to this Personalist view of Nature is found on pp.251-54 of Brightman's (D_2) work.*

Fourthly, Personalism postulates that axiologically reality possesses a unity of Values or strictly speaking a unity of Norms. For 'values or value-claims', as Brightman (D_2) calls them, 'are inherently private, subjective personal experiences' which express an individual's likes or dislikes'. Whereas a norm is an ideal which experiences "requiredness". Value experiences are chronologically and psychologically prior to knowledge of norms. Past value experiences lead the mind to formulate normative ideals of values, that is a definition of what ought to be[20] (p.289). When a person proposes a norm of logic, justice, beauty or love to be true, he is asserting that it is rationally defensible as well as empirically grounded. Norms, therefore, are in some sense objective. And in what does their objectivity consists? 'Their objectivity consists in the fact that the cosmic mind[21] knows them to be norms, or, better, purposes that human beings should achieve coherent-value realization only through living in accordance with them' (p.292).

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[20] *If in Personalism values are subjective, that is my experience of justice or love can exist nowhere save in me, this doctrine of the subjectivity of values is matched by its doctrine of the objectivity of norms. Norms are not confined to the person who acknowledges them or who applies them. They are rational, universal, true for all. Indeed they are definitions of the objective teleological structure of the universe. They are imperatives of reason, and their home is wherever reason dwells, and their work is wherever persons exist. (p.294).*

[21] *'Since the norms are rational truth, it follows', Brightman contends, 'ultimately that they cannot be changed by either the human mind or the cosmic Mind. Human knowledge and application of them may be creatively and indefinitely varied.*

'The whole meaning of norms', Brightman (D_2), tells us, 'is that they shall lead to a transforming of existence, that is in their individual and social relations'. For 'they represent the vision by which men transform their lives and, when true, are in accordance with the norms in the cosmic Mind for human experience' (p.293).

Within the moral universe of the Personalist, Brightman (D_2) explains,'value designates the fact that moral choices presuppose an end to be chosen which is desired or ought to be desired', while 'obligation designates the irreducible experience of duty, - the fact that a moral person ought to choose the best possible value (p.106). And evil is of two kinds: one concerns the relative autonomy of man, the demands of the imperative norms of God (p.297) and results from man's abuse of freedom[22] (p.336). the other concerns the futilities, waste and what seem to be the cruel, irrational and unjust works of a good God in the universe (p.336). The former is explained by a theory or doctrine of multiple meaning,[23]

But norms remain the solid logical structure and validation of any possible world at any possible time. They define its possibilities and its goods. They are, to quote Whitehead, 'eternal objects' (p.292).

22 *See KK (X, 7 a-b).*

23 *According to this doctrine, Brightman (D_2) argues, the same physical event may have contradictory meanings to different minds. 'To God, the source of all beings, every physical event means law and love', 'but to man, many such events may mean lawlessness and hate'... This implies that man expresses his*

while the latter is accounted for by the doctrine of a finite-infinite God.[24]

And finally, Personalism contends that theologically - in the sense of the philosophy of religion - reality itself is a dialogue of love. 'God is the cosmic Person whose will, be it in and through nature or in every conceivable type of interaction with his world and his creatures, is governed by patient, creative love - a love which binds into new creative advances every possible value' (p.365), writes Brightman (D_2).

God is personal consciousness of eternal duration (p.341); He is the unbegun and unending Person, the source of all other duration (p.136). And his nature consists of three aspects: (1) a co-eternally active will, (2) a co-eternally rational principle and (3) a co-eternally non-rational process. According to Brightman (D_2), God is

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purposes through events of which not he, but God, is the metaphysical cause. But this does not mean that when an evil man slays a person, God's immanence in nature requires that every motion of the murderer's hand was God's deeds or God's will whose purpose is supreme value. For 'by one and the same event, man means evil, God means good, just as by a handshake between two human beings one may mean friendship and the other treachery'. The 'doctrine of multiple meanings receives its most complex and overwhelming illustration in war, the physical event which expresses the wiles of the diplomat, the patriotism of the soldier, the greed of the capitalist, the futile idealization of the poet, the fear or hope or helplessness of the common man - and the long suffering purpose of an infinitely good God' (p.296).

24 *There is no evidence' Brightmen (D_2) contends 'that power is infinite'. There is no reason to suppose 'if there is a God, he must be omnipotent and infinite in all respects... All power is under limits... If we suppose the power of God to be finite, but his will for good to be infinite, we have a reasonable*

a constant 'omnitemporal' unity[25] forever in process of creating a harmony more complete in value (p.341). He is finite in the sense that He is limited by the nature of His Being and nature of the universe.[26] He is absolute in the sense that He is the ultimate source of all creation. He is infinite in space, time duration and with respect to his will for goodness[27] and unlimited love. Yet he is not omniscient[28] (p.342).

explanation of the place of "surd" evils in the scheme of things' (p.336). But do we then have an adequate explanation of God? If there is power for evil, and it is not in the will of God (p.336), what is the basis, other than a doctrine omnipotence, for believing that God can control or contain it? Brightman himself argues that God's control of the "Given", does not mean complete determination, but it does mean that no defeat or frustration is final'. It means 'that the will of God, partially thwarted by obstacles in the chaotic Given, finds new avenues of advance and forever moves on in the cosmic creation of values' (p.342). But to me all this sounds like a new label for an old bottle of omnipotence. Perhaps this is why King himself still uses the term omnipotent. See KK (I,2).

25 *Brightman's (D_2) God is not a timeless being; he is an ever enduring creator (p.323). As a real being, a Personal being 'he must stand in in real relations to our temporal experience. He must be the ground and explanation of our time, and events in our time must make a difference to him (p.324). For to be a person is to act and endure while at the same time experiencing changeless truths in the changing processes of consciousness' (p.328). In this respect 'the God of religion, from everlasting to everlasting is a temporal being... Eternity is a function of time' (p.323). Hence rather than saying God is eternal, he says God is omnitemporal.*

26 *'When God creates', Brightman (D_2) argues, 'he has to create as a will limited both by reason and by non-rational content' (p.340). See fn. 18 in this chapter about the "Given".*

27 *God's moral goodness, Brightman maintains, consists in the fact that he created persons as free agents (within limits) who might share in the growth of value (p.322).*

28 *In Brightman's view, God does not have foreknowledge of the particular choices of free human beings. He knows all that can be known, possible and actual, but he does not know the future insofar as it is affected by the free choice of persons (p.322 fn. by Bertocci).*

Why is there something rather than nothing? Why does God create other persons if He sees that there are real evils which are ideally unjustifiable? 'The motive of creation', writes Brightman, 'is rational love... in spite of the dross of creation, (God) creates because gold may be obtained'[29] (p.340). And how is creation to be viewed? The structure of all experience and every concrete real object Brightman (D_2) continues 'is a complex which can be analysed into factors of three kinds: activity, form and content. All real being is active... every real object embodies form - that is it conforms to the laws of reason and embodies rational principles and there is a content of brute fact - the ultimate qualities of experience, the sense qualities, the pleasures and plans, the desires and impulses of experience. It is the content on which the activity operated, the matter which it has to form (p.337). From the standpoint of finistic personal idealism, Brightman (D_2) explains, the reality of the physical universe is located wholly within the conscious experience of God. Physical

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29 *One may suppose, writes Brightman (D_2) that there lay before God only two alternatives: that of creating other persons whose existence must contain irrational evils and that of not creating at all. The latter would forfeit all the values in a social universe and all the possibilities of human existence. The former would lead to the world of society as*

space-time is God's standard space-time experience; energy and force are God's will controlling and directing this experience; the sense qualities of physical things are the "content" aspect of the Given in God's experience, while the mathematical formulae of physics result from God's will that his given "content" shall be controlled by "form". Biological evolution is God's progressive, creative control of the Given (p.339).

From these five postulates it is evident that such a philosophy as Personalism is well adapted to become an interpreter of religion. But Personalism, writes Brightman (D_2) 'is not chiefly, much less exclusively, a philosophy of religion... It is an objective, truth-seeking philosophy based on the logic of empirical coherence, a synoptic method,[30] an epistemological dualism... a self-psychology and an activistic metaphysics.

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we experience it. One may well think that a good God would be willing to endure all the added suffering that would be entailed and to help humanity to endure and control it, rather than to have a universe without human values. Who would deem this choice wrong?' (p.340). Thus 'the creation of persons whose lives must contain unjustifiable evil is justified if redemption is possible. Moreover, 'unless the creator is also a redeemer... our doom is sealed. So, 'creation', Brightman (D_2) concludes, means only that God is responsible for exercising redemptive love, (p.341). But are we therefore to see redemption as necessary for God's own shortcomings or man's abuse of freedom? Brightman does not say.

30 *The personalitic method, Brightman writes, is an empiricism which recognizes the demands of reason and of experiential*

(And) its 'position on these and other controverted points... is based on a reasoned investigation of the problems and not a desire - conscious or unconscious to defend religion' (p.301). But indeed this was the primary function Personalism served in King's philosophy[31] and King added just one postulate,- albeit the most crucial postulate from a theological point of view,- to these five to make the intrinsic unity of his Christian cosmosophy complete.

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fact; of descriptive fact and of value, of part and of whole. It is both deductive and inductive, both rational and empirical. It starts with personal experience raw and moves to personal experience reinterpreted and growing toward rational wholeness (p.33). Each synoptic hypothesis guesses about the whole that is revealed in our experience (p.30)' it is then tested. The criterion of truth must then be the empirical coherence. A hypothesis is to be accepted as true if in the light of it more than any other hypothesis, the actual data of experience and the problem from them can be explained'. Thus, empirical (coherence) reasoning does not make experience more connected or less connected than it is, any more than it changes the qualities of sensedata or value data. It attempts a hypothesis which, without denying or distorting what is given in quality or relation, helps us to further relate them to each other in order to reduce mystery. (p.345).

31 *And why not, when Brightman himself wrote in Religious Values (New York; Abingdon Press 1925) 'Religion is metaphysical; it is a relation to the supernatural. It is supernaturalism... which holds negatively, that the realm of nature visible to the sense is not all that is real,or that needs to be explained, and positively, that the realm of values, especially those revealed in religious experience, is objectively and eternally real (p.135-6). Religion experiences human life as related to a superhuman and eternal reality. Personalism asserts that there is an ideal of perfection in eternal reality;... the ideal is real in God; it is not yet real in finite persons, and the discovery and realization of it sets them an infinite task (p.170-1).*

This postulate is that reality is Christocentric. Through this postulate King transformed Brightman's 'supreme Self', 'cosmic Person' and 'unbegun and unending God' into the Bible's Alpha and Omega. Through this postulate he transformed Brightman's concept of 'the truth is the whole' into the truth as the total story about man's origin, nature, purpose and destiny as known by both reason and the Christian revelation. Through this postulate King turned Brightman's universe of interacting persons into the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man and the potential Beloved Community.[32] Through this postulate, King transformed Brightman's 'complex unity of self consciousness', known as man, into man the sinner (II, 6c) in need of God's help. And through this postulate, King was able to transform Brightman's idea

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This philosophy is an idealism which holds that persons only are real, that every item and fragment of our world exists only in and for persons, and that there is one Supreme Person who is the source of world-order and creator of the society of persons. Insofar as he is regarded as fulfiller of the ideals of highest value, he is God. (p.167).

[32] *Zepp (B) provides a satisfactory account of King's notion of the Beloved Community, tracing its major occurrences in his writing (p.279-81), suggesting that he derived this idea from Josiah Royce and explaining that King himself never said as much or ever defined the term. He simply used 'the phrase... as if the reader would recognize and understand its meaning' (p.282). Yet the problem with Zepp's analysis is two-fold. First, like Lokos, though for totally different reasons, he attempts to politicize King's use of this idea. Knowing 'King's vision of the beloved community included all races, all classes, all religions,*

of God's redemptive Love (fn 29) into Christ's dying on the Cross (III, 1). For King, it is only by the light of Christ (I, 9 a-c) that the mystery of man is made clear. In the economy of salvation the divine work is an action of integral human development and liberation which has love as the sole motive. Man is erected in Jesus Christ, fashioned in Him as a new creature. By faith and baptism he is transformed, filled with the gift of the Spirit and a new dynamism of love which compels him to seek out a new, more profound relationship with God, himself, his fellow man and all created things. Nowhere is this more evident than in King's moral and ethical thinking.

KING'S ETHICAL THOUGHT

Ethics is no peculiarly Christian phenomenon but there is a peculiar phenomena known as Christian Ethics.[33]

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all nations' (p.289) and that 'the people who made up King's movement, participated in the demonstrations, attended the mass meetings and worked in other ways to assist him, come from every facet of the community', Zepp argues that this was a 'foretaste of King's beloved community'. But there is little to suggest that the more important individual and collective spiritual aspects of the beloved community (III, 11a) could be measured in such terms as these. Secondly, in dealing with the biblical and theological aspects of King's beloved community, Zepp says much about 'Judaism's hope for the Messianic era, and... Christianity's expectation of the Kingdom of God' (p.301-7), but he says nothing about the Church as <u>The Mystical Body of Christ</u>. See Pope Pius XII(D).

[33] *Ethics or Moral Philosophy aims to account for the distinction between the 'right and wrong' and 'good and bad' in human conduct.*

Homogeneous it is not either denominationally or historically. But all Christian Ethics is fundamentally scriptural.[34] And it is through his interpretation of scripture that King radically transformed Brightman's Personalism into a Christian Cosmosophy. Through the Scripture God became Christlike (I,9a); man became a

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The supreme determining factor in all such considerations is the ultimate end of man as revealed by a study of his nature and place in the universe. The Christian philosopher and theologian recognizes that end as explained in the Divinely Revealed Truths and message of Christ. For this reason he reasons out philosophically a science of Ethics which, so far as it goes, will be in harmony with the moral teachings of the Christian Religion. To him 'the case of morality', as Jacques Maritain (D) explains in The Education of Man, is human reason insofar as reason is the proximate rule of human actions. The case of religion is divine love, that is, indivisibly love of God and brotherly love. Christianity fastens the moral to the supramoral - the moral order and the moral virtues, to the theological virtues, the greatest of which is Charity. Christianity makes law appendent to love, and in this way it saves morality... Morality without religion undermines morality... (p.116).

[34] *Thus it is in their approach and their interpretation of Scripture that Christians of all denominations differ. Some are legalists who, like the Scribes and the Pharisees of the New Testament, contend that the will of God has been expressed in the form of commandments and laws which man can and must fulfill. To be good is to live according to these laws and to do evil is to break them. The Reformation was essentially a revolt against this legal concept of Christianity. Others are mystics who teach that the ultimate meaning of life can only be found in the exercises of the soul and cultivating ones religious feelings. To the mystic, religious values are essentially the domain of feelings rather than will, ethical problems are essentially personal problems of the soul's relationship to God and personal salvation seems to be his chief goal. And still others are rationalist who profess that through reason rather than through law or feelings, the meaningful, the good life can be attained. In his view, the good and the intellectually correct are identified and the*

child of God (II,2; XXI,4c); the good man became the Good Samaritan (V, 5 and 6 a11); the law of Love became the norm for all man's actions (IV,2a,3a,4; XXI,2)[35]; the end of life became declaring the Fatherhood of Good, the Brotherhood of Man (V,7b) and achieving the beloved community (III,11a; XIX 7a-b; 5b); the good life became a coherent triangle of self-love, love a neighbor and love of God (V,1-3 a11)[36];

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discipleship of Christ is reduced to the intellects assent to his glorious birth, marvellous miracles and sublime resurrection. Then there is another division which concerns us more in this study. It is the division between the "Realist" and the "Perfectionist" on the question of violence and meaning of Christ's words to love thy neighbor, bless them that curse, do good to them that harm you. Augustine, Aquinias, Suarez, Ramsey, Davies, Regamey, and Niebuhrare all realists who acknowledge the Christian's obligation to love but say that this love, as a realistic love, can not be a pacifist love and that to model Christ's dying on the cross is not a strict obligation but a supernumery. Origin, Tertillian, Windass, Ellul and Douglass claim that the minimum is the maximum. King is on a 'dialectic' continuum; His realist pacifism (XXIII,3all) is indeed an ethic of 'the second mile' (V.6c) Yet on issues concerning the use of force his answer is neither consistently yes nor consistently no. War (XXII,4a-b); VIII, 1a-b, 6a-b; IV,]15a-c) and capital punishment (IV,3b) should be prescribed, the legitimate use of police force(XXII,7) and self-defense (XXIII,12; XXII, 11) should be tolerated and riots (XXII,8 all) deplored. This entire issue was to be dealt with more fully in the proposed but now omitted fifth chapter of this study, 'Nonviolence, Christian Ethics and a doctrine of Realistic Pacifism'.

[35] *See KK (5,6 all) for King's definition of Love.*

[36] *Paraphrasing St Thomas, de Guibert (D) in The Theology of the Spiritual Life, writes: 'due order must be paid even in perfection of charity. Man must love God more than himself, he must prefer his own spiritual good to that of his neighbor, but must love his neighbor more than he loves his own body. The reason for all this is that "God is loved as the Principle of good, upon whom is founded the love of charity, but man loves himself with the love of charity because he is a partaker in the perfect good:*

progress became measured by the Kingdom of God (IX,1-2); the ultimate evil became being outside of God's love (X,9; III,4); Calvary became the telescope through which history was to be viewed (III,1; V,7a); Love became the most durable power in the world (III,12,2a,11b); the determinants of morality became the second mile (V,6c), what will happen to other people of I do not help (V,6b;XXX,7b) and what will God think (VI,9c); Justice became love correcting itself (VII,3 ; III,9); true peace became the presence of justice, goodwill and brotherhood (VII, 2b,3) suffering became chastening (XII, 1-2b, 5c); Nonviolence became a Christ's doctrine of Love (XXI, 1a-b); the Negro could no longer use any means necessary to achieve freedom (XX,21); Violence became immoral (XXII, 2); Poverty became unethical and unchristian (XXIV, 2-3); Segregation became evil (XVIII, 2,5-7); human law became subordinate to God and conscience (IV, 6,8a,10,12); and the Church became not one of the 250 denominations found in America (IV, 13) or the master of the state but its conscience, critic and guide (IV, 7a-b), the true Body of Christ and a world-wide Fellowship of Love (IV, 3 a11) called to proclaim God's Son, Jesus Christ to be the hope of man in all their complex personal and social problems (IV, 6a).

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the neighbor is loved because of his association in this good. Association with others is a cause for loving them because in such an association or union all are faced towards God. But since unity is greater than union, the fact that man partakes in the Divine Goodness is a greater reason for loving him than the fact that he is associated with us in this participation"' (II-IIae, q. 26, a. 4). (p.57; See also page 288-91 for a discussion of the triple act of charity which will continue eternally in heaven.)

If Personalism provided the metaphysical foundation for King's religious cosmosophy and Christianity provided the foundation for his ethical thought just what provided the intellectual foundation for this 'socially conscious democracy' (XIV, 3c) which aimed to reconcile the individualism of capitalism with the collectivism of communism? Was it the Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenburch who convinced him that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men but is not concerned with the social and economic conditions which scar the soul is only waiting to be buried (VI, 1-2)? Or was it the Nonviolence of Gandhi who was probably 'the first person', in King's eyes,' to lift the love ethic of Jesus above the mere interaction of individuals? By insisting that the Kingdom of God, the organization of humanity according to the will of God, the growing perfection in the collective life of humanity, in our laws, in the customs of society, in the institutions of education, and for the administration of mercy; in our public opinion our literacy and artistic ideals in the persuasiveness of the sense of duty and in our readiness to give our life as a reason for others, Rauschenbusch may have inspired King to think of his own movement as a moral and spiritual revolutionary movement whose numbers were bound to a higher loyalty (XXI, 5a,6c,8a) and to incorporate as the founding purpose of SCLC - to save the soul of America. Similarly, Gandhi may have provided King with

'the method of social reform' he failed 'to find in Bentham, Mill, Marx, Lenin, Hobbes, Rousseau or Nietzsche' (III, 2 a11) by emphasising love and Nonviolence. But neither Rauschenbusch's Social Gospel nor Gandhi's Nonviolence directly contributed to a foundation of King's idea of democracy.

Like his metaphysics and ethics, King's idea of democracy was both Christocentric and Personalistic. For King the Declaration of Independence was 'solidly structured idealistically... on the Judeo-Christian heritage' that all men are made in the image of God, and all men are brothers, created equal before the sight of God and all men and have rights that are neither derived from nor conferred by the state (XV, 1a). In King's mind, every man derived his value from his relatedness to God (II, 1). 'Personalism' he wrote gave me 'the metaphysical and philosophical grounding for the idea of a personal God, and it gave me a metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality (XIV, 4).

Admittedly, King never detailed the total nature or content of his 'social conscience democracy' any more than he defined violence, nonviolence[37] the Kingdom of God, or the beloved community. But like peace (VIII, 5 a11) and the Kingdom of God (IX, 1), democracy as a universal form was

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[37] *Nonviolence is the only one of these crucial terms for which King lists a number of key characteristics, see KK(XXIII, 5).*

'not yet' because of sin, racism, poverty militarism and nationalism on every level of human existence. But it does exist in certain isolated forms - personal judgments, legislation and organizations. Thus it is better to conceptualize King's idea of democracy as a process. 'History', he writes, 'has thrust upon our generation the one indescribably important destiny - to complete the process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly' (XV, 4). Ultimately the aim of this process is both social justice and social charity.[38] The means of attaining that goal is through nonviolent direct action and a total revolution of values (XI, 7c, 3,1,9) both on an individual (XXIII, 13) and an international level (XXIII, 7b-c,8). This revolution of values will voice its eternal opposition to war racism and poverty on an international scale (IV, 15 a11), denounce every form of 'tribal-centered, national-centered and racial-centered ethic' (V, 6a) and see that all life in a real sense is an interrelated World House; that all men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality... and whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.

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[38] *King believes the Twin Pillars needed for the basis and support of a humane social order are both Social Justice and Social Charity (XXII, 8d). Social Justice and Charity, in his view, are alike in that both refer to the common good. Social Justice and Charity differ as to their method of obtaining the common good. Social Justice requires that each individual give to others their strict due. Social Charity lays obligations of brotherly love, forebearance and understanding on all members of society. Social Justice operates within the narrow limits of strict rights.*

One could go on almost *ad infinitum* comparing aspects of King's thought with those of other Christian and non-Christian thinkers and explaining how his revolution of values very much paralells Gonella and Borescaren's 'A World to Reconstruct'. But such is not our purpose. In laying the foundation for a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the role and meaning of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in his life and thought our aim in this chapter was simply to explain the intrinsic unity and fundamental tenets of King's basic religious, meta-physical, moral and socio-political thinking before directing our attention to King's writings where he says all these things better himself.

Social Charity transcends what is done by justice and tries by deeds of good will, kindliness and beneficence to create real union of mind and heart towards the creation of a peaceful social order. Social Charity prevents Social Justice from becoming harsh and cruel: Social Justice may leave hearts full of rancour, ill will and hate. Social Charity removes rancour, ill will and hate and achieves the union of minds which is needed for peace. Peace does not consist in hard inflexible justice. Peace must be made acceptable by being compounded to charity and the sincere desire for domestic national and international reconciliation. Peacemakers above all others must be activated by the spirit of charity. The golden pen for the writing of documents of peace must be dipped in the ink of charity. Social Charity unites men in the friendship of God and makes them good.

IV

THE KALEIDOSCOPIC KING

Scorn not the Kaleidoscope, Critic
For even as you frown mindless and
Doubtful of its value, it remains the
Only key to penetrating King's writings
And coming to know his true philosophy.

- Wordsworth (mutatis mutandis:
'Scorn Not the Sonnet')

AN INTRODUCTION TO A COMBINED DICTIONARY/CONCORDANCE AND SYNTOPICON OF KING'S WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

ITS ORIGIN AND NATURE

The Kaleidoscopic King is a multi-dimensional analysis[1] of King's writings and speeches which grew from the belief that a crucial phase in both analysing and explaining his thought lay in the tasks of identifying and defining his key words and conducting a systematic exegesis of the pivotal passages in his writings. A subsequent analysis of King's doctoral dissertation, five books, thirty-odd articles and fifteen major addresses revealed that as the product of a social factotum,[2] King's key terms, texts and ideas varied greatly depending upon which of his particular roles - minister, theologian, political activist or social analyst - was under examination. This kaleidoscopic aspect of his writings ultimately inspired and provided the title for this chapter but by no means is it the sole reason for its existence.

Earlier, in perusing twenty of the major studies which presently constitute ninety-five percent of the existing body of literature on King and discovering numerous

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[1] *Originally this analysis was six-dimensional: lexical, syntopical, exegetical, polemical, thematic and rhetorical. But owing to Chapter I extended review and critical evaluation of the literature and the extraneous nature of a rhetorical analysis to examining the role of Nonviolence and Christian ethics in King's life and thought, both the polemical analysis though illustrated on page and the rhetorical dimension of this analysis have been dropped.*

[2] *See fns 12 and 13, Chapter I, pp. 26 and 27.*

false, confusing and conflicting explanations of his life and thought and no systematic exposition of his complete philosophy, commentary on his collected writings or valid explanation of how King the man, his writings and his philosophy should be read and interpreted as a whole, it became obvious that an authoritative account of King's philosophy required more than just an identification and definition of his key terms and an exegesis of the pivotal passages and ideas in his writings. It also required exposing and redressing many of the false and unsubstantiated claims about his writings and philosophy already in existence and designing a method for analysing his writings properly.

Realizing that each of these tasks entailed deploying so many passages of King's writings and was essential to a thorough analysis of the role of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in his life and thought, the question became one of form. In other words, how could each of these tasks be accomplished in one and the same study. In any combination of narrative, descriptive and expository prose, an analysis of King's complete writings and exposition of his entire philosophy alone would have exhausted our 100,000 word limit and left little if any room for reviewing and critically evaluating these twenty earlier studies or demonstrating how to examine his writings properly. However, in supplying a specially selected, arranged, annotated, doubly indexed

and fully documented set of King's quotations which simultaneously accomplished each of these tasks, the combined form of a dictionary/concordance and syntopicon presented itself as the most rational, tidy, economical and coherent form we could adopt without sacrificing any of the overall goals of our study. [3]

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[3] *Admittedly the goals of our study could have been restricted to accomplishing just one or two rather than all four of these tasks, however any such restriction was rejected partly out of desire to make the maximum possible contribution to the existing body of literature on King, partly, as we have said, out of realizing the sheer necessity of having to complete all of these tasks before conducting a proper analysis of the role of Nonviolence and Christian Ethics in King's life and thought and partly out of the need to produce a balanced work, that is a work that was no more critical and destructive in its review of the earlier writers and interpretations of King's writings and philosophy than creative and productive in its own analysis and exegesis of his work.*

PURPOSE, FUNCTION AND ORGANIZATION

Thus organized along the lines of the Syntopicon of the Great Books of the Western World, Roget's Third International Thesaurus and Raymond Williams' Key Words, The Kaleidoscopic King is a 40,000 word compilation of King's quotations that contains both a 240 word Inventory of Terms and Index and performs four interrelated tasks. First as a dictionary, it identifies and describes 50 of King's key terms. Second as a concordance, it records and documents 550 of the cardinal passages in which they occur thereby laying the textual foundation for (a) exposing and redressing many of the false and unsubstantiated claims about his work already in existence, (b) establishing and illustrating certain facts and features on which this analysis and interpretation of his thought rests and (c) demonstrating how to analyse his writings properly. Third, as a syntopicon, it conducts a systematic textual exegesis of King's main ideas by arranging, annotating, and presenting these passages under his 25 major topics. And fourth, as part of a larger analysis and interpretation of the relationship between King the man, his writings and his philosophy, it establishes the premise that King's writings are the product of a social factotum by categorizing each of these terms and passages as well as each of his writings and speeches under the particular literary personae they

most express - minister/theologian, minister/political activist or minister/social analyst.[4]

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4. *As a combined dictionary/concordance and syntopicon, The Kaleidoscopic King is unlike either of the two other existing compilations of his quotations. For not one of 250 terms or 700 passages in the 150 pages of Lotte Hoskins' (B) I Have A Dream contains an index, a table of contents or any form of documentation. Similarly not one of the numerous passages presented under the seventeen headings of Alder's (B) 190 pages of The Wisdom of Martin Luther King, Jr.: In His Own Words possess an index and only the most vague, inconsistent and unofficial form of documentation such as the reason, place or date they were delivered. Properly speaking, neither of these works could be considered either a dictionary, a concordance or a syntopicon. And neither is part of a larger theory of interpretation. Both are simple compilations of sayings by King that are of little use to either the general King reader or scholar.*

AS A DICTIONARY

Not all 240 of the terms listed in The Kaleidoscopic King's Inventory of Terms (pp.214 a,b) carry a definition. Some identify people and name things that possess no definition, while others are used merely to illustrate or establish certain facts and features about his work. Thus each term that is defined like

*LIBERATION *RACISM *PEACE

contains an asterisk by it. And each passage that is itself the definition [5] of that term contains an asterisk immediately after it under that term in the Index (pp.335-41)

LIBERATION
*Integration XIX 26?**
Nonviolence XXIII 6b

RACISM
Law IV 15a,c
Progress IX 7b
Revolution XI 1
America XV 2c,3b,6a
Slavery XVI 3a&b*
Segregation XVIII 3
Negro XX 14b-c
Poverty XXIV 4,11

PEACE
*(Itself) VIII 2all**
Love III 12
Church VI 4c,7a,c,e,11b
America XV 6b,10a
Slavery XVI 2
Movement XXI 11b
Violence XXII 3
Nonviolence XXIII 13,14
Vietnam XXV 1a,2a,3d-e,4e

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5 *Since The Kaleidoscopic King contains only King's definition of its 50 key terms, all of its definitions are stipulative. For each stipulates what King meant by that word and what we too must mean if we are to explain, understand and interpret his philosophy properly. Nevertheless even as stipulative definitions they vary in kind: some like Toughminded and Tender-hearted are purely descriptive; others like Man, Black Power and Agape are taxonomic while still others like Understanding, Goodwill and Liberation are more traditionally what might be called stipulative.*

AS A CONCORDANCE

Every passage in The Kaleidoscopic King which contains any one of the 240 words listed in its Inventory of Terms is indexed under that term. Thus to locate all the passages containing any one of these terms, simply look up that term in the Index and read each of the passages listed under it. For example, to locate all the passages containing the term Forgiveness, simply look up forgiveness in the Index

FORGIVENESS
Love III 7a,10*
Church VI 6a & c

and read passages 7a and 10 of Section III, Love, and passages 6a & c of Section VI, The Church/Religion. Passage 7a of Love, you will notice, contains an asterisk by it. Thus it contains not only the term forgiveness but also King's definition of that term saying

> 7 a) ... Forgiveness is not an occasional act; forgiveness is a permanent attitude. It does not mean ignoring what has been done or putting a false label on an evil act. It means that the evil act no longer remains a barrier to the relationship. It means reconciliation, a coming together again ... (p.42 LYE)

The other two passages listed simply record King's use of the term in some particular context. For example, in passage 6a & c of Section VI, King uses the term in explaining The Challenge Facing the Church Today charging that

> 6 a) The Church today is challenged to proclaim God's Son Jesus Christ to be the hope of men in all their complex personal and spiritual problems. Many will continue to come ... perplexed by the uncertainties of life, confused by daily disappointments, and disillusioned by the ambiguities of history. (p.59 KAM)
>
> b) Some we must lead to Christ who will offer them the fresh bread of forgiveness. (p.59 KAM)

In parenthesis at the end of both passages, however, is a bibliographic reference consisting of the page and an abbreviation of the title of King's work from which it is drawn. Thus, the list of abbreviations on pp.212-214 indicates that the (p.42 LYE) after passage 7a of Love and the (p.59 KAM) after passage 6 a & c of The Church/Religion comes from King's sermons Loving Your Enemies and A Knock At Midnight on pages 42 and 59 of his book 'Strength To Love'.

AS A SYNTOPICON*

The Kaleidoscopic King is both a systematic textual exegesis of King's key ideas and a reference resource of where in King's writings he discusses any two of his main ideas.

First as a systematic exegesis of his key ideas, The Kaleidoscopic King is a series of 25 self-contained sections, each consisting of two parts: a set of italicized annotations highlighting and demarcating the significant aspects and principal divisions of the ensuing exegesis followed by an original selection, dramatic presentation and philosophical dovetailing of King's crucial passages on that particular idea. The subject of each exegesis is capitalized and preceded by a Roman numeral. And both its annotations and passages are numbered. The following example of section V, The Good Life showshow this is done. Moreover, it shows that in the top right hand corner of each page is an index reference number [6] indicating the passages contained on that page:

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6 *Naturally when The Kaleidoscopic King is being used as a dictionary or a concordance, this reference number proves particularly helpful in enabling you to locate the precise passage or definition in question quickly. However, to complete its exegesis of any one of King's main ideas, all the annotations and passages presented under that topic should be read in numerical order.*

* *It will be remembered that a syntopicon, as Anthony Corbett points out in his Classical Rhetoric (Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 198-200), is a collection of topics, references and passages which feed the reader the data to analyze the terms and ideas indexed therein.*

V THE GOOD LIFE

1 As a coherent triangle

2 The length, the breadth and the height of

3 As self-love, love of others and love of God

4 As a synthesis of toughmindedness and tenderheartedness

5 As exemplified in the life of the good Samaritan

6 And three aspects of Altruism

7 As doing the will of God and following the example of Christ

THE GOOD LIFE

1 Life at its best is a coherent triangle. At one angle is the individual person. At the other angle are other persons. At the tiptop is the Infinite Person, God. *(p.84 TDCL)*

2 a) The length of life is the inward drive to achieve one's personal ends and ambitions, an inward concern for one's welfare and achievement. The breadth of life is the outward concern for the welfare of others. The height of life is the upward reason for God. *(p.84 TDCL)*

b) Length without breadth is like a self-contained tributary having no outward flow to the ocean ... Light has come into the world, and every man must decide whether he will walk in the light of creative altruism or the darkness of destructive selfishness. *(p.87-88 TDCL)*

c) All life is interrelated and all men are interdependent and are thereby involved in a single process ... We are inevitably our brother's keeper because of the interrelated structure of reality ... This recognition of the oneness of humanity and the need of an active brotherly concern for the welfare of others is the breadth of man's life. *(p.88-90 TDCL)*

d) When we add height to length and breadth, we have the complete life ... We must rise above earth and give our ultimate allegiance to that eternal Being who is the source and ground of all reality. *(p.90)* ... If you do not have a deep and patient faith in God, you will be powerless to face the delays, disappointments, and

Beginning on p.215 exegeses are arranged as follows and consist of the following number of pages and approximate passages:

1	God	4 17	14	Knowledge/Truth/Faith	5 20
2	Man	4 19	15	America/Democracy/ Western Civilization	6 26
3	Love	6 25			
4	Law/Morality	6 31	16	Slavery/Racism/ White Backlash	5 18
5	The Good Life	4 22	17	Civil Rights	5 22
6	Church/Religion	6 28	18	Segregation	3 11
7	Power	5 21	19	Integration	5 23
8	Peace	3 15	20	Negro	13 63
9	Progress	2 9	21	King's Movement	4 20
10	Evil	4 19	22	Violence	5 24
11	Revolution	4 15	23	Nonviolence	6 23
12	Hope/Suffering	3 15	24	Poverty/Wealth/ Property	4 23
13	Fear	3 15			
25	Vietnam	4 20			

Since every passage in The Kaleidoscopic King is indexed under each of the 240 terms it contains and under each of the 25 exegeses which contains it, as a reference resource, its index provides a series of mini-annotations indicating exactly where King discusses any of his two main ideas. Thus, when looking up any term like Personality, Faith or Freedom, for example,

PERSONALITY
*God I 4**
Man II 1,2,9
Love III 6b,8b
Law IV 5,9
Good Life V 1,4d
Church VI 3b
Power VII 8b1ii
Progress IX 1
Evil X 5c
Revolution XI 7ci,8b
Knowledge XIV 4,5a
America XV 3a-b,8a
Slavery XVI 2
Segregation XVIII 6,7
Negro XX 11a,12a,20a
Movement XXI 4c,11a,
Nonviolence XXIII 5c,12
Poverty XXIV 9

FAITH
God I 2,9a
Love III 1
Good Life V 2d
Church VI 6a & d
Progress IX 2,3
Evil X 4 all, 5c
Revolution XI 2a
Fear XIII 3d
*Knowledge XIV 5 all**,*7b,9*
America XV 14
Slavery 3
Movement XXI 8a

FREEDOM
God I 8
*Man II 2,3a,4,7 all**
Love III 2c,11a
Church VI 4c,12a
*Power VII 6**,*8cii*
Evil X 5b
Revolution XI 3,7b-c
America XV 5c,6
Slavery XVI 5f
Civil Rights XVII 3c,4b,
8a-b,9b
Segregation XVIII 1,7
Integration XIX 2a,6d
Negro XX 7 all,13,20a,21
Movement XXI 1
Violence XXII 3,5a-b
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,10,9c

The index indicates exactly where you will find King using or discussing the idea of Personality, Faith or Freedom in relation to eighteen, twelve and sixteen of his key ideas respectively.

Finally in some passages, there are a few words in parenthesis. This means that the words enclosed are those of the author and not King's. As seen below in passage 2a of Section III, Love

> (At Crozer) I had almost despaired of the power of love to solve social problems. Then I was introduced to the life and teachings of Gandhi. As I read his works, I became deeply fascinated by ... the whole concept of Satyagraha ... (and) my scepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished ... I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people. At that time, however, I acquired only an intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position and ... no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation. (p.169 PN/V)

These words have been added purely for grammatical or syntactical reasons where King's text has been abridged or to place one of his statements in its proper historical perspective.

AS A POLEMICAL ANALYSIS

In exposing and redressing many of the false and unsubstantiated claims other authors have made about King's work as well as in establishing and illustrating certain facts and features on which this analysis and interpretation rests, The Kaleidosopic King functions similarly by providing the precise page, text and passage of King's work, which forms the basis for our argument. Thus on pages (omitted, see fn.1) of this chapter a bibliographic summary of six works mentioned in chapter one is given. And beneath each work is a documented list of the author's chief claims to which we take exception. Then in brackets following each claim is the index reference number of the passage in The Kaleidoscopic King which directly refutes or seriously impugns the author's claim. For example in The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King Jr. Hanes Walton claims:

1. Nowhere in his writings does King give any indication of the standard or criteria by which any form of love is to be judged (p. 78) or why love is necessary in addition to boycotts and demonstrations (p.81-2) *[Love III 7, 11a; The Good Life V 7a-b; Fear XIII 6]*

2. King insists that violence was intrinsically wrong and its use in no case could be morally justified (p.82); overlooked the ethical dilemma of the individual faced with an imminent threat to his life (p.111) and remained silent on the right of the state to employ violence in carrying out its lawful functions (p.112).*[Violence XXII 7, 11; Nonviolence XXIII 12]*

3. King made the dangerous assumption that religious experience would suffice to cancel out the tendency to resort to violence under any and all circumstances (p.89). *[Violence XXII 9a-b]*

4. King neglected to set forth the basis by which to judge coalition arrangements (p.93) and overlooked the threat of a backlash (p.97). *[Negro XX 17e; all passages under Coalition/ Alliances; Slavery XVI 6a-b]*

However an examination of the passages in the Kaleidosopic King given in brackets after each of these claims, not only suggests a serious flaw in the literature's only published analysis of King's political philosophy but also causes one to question if Mr Walton has even read King's works.

Similarly, in Chapter three, when we argue that the foundation, structure and unity of King's radically eclectic cosmosophy lies in the Christian faith, (see pages 183-186).

identifies the religious passages in The Kaleidoscopic King which govern King's main ideas and which as a result form the basis for our exegesis of them.

Now having completed our explanation of the origin, nature, multiple purpose and function of The Kaleidoscopic King, let us say a few words about the scope and classification of King's writings on which it rests and then close this introduction by answering the three questions which constitute the focus of this chapter.

A CLASSIFICATION OF KING'S WRITINGS

Unofficially, Bennett places King's first writing as an article which appeared in the Maroon Tiger, Morehouse College's newspaper, on 'The Purpose of Education' in 1948 and Mrs King records his last as the 'Ten Commandments of Vietnam' which were scribbled on an envelope found in the inside pocket of the coat he was wearing the day he was killed. Consequently, the argument could be made that King's literary career spanned some two decades. But that would be misleading, if not altogether false. For a full seven years elapsed - including two at Crozer Theological Seminary and three at Boston University, before King completed his 343 page doctoral dissertation, A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman. Hence, it is better to conceptualize King's literary career as spanning a mere twelve years from 1955-1968. During this time he produced this doctoral dissertation, five books, thirty-odd articles and fifteen major addresses which form the basis of this combined dictionary/concordance and syntopicon, and which may be divided according to the three following literary personae.[7]

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[7] *A persona for purposes of this classification of King's writings is a mental perspective or intellectual frame of reference from which King the writer produced a given book, article and set of speeches. Each is predicated on one or more of his books. Not that a book in and of itself constitutes a persona. It was simply thought that King had to produce at least one book from a given perspective before it could reasonably be argued that he consciously employed that persona. Thus, for example, King's persona as a theologian rests on his doctoral dissertation and his book 'Strength to Love', while his persona as a social analyst stems from both his books 'Why We Can't Wait' and 'Where Do We Go From Here?. Hence in this classification of King's writings, each book on which a persona rests is preceded by an asterisk.**

I

MINISTER/THEOLOGIAN

* A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation: Boston Univ. 1955).

'Nonviolence and Racial Justice' Christian Century, Feb. 6, 1957.

* Stride Towards Freedom: The Montgomery Story. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers Perennial Library edition 1957.

Advice for Living (a series of one and two page articles answering subscribers' questions) Ebony Magazine, 1957-58.

'Ethics of Love' Religious Digest, April 1958.

'Suffering and Faith' Christian Century, April 27, 1960.

Strength to Love, New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

'Ethical Demands of Integration' Religion and Labor, May 1963.

'Unchristian Christians' Ebony, August 1965.

'A Gift of Love' McCalls, Dec. 1966.

'The Drum Major Instinct' (sermon), February 4, 1968. (See Schulke's Documentary, p.220).

II

MINISTER/POLITICAL ACTIVIST

Address Given to Mass Meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association at Hope Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, March 22, 1956 (King files at Boston Univ.).

'Give Us the Ballot' (speech), May 17, 1957 (see The Worker, June 2, 1957).

'An Experiment of Love' Jubilee, Sept. 1958.

'Burning Truth in the South' Progressive, May 1960.

The American Dream (speech given at Lincoln University Commencement, June 6, 1961).
See Foner's Voice of Black America, Vol.II, p.317
or Negro History Bulletin, May 1968.

'I Have A Dream (speech)' Lincoln Memorial, August 28, 1963 (see Schulke's Documentary, p.218).

* Why We Can't Wait, New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, Dec. 10, 1964. See King's file, Boston Univ.

'Boycotts Will Be Used' US News and World Report, Nov. 13, 1965.

'Behind the Selma March' Saturday Review, April 1965.

'Time to Break Silence' (speech), Freedomways Magazine. Second Qutr. 1967.

'Honoring Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' (speech), Freedomways Magazine. Spring 1968, pp.104-111.

'I've Been to the Mountaintop' (speech), April 3, 1968. See Schulke's Documentary, p.222.

III

MINISTER/SOCIAL ANALYST

Facing the Challenge of a New Age (speech given at the First Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change). King files at Boston Univ. or Phylon April 1957.

The Future of Integration (speech given at the National Convention of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, August 21, 1959) King files Boston Univ.

The Nation's Future (transcript of NBC Television Program of Nov. 26, 1960 with debate between Dr. King and James Kilpatrick with John McCaffery, moderator) King files Boston Univ.

'Equality Now: The President Has the Power' Nation, Feb. 4, 1961.

Philosophy of the Student Nonviolent Movement (speech given t the Annual Meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, Nov. 16, 1961) See Foner's Voice of Black America, Vol.II, p.327.

'Fumbling on the New Frontier' Nation March 3, 1962, pp.91-95.

'Case Against Tokenism' New York Times, August 5, 1962.

'Bold Design for a New South' Nation, March 30, 1963, pp.259-262.

'Hammer of Civil Rights' Nation, March 9, 1964, pp.230-234.

'Let Justice Roll Down' Nation, March 15, 1965, pp.169-174.

Civil Rights Struggle in the US today (speech to New York City's Bar Association), Records of Meeting, May 1965.

'The Last steep Ascent' Nation, March 14, 1966, pp.288-292.

'It's Not Enough To Condemn' Current, October 1966, pp.17-19.

* Trumpet of Conscience, New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

Where Do We Go From Here? (speech given at the Tenth Aniversary Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, August 16, 1967). See Foner's Voice of Black America, Vol.II, p.455.

* Where Do We Go From Here?, New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

'It's Difficult to Teach a President' Look, No. 17, 1967.

'Negroes Are Not Moving Too Fast' Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 7, 1967.

'Role of Social Science in Current Race Relations' Journal of Social Issues, January 1968.

'Showdown for Nonviolence' Look, April 16, 1968, pp.23-25.

THREE FINAL QUESTIONS

What does it mean to examine King's writings kaleidoscopically? To examine King's writings kaleidoscopically means first of all to accept the corpus of his work - its doctoral dissertation, five books, thirty-odd articles and fifteen major addresses as a single saga produced by a man and minister who assumed the three different literary personae of a theologian, a political activist and a social analyst. Secondly, it means to accept the various terms, passages and ideas assembled in this collection of his quotations as the mere prisms in a kaleidoscope whose image changes according to the different table of instructions from which it is viewed. And thirdly, it means to analyse King's writings sequentially in four different ways: lexically, syntopically-exegetically, polemically and thematically.

How is this to be done? To analyse King's writings lexicographically simply examine each of the words and respective passages in The Kaleidoscopic King's Inventory of Terms and Index that possesses an asterisk by it. Second to analyse King's writings as a systematic exegesis of his key ideas, simply read Chapters 1-25 - their respective annotations and passages - in numerical order. Third, to examine King's writings polemically, in response to the major false and unsubstantiated claims other authors have made about his work, simply review each of the claims these other authors have made about King as

given on p.204 and examine each of the passages in The Kaleidoscopic King that is given in brackets immediately after that claim. And fourth, to examine King's writings thematically as a function of the three literary roles he assumed throughout his life, simply turn to page (omitted) where the Kaleidoscopic King has classified each of the 240 terms listed in its Inventory of Terms under the particular personae of King it most expresses. Determine which of King's persona you wish to examine first and read each of the passages indexed under each term listed under that persona. Eventually do this with all the terms listed under each of the other two personae as well until all three of King's personae have been examined.

Now what is the value of analysing King's writings this way? What is the value in explaining, analysing or interpreting King's writings and philosophy for the first time, with a clear understanding and definition[8] of his key term? What is the value of having at your finger tips the textual foundation and documentation for the literature's only systematic analysis of King's complete writings, exegeses of his entire philosophy, and critical review of twenty earlier studies on him through 1980? And, what is

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[8] *This is not to suggest that a definition in and of itself will provide the solution to any one of the debates in the existing body of literature on King. However, only by considering each definition in relation to the larger system of King's philosophy is it possible to know exactly what he meant.*

the value of being able to explore any one or all three dimensions of King the minister, theologian, political activist or social analyst, or the relationship between any one of his 240 key terms and his 25 key ideas - both in terms of his own text rather than in terms of some well intended but misguided secondary source? Such is the value of examining King's writings kaleidoscopically and such is the value [9] and the contributions of The Kaleidoscopic King.

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[9] *In devising a method whereby a certain collection of terms, ideas and passages could simultaneously be examined and presented in seven different ways - lexicographically, syntopically, exegetically, polemically, thematically, rhetorically and concordically, the value of The Kaleidoscopic King is hardly confined to the existing body of King literature. Indeed it suggests an answer to a semantic problem Raymond Williams encountered in assembling 'Key Words' (Great Britain: Fontana Croom Helm, 1976). For on page 22 of his introduction, Williams remarks: 'How often I wish that some form of presentation could be devised in which it would be clear that the analysis of particular words are intrinsically connected sometimes in complex ways ... the difficulty is that any kind of arrangement, for example by areas or themes would establish one set of connections while suppressing another'. So baffled by how to tackle this problem, Williams ultimately leaves the reader to his own devices confessing that 'the alphabetical listing on which I finally decided will make the immediate use easier' with the hope that 'other kinds of connections and comparisons' would suggest themselves to him and be followed through by quite a different selection and order of reading.*

ABBREVIATIONS*

DD	Doctoral Dissertation
STF	Stride Toward Freedom

Articles in Nation Magazine

BNS	Bold Design for a New South
EN	Equality Now
FNF	Fumbling on the New Frontier
HCR	Hammer of Civil Rights
LJRD	Let Justice Roll Down
LSA	The Last Steep Ascent
WITG	Who Is Their God
WWCW	Why We Can't Wait

Sermons in Strength to Love

AF	Antidotes to Fear
APQ	Answers to Perplexing Questions
CC	How Should a Christian View Communism?

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* *Since each of King's books has appeared in a number of different printings and we have cited the precise page on which each passage appears, it behoves us to specify the printing of his work we used:*

(1) Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story (The First Perennial Library edition published, 1964, by Harper and Row Publishers, Incorporated, New York); (2) Why We Can't Wait (A Signet Book, 3rd printing, published July 1964 by The New American Library, Incorporated, New York); (3) Strength to Love (Memorial Edition published by Pocket Books in arrangement with Harper and Row Publishers, 4th printing, 1968, New York); (4) Where Do We Go To From Here: Community or Chaos (Hodder and Stoughton, 1st printing in Great Britain, 1968, reproduced from US by arrangement with Harper and Row Publisher Incorporated, New York); (5) Trumpet of Conscience (Harper and Row Publishers, 1st US Edition 1968, New York).

DES	Death of Evil Upon the Seashore
KAM	A Knock at Midnight
LIA	Love In Action
LYE	Loving Your Enemies
MWF	The Man Who Was a Fool
OBGN	On Being a Good Neighbor
OGIA	Our God Is Able
PL to Amer.	Paul's Letter to American Christians
PN/V	Pilgrimage to Nonviolence
SD	Shattered Dreams
TDCL	Three Dimensions of a Complete Life
TMTH	A Tough Mind and a Tender Heart
TNC	Transformed Nonconformist
WIM	What Is Man?
WDWGFH	Where Do We Go From Here: Community or Chaos?

Trumpet of Conscience: Five Massey Lectures

CSP	Christmas Sermon on Peace
CVW	Conscience and the Vietnam War
IRR	Impasse In Race Relations
NV/SC	Nonviolence and Social Change
YSA	Youth and Social Action

Speeches (Found in King's Files Boston University Mugar Memorial Library)

FAI	First Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change (Holt Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama), December 12, 1956.
MIA	Montgomery Improvement Association Mass Meeting (Holt Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama), March 22, 1956.

NF The Nation's Future (NBC Television) November 26, 1960.

NFRC National Fellowship of Reconciliation (National Convention, at Green Lake) August 21, 1959.

TBS Time to Break Silence (Riverside Church, New York), April 4, 1967. Foner's Voice of Black America Vol. II p. 435-445.

UN United Nations Plaza Speech (New York), April 15, 1967.

I N V E N T O R Y OF T E R M S

*AGAPE

*ALTRUISM

ALLEGIANCE/LOYALTY

AMERICA/UNITED STATES

ANARCHY

ARISTOTLE

*BACKLASH

BELOVED COMMUNITY

BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

*BITTERNESS

BLACK MUSLIMS

*BLACK POWER

BLINDNESS

BOYCOTT

BROWN vs. THE BOARD OF TOPEKA

BRIGHTMAN, EDGAR

CALVARY/THE CROSS

CAPITALISM

CHARACTER

*CHRIST/JESUS

*CHRISTIAN REALISM

CHURCH

CITIZEN

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

CIVILIZATION

*CLASSISM

*COALITION/ALLIANCES

COERCION

COLLECTIVISM

COLONIALISM

COMMANDMENT/MORAL IMPERATIVE

COMMITMENT

COMMUNISM

COMPASSION/SYMPATHY

CONFLICT/STRUGGLE

CONFORMITY

CONSCIENCE

CONSTITUTION

*COURAGE

*COWARDICE

CULPABILITY/GUILT

CUSTOM

DEATH

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

DEMOCRACY

DEMONSTRATIONS

*DESEGREGATION

DESTINY

*DETACHMENT

DeWOLF, L. HAROLD

*DIALECTICAL

DIRECT ACTION/SIT-IN

DISAPPOINTMENT

DISARMAMENT

DISCRIMINATION

DRED SCOTT

DUBOIS W.E.B.

EASTER/RESURRECTION

ECONOMY/BUSINESS

EDUCATION

*EMOTIONALISM

ENEMY

EQUALITY/ EGALITARIANISM

ESTRANGEMENT

EVIL

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

EXISTENTIALISM

*FAITH

FANON, FRANTZ

*FATALISM

*FEAR

*FILLING THE JAILS

*FOOL

*FORGIVENESS

FOSDICK, HARRY EMERSON

*FREEDOM

FRIEND(SHIP)

GANDHI, MAHATMA

GARVEY, MARCUS

GHETTO

*GOD

GOOD

GOSPEL/SCRIPTURES/ BIBLE

GOVERNMENT

GRACE

GREAT SOCIETY

*GUARANTEED INCOME

HAPPY (NESS)

*HARD-HEARTED

*HATE

HEGEL, G. W. F.

HISTORY

HOLINESS

*HOLY SPIRIT

HOPE

HORIZONTAL PLANE

HOUSING

HUGO, VICTOR

INDIVIDUALISM

*INTEGRATION/ INTEGRATE

JERICHO ROAD

JUDICIAL DECREES/ INJUNCTION

*JUSTICE

KILLENS, JOHN

KINGDOM OF GOD

KNOWLEDGE

LABOR UNIONS

LAW

LEADER(SHIP)

LIBERALISM

*LIBERATION

LIE/FALSEHOOD

LIFE

LOGIC

*LOVE
MACHIAVELLIAN
*MAN
MARRIAGE
MARX(ISM)
MATERIALISM
MEANS-ENDS
METHOD/TACTIC
MINISTER/PREACHER
MORALITY
MOVEMENT
MYRDAL, GUNNAR
NATIONAL(ISM)
NAACP
*NEGRO/AFRO-AMERICAN/ BLACKMAN
*NEIGHBOR(HOOD)/ BROTHER(HOOD)
NEO-ORTHODOXY
NEW FRONTIER
NEW JERUSALEM
NIEBUHR, REINHOLD
*NONCONFORMITY
NONVIOLENCE
NORTH
OBEDIENCE
*OBLIGATION/ DUTY
OPPRESSION
ORDER
PACIFISM
*PEACE
*PERSONALITY
PLESSY vs. FERGUSON
POLICE
POVERTY
*POWER
PRAYER
PREJUDICE
PRIDE
*PROGRESS
PROPERTY
PROPHET
PSYCHIATRY
PUNISHMENT
*RACISM
RAUSCHENBUSCH, WALTER
REALISTIC PACIFISM
REALITY
REASON/PHILOSOPHY
*RECONCILIATION
REDEMPTION/GOOD FRIDAY
RELIGION
RESIGNATION/PASSIVITY SUBMISSION/SUBSERVIENCE
*RESPONSIBILITY
RETALIATION/REVENGE
REVELATION
REVOLUTION
RIGHT
RIGHTS
RIOT
ST AUGUSTINE
ST JOHN
ST PAUL
ST THOMAS
SALVATION
SAMARITAN
SANTAYANA, GEORGE
SATAN
SCHIZOPHRENIA
SCIENCE
SECTARIANISM
SECULARISM
*SEGREGATION
SELF-DEFENSE
SELFISH(NESS)/ EGOTISM
SELMA
SEPARATISM/ ISOLATIONISM
SERMON ON THE MOUNT
SERVANTHOOD
SIN
SLAVERY
SOCIETY (SOCIAL)
SOMEBODINESS
SOUTH
SOVEREIGNTY
STATE
SUFFERING
SUPREME COURT
TENDERHEARTED
TENSION
*TEUTONIC THEORY
THEOLOGY
TILLICH, PAUL
*TOKENISM
TOTALITARIANISM
*TOUGHMINDED(NESS)
TRANSFORMATION
TRUST
*TRUTH
*UNDERSTANDING GOODWILL
VALUES
VERTICAL PLANE
*VICTORY
VIETNAM
VIOLENCE
VIRTUE
VOTE
VOTING RIGHTS ACT
WAR/MILITARISM
WASHINGTON, BOOKER T.
*WEAKNESS
WEALTH
*WHITEMAN
WHOLE(NESS)/ONE(NESS)/ UNITY
WIEMAN, HENRY NELSON
WISDOM
WORLD
*WORSHIP
WRONG
ZEITGEIST

I GOD

1 As a benign power and man's cosmic companion

2 And six elements of his omnipotence

3 As the ground and essence of all reality

4 As a person

5 As tough-minded and tender-hearted

6 As working through history

7 Four reasons modern man rejects or neglects God

8 His sovereignty and man's freedom

9 And Christ as the Word made flesh

10 Ten names for

GOD

1 I am convinced that the Universe is under the control of a loving purpose, and that in the struggle for righteousness man has cosmic companionship. Behind the harsh appearances of the world, there is a benign power. *(pp.173-5 PN/V)* ... There is a creative power that works to pull down mountains of evil and level hilltops of injustice. *(p.52 STF)*

2 At the centre of the Christian faith is the conviction ... theologically ... expressed in the doctrine of the omnipotence of God *(p.124)* ... that (our) God is able

a) to sustain the vast scope of the physical universe *(p.126)*

b) to subdue all the power of evil *(p.127)*

c) to give us the interior resources to confront the trials and difficulties of life *(p.129)*

d) (to) transform bleak and desolate valleys into sunlit paths of joy *(p.130)*

e) to give the power to endure that which cannot be changed *(p.130 OGIA)*

f) to make a way out of no way *(p.132 OGIA)*

3 God ... is the ground and essence of all reality. A Being of infinite love and boundless power, God is the creator sustainer and conserver of all values *(p.116 CC)* ... God is

a being, pure spirit, lifted above the categories of time and space. *(p.108 WIM)* ... His will is too perfect and his purposes are too extensive to be contained in the limited receptacle of time and the narrow walls of earth. *(p.143 AF)*

4 To say that God is personal is not to make him a finite object ... or attribute to him the limitations of a human personality; it is simply to take what is finest and noblest in our consciousness and affirm its perfect existence in him. It is certainly true that human personality is limited, but personality as such involves no necessary limitations. It means simply self-consciousness and self-direction. So in the truest sense of the word, God is a living God. In him there is feeling and will, responsive to the deepest yearnings of the human heart; this God evokes and answers prayers. *(p.173 PN/V)*

5 a) The greatness of our God lies in the fact that He is both tough-minded and tender-hearted *(p.7)* ... He is tough-minded enough to transcend the world; He is tender-hearted enough to live in it. He does not leave us alone in our agonies and struggles. He seeks us in dark places and suffers with us and for us in our tragic prodigality. *(p.8 TMTH)*

b) The Bible ... expresses his tough-mindedness in His justice and wrath and His tender-heartedness in His love and grace. God has two outstretched arms. One is strong enough to surround us with justice, and one is gentle enough to embrace us with grace. *(pp.7-8 TMTH)*

c) I am grateful that we worship a God who is both tough-minded and tender-hearted. If God were only tough-minded, He would be ... Aristotle's 'unmoved mover' self-knowing, but not other loving ... if God were only tender-hearted, He would be ... incapable of controlling what He has made ... like H.G. Wells's lovable God in *God, the Invisible King* who finds Himself helpless before the surging power of evil. *(p.8 TMTH)*

6 As we struggle to defeat the forces of evil, the God of the Universe struggles with us ... God is at work in His universe. He is not outside the world looking on with a sort of cold indifference ... He is striving in our striving. Like an ever-loving Father, He is working through history for the salvation of his children. *(p.78 DES)* ... He gives us the interior resources to bear the burdens and tribulations of life ... He imbues us with the strength needed to endure the ordeals of (the day) and He gives us the courage and power to undertake the journey ahead. He is with us not only in the noontime of fulfilment, but also in the midnight of despair. *(p.79 DES)*

7 Four reasons modern man rejects or neglects God:

a) ... honest intellectual doubts.

b) ... inability to answer the question: "Why does He permit such unmerited pain and suffering to exist?" ... leads many to agnosticism.

c) ... (inability to reconcile) scientific and rationalistic findings with the sometimes unscientific dogmas of religion and the primitive conceptions of God.

d) ... practical atheists. ... who do not deny God's existence with their lips, ... but are so involved in the things of this world that they are unconsciously carried away by the rushing tide of materialism and are left treading in the confused waters of secularism. *(pp.90-1 TDCL)*

8 The majesty and sovereignty of God, ... should not lead us to believe that God is an Almighty Monarch who will impose his will upon us ... and force us to stay home when our minds are bent on journeying to some degrading far country. *(p.151 APQ)*

By endowing us with freedom, God relinquished a measure of his own sovereignty and imposed certain limitations upon himself. If his children are free, they must do his will by a voluntary choice. *(p.79 DES)*

9 a) Where do you find the God of the universe whose purpose changeth not? ... in Jesus Christ the lord of our lives. By knowing Him we know God. Christ is not only Godlike but God is Christlike. Christ is the Word made flesh. He is the language of eternity translated in the words of time. If we are to know what God is like and understand His purpose for mankind, we must turn to Christ. By committing ourselves absolutely to Christ and His way, we will participate in that marvellous act of faith that will bring us true knowledge of God. *(p.93 TDCL)*

b) Every time I look at the cross I am reminded of the greatness of God and the redemptive power of Christ. I am reminded of the beauty of sacrificial love and the majesty of unswerving devotion to truth. *(p.40 LIA)*

c) ... somehow I can never turn my eyes from that cross without also realizing that it symbolizes a strong mixture of greatness and smallness, of good and evil. As I behold that uplifted cross I am reminded not only of the unlimited power of God, but also of the sordid weakness of man. I think not only of the radiance of the divine, but also the tang of the human. I am reminded not only of Christ at his best, but man at his worst. *(p.40 LIA)*

10 Ten names for God:

a) Infinite Person *(p.84 TDCL)*

b) Eternal Being *(p.92 TDCL)*

c) The Creator, Sustainer and Conserver of all values *(p.115 CC)*

d) The Great Physician, Curer of Sin *(p.151 APQ)*

e) The City, Building and Maker *(p.185 WDWGFH)*

f) The Benign Power *(pp.172-3 PN/V; p.132 OGIA)*

g) Ever Loving Father *(p.79 DES)*

h) A Personal Being of matchless power and infinite Love *(p.88 STF)*

i) Our Eternal fallout shelter *(p.143 AF)*

j) The Composer *(p.7 FAI)*

II MAN

1 The measure of
2 As a child of God, an end in himself and his relation to the state
3 In Communism
4 In Existentialism
5 In Liberalism and Neo-Orthodoxy
6 His nature: the three elements of Christian Realism
7 Freedom and destiny
8 His threefold estrangement
9 As schizophrenic
10 Gone astray
11 Three characteristics of the fool
12 And the crucial question of our generation

MAN

1 Every human being has etched in his personality the indelible stamp of the Creator. Every man must be respected because God loves him. The worth of an individual lies not in the measure of his intellect, racial origin or social position. Human worth lies in relatedness to God. An individual has value because he has value to God. *(p.97 WDWGFH)*

2. ... man is an end because he is a child of God. Man is not made for the state; the state is made for man. To deprive man of freedom is to relegate him to the status of a thing, rather than to elevate him to the status of a person ... man must never be treated as a means to the end of the state but always as an end within himself. *(p.75 STF)*

3 a) Communism reduces men to a cog in the wheel of the state. Even though the state is an interim reality that will "wither away" ... while, that state lasts, it is an end in itself. Man is a means to that end. He has no inalienable rights. His only rights are derived from and conferred by, the state. Under such a system the fountain of freedom runs dry ... Communism fails to realize that life is personal. *(p.187 WDWGFH)*

3 b) Communism, like humanism, thrives on the grand illusion that man, unaided by any divine power can save himself and usher in a new society ... the trouble with communism is that it has neither a theology nor a Christology. *(p.117 CC)*

4 ... existentialism ... had grasped certain basic truths about man ... his finite freedom, ... the anxiety and conflict in (his) personal and social life ... and (his) existential estrangement from his essential nature ... While the ultimate Christian answer is not found in any of these existential assertions, there is much here by which the theologian may describe the true state of man's existence. *(p.167 PN/V)*

5 A large segment of Protestant liberalism (Renaissance optimism) defined man only in terms of his essential nature; his capacity for good; neo-orthodoxy (Reformation pessimism) tended to define man only in terms of his existential nature, his capacity for evil. An adequate understanding of man is found in neither the thesis of Liberalism nor in the antithesis of neo-orthodoxy, but in a synthesis which reconciles the truth of both. *(p.167 PN/V)*

6 ... the Christian view recognizes that man is

a) (First) ... a biological being having a physical body ... (and that) the body is both sacred and significant ...

b) (Second) ... a being of spirit. He moves "up the stairs of his concepts" into a wonder world of thought. Conscience speaks to him, and he is reminded of things divine ... this spiritual quality gives him the unique capacity to live on two levels. He is in nature, yet above nature. He is in space and time yet above them. *(p.109 WIM)*

c) (Third) ... a sinner in need of God's forgiving grace *(p.111)* ... Man is no helpless invalid ... in total depravity until God pulls him out. (Rather) Man is a ... being whose vision has been impaired by the cataracts of sin and whose soul has been weakened by the virus of pride, but there is sufficient vision left for him to lift his eyes unto the hills, and there remains enough of God's image for him to turn his weak and sin battered life toward the Great Physician, the curer of the ravages of sin. *(pp.150-51 APQ)*

7 a) An abiding expression of man's higher spiritual nature is his freedom. Man is man because he is free to operate within the framework of his destiny. He is free to deliberate, to make decisions, tends to choose

7 between alternatives. He is distinguished from animals by his freedom to do evil or to do good. *(p.110 WIM)*

b) Freedom is a part of the essence of man ... (But) there is no absolute freedom. We (men) are both free and destined. Freedom always operates within the context of predestined structure. Freedom is the act of deliberating, deciding, and responding within our destined nature ... Man is free to go North from Atlanta to Washington, D.C. or South from Atlanta to Miami, but not North to Miami or South to Washington. *(p.99 SD)*

c) An ... expression of freedom is responsibility. This is the obligation of the person to respond if he is questioned about his decisions ... He alone must respond, for his acts are determined by the totality of his being ... freedom cannot be abstracted from the person who ... himself does the abstracting. So, I am speaking of the freedom of the whole man and not the freedom of some function called the will. *(p.98 WDWGFH)*

8 Engulfing human nature is a tragic threefold estrangement by which man is separate from himself, his neighbors and his God. There is corruption in man's will. When we lay our lives bare before the scrutiny of God we admit that though we know truth, yet we lie; we know how to be just, yet we are unjust, we know that we should love, yet we hate; we stand at the juncture of the high road yet we deliberately choose the low road. *(p.111 WIM)*

9 Each of us is something of a schizophrenic personality, tragically divided against ourselves. A persistent civil war rages within our lives. Something causes us to lament with Ovid, the Latin poet, "I see and approve the better things, but follow worse" or to agree with Plato that human personality is like a charioteer having two headstrong horses, each wanting to go in different directions, or to repeat with the Apostle Paul, "The good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do". *(p.43 LYE)* ... man has dual citizenry. He lives both in time and in eternity; both in heaven and on earth. But he owes his ultimate allegiance to God. *(p.184 STF)*

10 All we like sheep have gone astray. *(p.111)* ... Man has strayed to the far countries of secularism, materialism, sexuality and racial injustice. His journey has brought a moral and spiritual famine in Western Civilization. But it is not too late to return home. *(p.112 WIM)*

11 a) Each of us 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, mechanism and instrumentalities by means of which we live. These include the house we live in, the car we drive, the clothes we wear ... the material stuff we must have to exist. *(p.63 MWF)*

b) The rich man was a fool:

i) because he failed to keep a line of distinction between means and ends, between structure and destiny. *(p.63 MWF)*

ii) because he failed to realize his dependence on others ... A victim of a cancerous disease of egotism, he failed to realize that wealth always comes as a result of the commonwealth ... He failed to realize that he was an heir of a vast tradition of ideas and labour to which both the living and dead had contributed. *(p.64 MWF)* ... Life for him was a mirror in which he saw only himself, and not a window through which he saw other selves. Dives went to hell, not because he was wealthy, but because ... he made no attempt to bridge the gulf between himself and his brother. *(p.6 TMTH)*

iii) because he failed to realize his dependence on God ... He had an unconscious feeling that he was the creator, not a creature. *(p.66)* Unfortunately the rich man did not realize this. He ... became so involved in big affairs and small trivialities that he forgot God. He gave the finite infinite significance and elevated a preliminary concern to ultimate standing. *(p.68 MWF)*

12 Our generation cannot escape the question of our Lord: What should it profit a man, if he gain the whole world of externals - airplanes, electric lights, automobiles and color television - and lose the internal - his own soul. *(p.70 MWF)*

III LOVE

1 As the greatest virtue and the true meaning of the Christian faith
2 The power of
3 As the highest good
4 As the supreme unifying principle and key to the ultimate reality
5 Three types of: Eros, Philia and Agape
6 Four characteristics of Agape
7 Three 'How to's'
8 Four 'Why to's'
9 And Justice
10 And understanding goodwill
11 And hope as the means to freedom and justice
12 As the most potent weapon in our quest for peace

LOVE

1 The greatest of all virtues is love. Here we find the true meaning of the Christian faith and of the Cross. Calvary is a telescope through which we look into the long vista of eternity and see the Love of God reaching into time. Out of the hugeness of His generosity, God allowed His only-begotten Son to die that we may live. By uniting yourselves with Christ and your brothers through love, you will be able to matriculate in the university of eternal life. *(p.164 PL to Amer.)*

2 a) (At Crozer) I had almost despaired of the power of love to solve social problems. Then I was introduced to the life and teachings of Gandhi. As I read his works, I became deeply fascinated by ... the whole concept of Satyagraha ... (and) my scepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, ... I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through the Gandhian method of non-violence is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people. At that time, however, I acquired only an intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position and .. no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation. *(p.169 PN/V)*

2 b) Prior to reading Gandhi, I had concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationship. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" philosophy were only valid I felt when individuals were in conflict with individuals ... But after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was. *(p.78 STF)*

c) Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. For Gandhi love was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and non-violence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. In him I found the intellectual and moral satisfaction that I'd failed to gain in Bentham, Mill, Marx, Lenin, Hobbes, Rousseau or Nietzsche. I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. *(p.79 STF)*

3 Throughout the centuries men have sought to discover the highest good. This has been the chief quest of ethical philosophy. This was one of the big questions of Greek philosophy. The Epicureans and the Stoics sought to answer it. What is the *summum bonum* of life? ... I have found the answer. I have discovered that the highest good is love. This principle is at the center of the cosmos. It is the great unifying force of life. God is love. He who loves has discovered the clue to the meaning of ultimate reality; he who hates stands in immediate candidacy for non-being. *(p.163 PL to Amer.)*

4 When I speak of love, I am speaking of that force which all the great religions of the world have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Moslem-Christian-Jewish-Buddist belief about ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the First Epistle of Saint John: Let us love one another: for love is of God: and everyone 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. *(pp.190-91 WDWGFH)*

5 The meaning of love is not to be confused with some sentimental outpouring. Love is something much deeper than emotional bosh. Perhaps the Greek language can clear our confusion at this point. In the Greek New Testament are three words for love. The word eros is a sort of aesthetic or romantic love. In the Platonic dialogues eros is a yearning of the soul for the realm of

5 the divine. The second word is philia, a reciprocal love and the intimate affection and friendship between friends. The third word is agape, understanding and creative, redemptive goodwill for all men. An overflowing love which seeks nothing in return, agape is the love of God operating in the human heart. At this level, we love men not because we like them, nor because their ways appeal to us, nor even because they possess some type of divine spark; we love every man because God loves him. At this level, we love the person who does an evil deed, although we hate the deed that he does. *(p.44 LYE)*

6 Four characteristics of Agape:

a) Agape is disinterested love. It is a love in which the individual seeks not his own good, but the good of his neighbor. *(1 Cor.10 : 24)*. It does not begin by discriminating between worthy and unworthy people ... It begins by loving others for their sakes. It is an entirely "neighbor-regarding concern for others" ... (that) makes no distinction between friend and enemy; and it is directed toward both ... Consequently (one) can (often) expect no good in return but only hostility and persecution. *(p.86 STF)*

b) Agape springs from the need of the other person ... for belonging to the best in the human family. The Samaritan ... on the Jericho Road was "good" because he responded to the human need ... he was presented with. God's love is eternal and fails not because man needs his love ... the loving act of redemption was done "while we were yet sinners" - that is at the point of our greatest need for love. Since the white man's personality is greatly distorted by segregation, and his soul is greatly scarred, he needs the love of the Negro. The Negro must love the white man because the white man needs his love to remove his tensions, insecurities and fears. *(p.87 STF)*

c) Agape ... is love in action ... love seeking to preserve and create community. It is an insistence on community even when one seeks to break it... a willingness to sacrifice in the interest of mutuality ... a willingness to go to any length ... to go the second mile to restore community. The cross is the eternal expression of the length to which God will go ... to restore broken community ... The Holy Spirit is the continuing community creating reality that moves through history. He who works against community works against the whole of creation. *(p.87 STF)*

6 d) In the final analysis, agape means a recognition ... that all life is interrelated, ... that all men are brothers (and) ... to the degree that I harm my brother, no matter what he is doing to me, to that degree I am harming myself ... (Hence) it is the only cement that can hold this broken community together. *(p.88 STF)*

7 (We can Love our neighbour only by):

a) ... developing and maintaining the capacity to forgive. *(p.42 LYE)* ... Forgiveness is not an occasional act; it is a permanent attitude. *(p.32 LIA)* ... Forgiveness does not mean: ... ignoring what has been done, or ... putting a false label on an evil act. It means that the evil act no longer remains as a barrier to the relationship. Forgiveness ... means reconciliation, a coming together again. Without this no man can love his enemies. The degree to which we are able to forgive determines the degree to which we are able to love one's enemies. *(p.42 LYE)*

b) ... seeing the evil act as only part of the evil doer. In other words ... When we look beneath the surface ... we see within our enemy neighbor a measure of goodness and know that the viciousness and evilness of his acts are not quite representative of all that he is ... We know God's image is ineffably etched in his being ... we love our enemies by realizing that they are not totally bad, and that they are not beyond the reach of God's redemptive Love. *(p.43 LYE)*

c) ... seeking not to defeat or humiliate the enemy but to win his friendship and understanding ... Every word and deed must contribute to an understanding with the enemy and a release of those vast reservoirs of goodwill which have been blocked by impenetrable walls of hate. *(pp.43-4 LYE)*

8 (We should love our enemies for four reasons):

a) (First because) ... returning hate for hate multiplies hate ... violence multiplies violence, and toughness multiplies toughness in a descending spiral of destruction. The chain reaction of evil ... must be broken. *(p.45 LYE)*

b) (Second because) ... hate scars the soul and distorts the personality. It brings irreparable damage to its victims and the person who hates. ... like an unchecked cancer (hate) corrodes personality and eats at its vital unity. Hate destroys man's sense of values and

objectivity. It causes him ... to confuse the true with the false and the false with the true ... Hate divides the personality and love in an amazing and inexorable way unites it. *(pp.45-6 LYE)*

c) (Third because) ... love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend ... By its very nature love creates and builds with redemptive power ... *(p.46 LYE)*

d) (And ultimately because Jesus said) ... "Love your enemies ... that ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven." We are called to ... a unique relationship with God. We are potential sons of God. Through love that potentiality becomes an actuality ... we must love our enemies, because only by loving them can we know God and experience His holiness. *(p.47 LYE)*

9 Love that does not satisfy justice is no love at all. It is merely a sentimental affection ... Love at its best is justice concretized. Love is unconditional. It is not conditional upon one staying in his place, or watering down his demands in order to be considered respectable. He who contends that he "used to love the Negro, but ..." did not truly love him in the beginning, but his love was conditioned upon the Negro's limited demands for justice. *(pp.89-90 WDWGFH)*

10 Nations have believed that greater armaments will cast out fear. But alas! they have produced greater fear. We are once more reminded of the judicious words of old, "Perfect love casteth out fear." Not arms but love, understanding, and organized goodwill can cast out fear ... *(pp.138-9 AF)* ... Understanding goodwill simply means that the Christian virtues of love, mercy and forgiveness should stand at the center of our lives. *(pp.11-12 FAI)*

11 a) ... Hence our motto (is) "Freedom and Justice through Love." Not through violence; not through hate; no not even through boycotts; but through love. It is true that as we struggle for freedom in America we will have to boycott at times. But we must remember as we boycott that a boycott is not an end within itself; it is merely a means to awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor and challenge his false sense of superiority. But the end is reconciliation, the end is redemption; the end is the creation of the beloved community. It is this type of spirit and this type of love that can transform opposers into friends. It is this type of understanding goodwill that will transform the deep gloom of the

old age into the exuberant gladness of the new age. It is this love which will bring about miracles in the hearts of men. *(p.12 FAI)*

b) 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 ... As Arnold Toynbee once said: "Love is the ultimate force that makes 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." *(p.191 WDWGFH)*

12 Love is the most durable power in the world. This creative force, so beautifully exemplified in the life of Christ is the most potent (weapon) instrument available in mankind's quest for peace and security. *(p.49 LYE)* ... Neither death, nor life, mor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come shall separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. *(p.162 PL to Amer.)*

13 Without Love:

a) ... scientific prediction ... all knowledge and ... institutions of learning ... mean absolutely nothing *(p.163 PL to Amer.)*

b) ... benevolence becomes egotism *(p.164 PL to Amer.)*

c) ... martyrdom becomes spiritual pride *(p.164 PL to Amer.)*

d) ... missionary efforts fail *(p.26 OBGN)*

IV LAW/MORALITY

1 Midnight in the moral order
2 Moral law as absolute and based on fixed and immutable principles
3 The law of love and forgiveness vs. the law of retaliation
4 The law of love as an expression of total surrender to God
5 And the enforceable and unenforceable obligations
6 The law of love and the laws of justice; their respective roles in achieving integration
7 Just and unjust laws
8 And the grounds for civil disobedience
9 And conscience
10 And the power of the courts
11 And the abuse of injunctions
12 And the constitutionality of demonstrations
13 And education as essential to achieving integration
14 And the double standards of law enforcement
15 And the moral imperatives of our time

LAW/MORALITY

1 a) It is midnight ... within the moral order. Moral principles have lost their distinctiveness ... Absolute right and absolute wrong is what the majority is doing. Right and wrong are relative to the customs of a particular community. We have unconsciously applied Einstein's theory of relativity ... to the moral and ethical realm. *(p.53 KAM)*

b) (At) midnight ... men desperately seek to obey the eleventh commandment, "Thou shalt not get caught" ... and the cardinal virtue is to get by. It is all right to lie; ... it is all right to steal ... and it is permissible even to hate ... The Darwinian concept of survival of the fittest has been substituted by a

1 philosophy of the survival of the slickest ... This has brought a tragic breakdown in our moral standards. *(p.53 KAM)*

2 a) Christianity sets forth a system of absolute moral values and affirms that God has placed within the very structure of this universe certain moral principles which are fixed and immutable. *(p.116 CC)* ... God has placed in this universe certain absolute moral laws. We can neither defy nor break them. If we destroy them, they will break us. *(pp.128-9 OGIA)*

b) Nature ... caught in the finality of her own impersonal structure, does nor forgive ... She must honor everlastingly her fixed, immutable laws. When these laws are violated, she has no alternative except to follow inexorably her path of uniformity. *(p.32 LIA)*

3 a) The law of love as an imperative is the norm for all of man's actions. *(p.116 CC)* ... Oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of ... *lex talionis:* "Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" ... (But) Jesus eloquently affirmed from the cross a higher law. He knew that the old eye-for-an-eye philosophy would leave everyone blind. He did not seek to overcome evil with evil. He overcame evil with good. Although crucified by hate, he responded with aggressive love. *(p.33 LIA)*

b) ... stretched in painful agony on an uplifted cross ... Jesus lifts his thorn-crowned head and cries in words of cosmic proportion: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" ... We sense the greatness of this prayer by contrasting it with nature, which ... does not forgive ... the slowness of man to forgive ... or with a society that is even less prone to forgive. *(p.33 LIA)*

i) An innocent young lady, who, after a moment of over-riding passion, becomes the mother of an illegitimate child ... will tell you that society is slow to forgive.

ii) A public official, who, in a moment's carelessness, betrays the public trust ... will tell you that society is slow to forgive.

iii) ... the inhabitants ... behind the bars of (any prison) ... will tell you that society is slow to forgive.

iv) Capital punishment is society's final assertion that it will not forgive. *(pp.32-33 LIA)*

4 No admonition of Jesus has been more difficult to follow than the command to "love your enemies". This command ...

4 is an absolute necessity for our survival ... and the key to the solution of the problem of our world ... Jesus understood the difficulty inherent in (this) act ... He realized that every genuine expression of love grows out of a consistent and total surrender to God. *(pp.41-42 LYE)*

5 Dr Harry Emerson Fosdick has made an impressive distinction between enforceable and unenforceable obligations. The former are regulated by the codes of society and the vigorous implementation of law enforcement agencies. But unenforceable obligations are beyond the reach of the laws of society. They concern inner attitudes, genuine person-to-person relations and expressions of compassion which law books cannot regulate and jails cannot rectify. Such obligations are met by one's commitment to an inner law, written on the heart. *(p.27 OBGN)*

6 a) Man-made laws assure justice, but a higher law produces love. No code of conduct ever persuaded a father to love his children or a husband to show affection to his wife. The law court may force him to provide bread for the family, but it cannot make him provide a bread of love. *(p.27 OBGN)*

b) ... (thus) the ultimate solution to the race problem lies in the willingness of men to obey the unenforceable ... Desegregation will break down the legal barriers and bring men together physically, ... (but an) end to fears, prejudice, pride, and irrationality, which are the barriers to a truly integrated society ... will be removed only as men are possessed by the invisible, inner law which etches on their hearts the conviction that all men are brothers and that love is mankind's most potent weapon for personal and social transformation. *(pp.28-29 OBGN)*

c) True integration will be achieved by true neighbours who are willing to obey the unenforceable. Calvary (is) history's most magnificent expression of obedience to the unenforceable. *(p.29 OBGN)*

7 a) ... people should obey just laws, but I would also say with St Augustine, that an unjust law is no law at all. *(p.12 NF)* ... If an earthly institution or custom conflicts with God's will, it is your Christian duty to oppose it. You must never allow the transitory, evanescent demands of man-made institutions to take precedence over the eternal demands of the Almighty God. *(p.158 PL to Amer.)*

b) How does one determine that a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is

7 a human law that is not rooted in external law and natural law. *(p.82 WWCW)*

8 a) When we find an unjust law, I think we have a moral obligation to take a stand against it. *(p.12 NF)*

b) When challenged that our (MIA) proposed seating arrangements were illegal and that the changes were going against the cherished customs of our community ... I concluded ... if customs are wrong we have every reason in the world to change them. The decision which we must make now is whether we will give our allegiance to outmoded and unjust customs, or to the ethical demands of the universe. As Christians we owe our ultimate allegiance to God and His will, rather than to man and his folkways. *(p.98 STF)*

c) I am not avoiding the penalties for breaking the law - I am willing to endure all your punishment because your society will not be able to endure the stigma of violently and publicly oppressing its minority to preserve injustices. *(p.15 IRR)*

d) I think the individual who discovers on the basis of conscience that a law is unjust and who is willing in a very peaceful sense to disobey that unjust law and willingly and voluntarily suffers the consequences, is expressing the highest respect for law. *(pp.14-15 NF)*

9 On the basis of conscience ... how can we test conscience? ... on the basis of the insights of the ages through saints and prophets, on the basis of the best evidence of the intellectual disciplines of the day, psychology, sociology, anthropology and what have you, on the basis of all that we find in the religious insights of the ages, and I think we will all agree that any law that degrades human personality is an unjust law, and one's conscience should reveal that to him. *(p.15 NF)*

10 (Knowing that,) no court has the power or the authority to use its power, whether it is in the form of a legislative act, an anti-trust passed law, or an executive decree, to deny an individual his constitutional rights. *(p.14 NF)* If the United States Supreme Court or the government of our nation issued a law, set forth a law or a decision stating that the public worship of God is unconstitutional, (that) there would be a denial of the right of freedom of religion and to worship God publicly, would you urge people to obey that and to be obedient to it and wait fifty or a hundred years through the century of litigation before protesting this law? *(p.16 NF)*

11 The injunction method has ... become the leading instrument of the South to block the direct action civil-rights drive

11 and to prevent the Negro citizens and their white allies from engaging in peaceable assembly, a right guaranteed by the First Amendment ... This ... pseudo-legal way of breaking the back of legitimate moral protest ... had been invoked in Montgomery to outlaw our car pool ... It torpedoed our effort in Albany, Georgia and routed the NAACP from the state of Alabama. (Thus) ... when the injunction was issued in Birmingham, ... (we pointed out) that we were not anarchists advocating lawlessness but that ... the Courts of Alabama had misused the legal process in order to perpetuate injustice and segregation. Consequently, we could not, in good conscience obey it. *(p.71 WWCW)*

12 Now, there are those who will argue that these demonstrations are unconstitutional and that they are illegal. They would go on to argue that they have no respect for law. But I would say that this is absolutely wrong. The individuals engaged in sit-in demonstrations are revealing the highest respect for law, and they respect law so much that they want to see all laws just and in line with the moral law of the universe, and they are willing to suffer and sacrifice in order to square local customs and local laws with the moral law of the universe. And they are seeking to square these local laws with the Federal constitution and with what is the just law of the land. *(p.4 NF)*

13 a) There are those who contend that integration can come only through education, for no other reason than that morals cannot be legislated. I choose, however, to be dialectical at this point. It isn't either education or legislation; it is both legislation and education. I quite agree that it is impossible to change a man's internal feelings merely through law. But this really isn't the intention of the law. The law does not seek to change one's internal feelings; it seeks rather to control the external effects of those internal feelings. For instance, the law cannot make a man love me - religion and education must do that - but it can control his desire to lynch me. So in order to control the external effects of prejudiced internal feelings, we must continue to struggle through legislation. *(p.16 FAI)*

b) We must depend on religion and education to alter the errors of the heart and mind; but meanwhile it is an immoral act to compel a man to accept injustice until another man's heart is set straight. *(p.173 STF)*

14 Laws that affect the whole population ... draft laws, income tax laws, traffic laws - manage to work even though they are unpopular, but laws passed for the Negro's benefit

14 are so widely unenforced that it is a mockery to call them laws. There is a tragic gulf between civil rights laws passed and civil rights laws implemented. There is a double standard in the enforcement of law and a double standard in the respect for particular laws. *(p.82)* ... Every civil rights law is still substantially more dishonored than honored. *(p.10 WDWGFH)*

15 a) Among the moral imperatives of our time ... are ... to wipe out the last vestiges of racism *p.173)* ... to solve the problem of poverty on an international scale *(p.177)* ... and to find an alternative to war and human destruction. *(p.181 WDWGFH)*

b) It is as possible and as urgent to put an end to war and violence between nations as it is to put an end to poverty and racial injustice. *(p.184 PN/V)*

c) If we assume that mankind has a right to survive *(p.171 PN/V)* ... 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. *(pp.189-90 WDWGFH)*

V THE GOOD LIFE

1 As a coherent triangle
2 The length, the breadth and the height of
3 As self-love, love of others and love of God
4 As a synthesis of toughmindedness and tenderheartedness
5 As exemplified in the life of the good Samaritan
6 And three aspects of Altruism
7 As doing the will of God and following the example of Christ

THE GOOD LIFE

1 Life at its best is a coherent triangle. At one angle is the individual person. At the other angle are other persons. At the tiptop is the Infinite Person, God. *(p.84 TDCL)*

2 a) The length of life is the inward drive to achieve one's personal ends and ambitions, an inward concern for one's welfare and achievement. The breadth of life is the outward concern for the welfare of others. The height of life is the upward reason for God. *(p.84 TDCL)*

b) Length without breadth is like a self-contained tributary having no outward flow to the ocean ... Light has come into the world, and every man must decide whether he will walk in the light of creative altruism or the darkness of destructive selfishness. *(p.87-88 TDCL)*

c) All life is interrelated and all men are interdependent and are thereby involved in a single process ... We are inevitably our brother's keeper because of the interrelated structure of reality ... This recognition of the oneness of humanity and the need of an active brotherly concern for the welfare of others is the breadth of man's life. *(p.88-90 TDCL)*

d) When we add height to length and breadth, we have the complete life ... We must rise above earth and give our ultimate allegiance to that eternal Being who is the source and ground of all reality. *(p.90)* ... If you do not have a deep and patient faith in God, you will be powerless to face the delays, disappointments, and

2 the vicissitudes that inevitably come. Without God, all our efforts turn to ashes and our sunrises into darkest nights. Without him, life is a meaningless drama in which the decisive scenes are missing. But with Him, we are able to rise from the tension packed valleys to the sublime heights of inner peace, and find radiant stars of hope against the nocturnal bosom of life's most depressing nights. St Augustine was right: "Thou hast created us for thyself and our heart cannot be quieted till it find repose in thee." *(p.92 TDCL)*

3 a) What then is the conclusion of the matter? Love yourself, if that means a rational and healthy self-interest. You are commanded to do that. That is the length of life. Love your neighbor as you love yourself. You are commanded to do that. That is the breadth of life. But never forget that there is a first and even greater commandment: "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all they mind." That is the height of life. *(p.93-94 TDCL)*

b) Only by a painstaking development of all three of these dimensions can you expect to live a complete life ... only by attaining the completeness can we be true sons of God. Only by reaching this city, the New Jerusalem, can we achieve our true essence. *(p.24 TDCL)*

4 a) ... life at its best is a creative synthesis of opposites in fruitful harmony *(p.1 TMTH)* ... Jesus reminds us that the good life combines the toughness of the serpent and the tenderness of the dove. *(p.6 TMTH)*

b) ... a tough mind ... is sharp and penetrating, breaking through the crust of legends and myths, shifting the true from the false. The toughminded individual is astute and discerning. He has a strong astute quality that makes for firmness of purpose and solidness of commitment ... This toughness of mind is one of man's greatest needs. *(p.2 TMTH)*

c) But we must not stop with the cultivation of a tough mind. The gospel also demands a tender heart ... What is more tragic than to see a person who has risen to the disciplined heights of toughmindedness but has at the same time sunk to the passionless depths of hardheartedness. *(p.5 TMTH)*

d) The hardhearted person never truly loves. He engages in crass utilitarianism which values other people mainly according to their usefulness to him. He never experiences the beauty of friendship because he is too cold to feel affection for another and too self-centred to share another's joy and sorrow. He is an isolated

4 island. No outpouring of love links him with the mainland of humanity ... The hardhearted person lacks the capacity for genuine compassion. He is unmoved by the pains and afflictions of his brothers ... He gives dollars to a worthwhile charity, but he gives not of his spirit. The hardhearted person never sees people as people but rather as mere objects ... He depersonalizes life. *(p.5-6 TMTH)*

e) (Thus) ... To have serpentlike qualities devoid of dovelike qualities is to be passionless, mean and selfish. (Similarly) To have dovelike qualities without serpentlike qualities is to be sentimental, anemic, and aimless. We must combine strongly (these) marked antitheses. *(p.6 TMTH)*

5 a) The goodness of the good Samaritan may be described in one word - altruism.. he was good because he made concern for others the first law of his life. *(p.21 OBGN)*

b) His goodness was not found in a passive commitment to a particular creed, but in his active participation in a life-saving deed *(p.20)* ... The Samaritan used his hands to bind up the wounds of the robbed man's body, and he also released an overflowing love to bind up the wounds of his broken spirit. *(p.27 OBGN)*

c) He was good because he was a good neighbor. *(p.20 OBGN)*

d) Who is my neighbor? "I do not know his name", says Jesus in essence ... "He is 'a certain man' - any needy man - on one of the numerous Jericho roads of life". So, Jesus defines a neighbor not in a theological definition, but in a life situation. *(p.21 OBGN)*

6 Three aspects of altruism:

a) The good Samaritan ... had the capacity for universal altruism. He had a piercing insight into *(p.21)* ... barbaric consequences of any tribal-centered, national-centered or racial-centered ethic ... He saw the wounded man as a human being first ... The good neighbor looks beyond the external accidents and discerns those inner qualities that make all men human and therefore brothers. *(p.23 OBGN)*

b) The Samaritan possessed the capacity for dangerous altruism. He risked his life to save a brother ... By the very nature of his concern, the good Samaritan (asked) the question: "If I do not stop to help this man, what will happen to him?" We so often ask "What will happen to my job, my prestige, or my status if I take a stand on this issue?" ... The good man always reverses the question ... What will happen to these ... people if I do not go to them? *(p.25 OBGN)*

6 c) The Samaritan also possessed excessive altruism ... After tending the man's wounds, he put him on his beast, carried him to an inn and left money for his care, making it clear that if further financial needs arose he would gladly meet them ... Stopping short of this, he would have more than fulfilled any possible ... duty to a wounded stranger (But) He went beyond the second mile. His love was complete. *(p.27 OBGN)*

7 a) In our quest to make neighborly love a reality, we have, in addition to the inspiring example of the good Samaritan, the magnanimous life of Christ to guide us. His altruism was universal, for he thought of all men ... as brothers. His altruism was dangerous, for he willingly traveled hazardous roads in a cause he knew was right. His altruism was excessive, for he chose to die on Calvary, history's most magnificent expression of obedience to the unenforceable. *(p.29 OBGN)*

b) The end of life is not to be happy, not to achieve pleasure and avoid pain, but to do the will of God, come what may ... to declare the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. *(p.162 PL to Amer.)*

VI THE CHURCH/RELIGION

1 Rauschenbusch's influence on King and greatest contribution to Christianity
2 And the threefold integration of man
3 As the Body of Christ and a Fellowship of Love
4 The historical failure of
5 Subject to the judgment of God
6 Its challenge today
7 Six imperatives for the Church to regain its power, message and authentic ring
8 Two ineffectual kinds of Negro churches
9 And segregation: four things the church can do
10 The role of ministers and need for prophets
11 And the role of prayer
12 And the moral demand for enlightenment
13 And sectarianism

THE CHURCH/RELIGION

1 a) ... Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* ... (did) a great service for the Christian church by insisting that the Gospel deals with the whole man, not only his soul but his body; not only his spiritual well being but his material well being ... (Admittedly) ... he had fallen victim to the nineteenth-century "cult of inevitable progress ... and come perilously close to identifying the Kingdom of God with a particular social and economic system - a tendency which should never befall the Church. (Nevertheless) it has been my conviction since reading Rauschenbush that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the social and economic conditions that scar the soul is a spiritually moribund religion only waiting for the day to be buried. *(p.73 STF)*

b) If one is truly devoted to the religion of Jesus, he will seek to rid the earth of social evils. The gospel is social as well as personal. *(p.98 STF)*

2 A religion true to its nature must be concerned about man's social condition.Religion deals with both earth and heaven, both time and eternity. Religion operates not only on the vertical plane but also on the horizontal. It seeks not only to integrate men with God but to integrate men with each other and each man with himself. This means, at bottom, that the Christian Gospel is a two-way road. On the one hand it seeks to change the souls of men and thereby unite them with God; on the other hand it seeks to change environmental conditions of men so that the soul will have a chance after it is changed. Any religion that professes to be concerned with the souls of men and is not concerned with the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them and the social conditions that cripple them is unquestionably an opiate of the people *(p.21 STF)*

3 a) The church is the Body of Christ. When the Church is true to its nature, it knows neither division nor disunity. *(p.159 PL to Amer.)*

b) One day somebody should remind us that even though there may be political and ideological differences between us ... In Christ there is neither communist nor capitalist, bound nor free. We are all one in Jesus Christ. And we truly believe in the sacredness of human personality *(p.72 CSP)*

c) Here, then, is the hard challenge ... to let the spirit of Christ work toward fashioning a truly great Christian nation. If the church accepts this challenge with devotion and valor, the day will be speeded when men everywhere will recognize that they "are all one in Christ Jesus." *(p.187 STF)*

d) For:

In Christ there is no East or West,
In Him no South or North.
But one great Fellowship of Love
Throughout the whole wide Earth. *(p.50 LYE)*

4 a) Unfortunately ... the church has harkened more to the authority of the world than to the authority of God. Called to be the moral guardian of the community, the church has at times preserved that which is immoral and unethical. Called to combat social evils, it has remained silent behind stained-glass windows. Called to lead men on the highway of brotherhood ... it has enunciated and practised social exclusiveness. *(p.14 TNC)*

b) ... preachers ... tempted by the enticing cult of conformity ... (and) seduced by the success symbols of the world ... have become showmen to please the whims and caprices of the people ... *(p.14 TNC)*

c) Meanwhile ... millions of Africans, patiently knocking on the door of the Christian Church and ... (seeking) the bread of social justice have either been ... ignored or told to wait ... Millions of American Negroes starving for the ... bread of freedom ... have been greeted by a cold indifference or a blatant hypocrisy. And in ... war men have asked for the bread of peace ... but the national churches functioned as the ready lackeys of the state, sprinkling water on the battleships and ... singing, "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition." *(p.56 KAM)*

5 ... the Church must acknowledge its quiet, its weak and vacillating witness, its all too frequent failure to obey the call to servanthood. Today the judgment of God is upon the church for its failure to be true to its mission. *(p.96 WDWGFH)*

6 a) The church today is challenged to proclaim God's Son, Jesus Christ to be the hope of men in all their complex personal and social problems. Many will continue to come ... perplexed by the uncertainties of life, confused by daily disappointments, and disillusioned by the ambiguities of history. *(p.59 KAM)*

b) Some ... we must provide with the fresh bread of hope and imbue them with the conviction that God has the power to bring good out of evil. *(p.59 KAM)*

c) Some ... we must lead to Christ who will offer them the fresh bread of forgiveness. *(p.59)*

d) Some ... we must provide the bread of faith in immortality, so that they may realize that this earthly life is merely an embryonic prelude to a new awakening. *(p.59 KAM)*

7 a) If the Church of Jesus Christ is to regain once more its power, message and authentic ring it must conform only to the demands of the Gospel. *(p.15 TNC)*

Moreover it must:

b) ... be ... not the master or the servant of the state, but rather the conscience, guide and critic of the state. *(p.57 KAM)*

c) ... participate actively in the struggle for peace and for economic and racial justice, (or) it will forfeit the loyalty of millions and cause men everywhere to say it has atrophied its will. *(p.57 KAM)*

d) ... take the lead in social reform. It must move out into the arena of life and do battle for the sanctity of religious commitments. It must lead man along the true path of integration, something the law cannot do. *(p.100 WDWGFH)*

e) ... speak and act fearlessly and insistently in terms of justice and peace; ... (and) enkindle the imagination of mankind and fire the souls of men ... with a glowing and ardent love for truth, justice, and peace. *(p.57 KAM)*

8 a) Two types of Negro Churches have failed to provide bread. One burns of emotionalism and the other freezes of classism. *(p.58 KAM)*

b) The former, reducing worship to entertainment, places more emphasis on volume than content and confuses spirituality with muscularity. The danger in such a church is that the members may have more religion in their hands and feet than in their hearts and souls ... this type of church has neither the vitality nor the relevant Gospel to feed hungry souls. *(p.58 KAM)*

c) The other type of Negro church has developed a class system and boasts of its dignity, its membership of professional people and its exclusiveness ... This type of church fails to recognize that worship at its best is a social experience in which people from all levels of life come to affirm their oneness and unity under God. *(p.58 KAM)*

d) Whenever the Church, consciously or unconsciously, caters to one class, it loses the spiritual force of the "whosoever will, let him come" doctrine, and is in serious danger of becoming little more than a social club with a thin veneer of religiosity. *(p.10 STF)*

9 a) The church must face its historic obligation in ... the problem of race ... There are (four) specific things that the church can do: *(p.182 STF)*

b) (First, it can) ... get to the ideational roots of race hate, something that the law cannot accomplish... Through its channels of religious education, the church can point out ... that the idea of a superior or inferior race is a myth that has been completely refuted by anthropological evidence. It can show that Negroes are not innately inferior in academic, health, and moral standards. *(p.82-3 STF)*

c) (Second it) ... can reveal the true intentions of the Negro - that he is not seeking to dominate the nation, but simply wants the right to live as a first-class citizen, with all the rights and responsibilities that good citizenship entails. *(p.183 STF)*

d) (Third it) ... can also help by mitigating the prevailing and irrational fears concerning intermarriage. It can say to men that marriage is an individual matter

9 that must be decided on the merits of individual cases. Properly speaking, races do not marry; individuals marry. Marriage is a condition which requires the voluntary consent of two contracting parties, and either side can always say no. The church can reveal that the continual outcry concerning intermarriage is a distortion of the real issue. It can point out that the Negro's primary aim is to be the white man's brother, not his brother-in-law. *(p.183 STF)*

e) (And a fourth) ... thing that the church can do to make the principle of brotherhood a reality is to keep men's minds and visions centred on God ... When people think about race problems they are too often more concerned with men than with God. The question usually asked is: "What will my friends think if I am too friendly to Negroes or too liberal on the race question ?" Men forget to ask "What will God think?" And so they live in fear because they tend to seek social approval on the horizontal plane rather than spiritual devotion on the vertical plane. *(p.183 STF)*

10 a) It is impossible to speak of the role of the church without referring to the ministers. Every minister of the gospel has a mandate to stand up courageously for righteousness, to proclaim the eternal verities of the gospel, and to lead men from the darkness of falsehood and fear to the light of truth and love. *(p.185 STF)*

b) Any discussion of the role of the Christian minister must ultimately emphasise the need for prophecy. Not every minister can be a prophet, but some must be prepared for the ordeals of this high calling and be willing to suffer courageously for righteousness. *(p.186-7 STF)*

c) ... Of the Negro ministers ... A faithful few had always shown a deep concern for social problems, but too many remained aloof from the area of social responsibility. Much of this ... stemmed from a sincere feeling that ministers were not supposed to get mixed up in such earthly temporal matters as social and economic improvement; they were to "preach the gospel" and keep men's minds centered on the heavenly. But, however sincere, this view of religion, I felt, was too confined. *(p.21 STF)*

d) The important thing is for every minister to dedicate himself to the Christian ideal of brotherhood and be sure that he is doing something positive to implement it. He must never allow the theory that it is better to remain quiet and help the cause to become a rationalization for doing nothing. *(p.186 STF)*

11 a) Prayer is a marvelous and necessary supplement for our feeble efforts, but it is a dangerous substitute. *(p.150 APQ)*

b) We must pray earnestly for peace, but we must also work vigorously for disarmament and the suspension of weapon testing. *(p.150 APQ)*

c) We must pray with unceasing passion for social justice but we must also use our minds to develop a program, organize ourselves into a mass nonviolent action, and employ every resource of our bodies and souls to bring an end to social injustice. *(p.150 APQ)*

d) We must pray unrelentingly for economic justice, but we must also work diligently to bring into being those social changes that make for a better distribution of wealth within our nation and in the underdeveloped countries of the world. *(p.150 APQ)*

12 a) Unlike physical blindness ... Intellectual and moral blindness is a dilemma which man inflicts upon himself by his tragic misuse of freedom, and his failure to use his mind to its fullest capacity. *(p.39 LIA)*

b) If we are to call ourselves Christians, we had better avoid intellectual and moral blindness ... History has proven that sincerity and conscientiousness in themselves are not enough. Oftentimes these noble virtues may degenerate into tragic vices. Nothing in the world is worse than sincere ignorance and conscientious stupidity. *(p.37 LIA)*

c) As the chief moral guardian of community, the church must admit this moral demand for enlightenment. *(p.38 LIA)*

13 I am told that within American Protestantism there are more than two hundred and fifty denominations. The tragedy is not merely that you have such a multiplicity of denominations, but that many groups claim to possess absolute truth. Such narrow sectarianism destroys the unity of the Body of Christ. God is neither Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, nor Episcopalian. God transcends our denominations. If you are to be true witnesses for Christ, you must come to know this, America. *(p.159 PL to Amer.)*

VII POWER

1 Man's need for a new image of
2 Properly understood
3 Its relationship to love and justice
4 And morality
5 The problem with it in America
6 Freedom and democracy
7 As social, political and economic forces and the role of government
8 And Black Power; its origin, three positive and three negative characteristics
9 And the need for a coalition between Negroes and white liberals
10 And weakness
11 As physical, spiritual and moral, and their relationship
12 And nonviolence
13 As a combination of education and social action

POWER

1 Humanity is waiting for something other than blind imitation of the past ... this will make us new men ... (and) give us a new kind of power. It will not be Lord Acton's image of power that tends to corrupt or absolute power that corrupts absolutely. It will be power fused with love and justice that will change dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows. *(p.66 WDWGFH)*

2 Power, properly understood, is the ability to achieve purpose. It is the strength required to bring about social, political, or economic changes. In this sense power is not only desirable but necessary ... to implement the demands of love and justice. *(p.37 WDWGFH)*

3 One of the great problems of history is that the concepts of love and power are usually contrasted as polar opposites. Love is identified with the resignation of power and power with a denial of love ... What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive and that love without power is sentimental and anemic.

3 Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice. Justice at its best is love correcting everything that stands against love. *(p.37 WDWGFH)*

4 ... power and morality must go together, implementing, fulfilling and enobling each other. In the quest for power, I cannot bypass the concern for morality. I refuse to be driven to a Machiavellian cynicism with respect to power. Power at its best is the right use of strength. The words of Alfred the Great are still true: Power is never good unless he who has it is good. *(p.59 WDWGFH)*

5 There is nothing essentially wrong with power. The problem is that in America power is unequally distributed *(p.37)* ... the plantation and the ghetto were created by those who had power both to confine those who had no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness. The problem of transforming the ghetto is, therefore, a problem of power. *(p.36 WDWGFH)*

6 In the first century B.C., Cicero said: "Freedom is participation in power." Negroes should never want all power because they would deprive others of their freedom. By the same token, Negroes can never be content without participation in power. America must be a nation in which its multiracial people are partners in power. This is the essence of democracy. *(p.54 WDWGFH)*

7 Power is not the white man's birthright; it will not be legislated for us and delivered in neat government packages. It is a social force any group can utilize by accumulating its elements in a planned, deliberate campaign to organize it under its control *(p.157 WDWGFH)* ... In our society power sources ... can always finally be traced to those forces we describe as ideological, economic and political. *(p.138 WDWGFH)*

8 Black Power

a) Its origin:

In reality the call for Black Power is a reaction to the failure of white power. The Black Power slogan was born ... from despair and disappointment *(p.33)* ... with the federal government .... in implementing the civil rights laws *(p.34)* ... the inconsistency ... of our government ... in applauding nonviolence whenever the Negroes have practiced it but (also) applauding violence and burning and death when these same Negroes are sent to the field of Vietnam. *(p.35)* ... (Moreover it is) disappointment with ... the white moderates who feel they can set the timetable for the Negro's freedom ... and the Christian Church that

8 appears to be more white than Christian *(p.35-6)* ... (Finally) it is disappointment with the Negro middle class that has sailed or struggled out of the muddy ponds into the relatively fresh-flowing waters of the mainstream, and in the process has forgotten the stench of the backwaters where their brothers are still drowning. *(p.36 WDWGFH)*

b) Its Three Positive Features:

i) Black Power is a call to black people to amass the political and economic strength to achieve their legitimate goals ... and compel the majority to listen. *(p.9 36)* ... In *Why We Can't Wait* ... I urged the development of political awareness and strength in the Negro community, the election of blacks to key positions and the use of the bloc vote to liberalize the political climate and achieve our just aspirations for freedom and human dignity. To the extent that Black Power advocates these goals, it is a positive and legitimate call to action. *(p.37-38 WDWGFH)*

ii) Black Power is also a call for the pooling of black financial resources to achieve economic security ... If Black Power means the development of this kind of strength with the development of the habits of thrift and techniques of wise investments ... then it is a quest for basic, necessary, legitimate power. *(p.38 WDWGFH)*

iii) (As) ... a reaction to the psychological doctrine that created the perfect slave, finally Black Power is a psychological call to manhood. For years the Negro has been taught that he is nobody, that his color is a sign of his biological depravity, and that his being has been stamped with an indelible imprint of inferiority, that his whole history has been soiled with the filth of worthlessness *(p.38)* ... and the anachronistic doctrine of white supremacy *(p.41)* ... To offset this cultural homicide, the Negro must rise up with an affirmation of his own Olympian manhood ... the Negro must boldly throw off the manacles of self-abnegation and say to himself and the world: "I am somebody, I am a person. I am a man with dignity and honor. I have a rich and noble history ... *(pp.43-44 WDWGFH)*

c) Its Three Negative Features:

i) Black Power is a nihilistic philosophy born out of the conviction that the Negro cannot win. It is, at bottom, the view that American society is so hopelessly corrupt and enmeshed in evil that there is no possibility of salvation from within *(p.44)* ... like the Garvey 'Back to Africa Movement' of the 1920's, it represents a dashing of hope, a conviction of the

inability of the Negro to win and a belief in the infinitude of the ghetto ... The Negro cannot entrust his destiny to a philosophy nourished solely on despair, and to a slogan that cannot be implemented into a program. *(p.46 WDWGFH)*

ii) ... behind Black Power's legitimate and necessary concern for group unity and black identity lies the belief that there can be a separate black road to power and fulfillment. Few ideas are more unrealistic *(p.48 WDWGFH)* ... there is no separate black path to power and fulfillment that does not intersect white paths, there is no separate white path to power and fulfillment, short of social disaster, that does not share that power with black aspirations for freedom and human dignity. We are bound together in a single garment of destiny. *(p.52 WDWGFH)*

iii) Probably the most destructive feature of Black Power is its unconscious and often conscious call for retaliatory violence ... the slogan is mainly used by persons who have lost faith in the method and philosophy of nonviolence ... Their Bible is Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* . ... a well written book ... that argues violence is a psychologically healthy and tactically sound method for the oppressed ... they say "Sing us no songs of nonviolence, sing us no songs of progress, for nonviolence and progress belong to middle class Negroes and whitesand we are not interested in you." *(p.55 WDWGFH)*

9 Black Power alone is no more insurance against social injustice than white power. Negro politicians can be as opportunistic as their white counterparts ... What is most needed is a coalition of Negroes and liberal whites that will work to make both major parties truly responsive to the needs of the poor. *(p.49 WDWGFH)*

10 If Power is the ability to fulfil purpose, action which defeats purpose is weakness. *(p.79 DES)*

11 Science can give us only physical power, which if not controlled by spiritual power will lead inevitably to cosmic doom ... Power is never good unless he be good that has it. We need something more spiritually sustaining and morally controlling than science ... (Science) is an instrument which under the power of God's spirit may lead men to modern heights of physical security but apart from God's spirit science is a deadly weapon that will lead only to deeper chaos. *(p.68 MWF)* ... our moral and spiritual 'lag' must be redeemed. When scientific power outruns moral power, we end up with guided missiles and misguided men ... We sign the warrant for our own day of doom. *(p.172 WDWGFH)*

12 Nonviolence is power, but it is the right and good use of power. Constructively it can save the white man as well as the Negro. *(p.59)* ... With a majestic sense of spiritual power it seeks to break the chain of reaction of evil and to elevate truth, beauty and goodness to the throne. *(p.63 WDWGFH)*

13 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 direction. When we go into action against our adversaries, we must be as armed with knowledge as they are ... *(p.155 WDWGFH)*

VIII PEACE

1 As more than the eradication of war

2 As the presence of justice, goodwill and brotherhood

3 As the product of men opening their lives to God

4 Calls for a new evaluation of the real and powerful

5 Four prerequisites of

6 As both a means and an end

7 As Christ's legacy of inner equilibrium amid outer storms

PEACE

1 a) Many men cry "Peace! Peace!" but they refuse to do things that make for peace ... Stages of history are replete with conquerors of old who came killing in the name of peace ... Alexander, Genghis Khan, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne and Napoleon. So when in this day I see leaders of nations talking about peace while preparing for war, I take a fearful pause. *(p.182 WDWGFH)*

b) It's not enough to say, "We must not wage war." It is necessary to love peace and sacrifice for it. We must concentrate not merely on the eradication of war but on the affirmation of peace. *(p.185 WDWGFH)*

2 a) Peace as the world commonly understands it comes when the summer sky is clear and the sun shines in scintillating beauty, when the pocketbook is full, when the mind and body are free of aches and pain, and when the shores of Spain have been reached. But this is not true peace. The peace of which Paul (Apostle) spoke is a calmness of soul amid terrors of trouble, inner tranquility amid the howl and rage of outer storm. *(p. 103-4 SD)*

b) True peace is not merely the absence of some negative force - tension, confusion, or war; it is the presence of some positive force - justice, goodwill and brotherhood. *(p.7 FAI)*

c) I ... speculate that this is what Jesus meant when he said: "I have not come to bring peace but a sword."

2 Certainly Jesus did not mean that he came to bring a physical sword. He seems to have been saying in substance ... "Whenever I come, a conflict is precipitated between the old and the new. Whenever I come, a division sits in between justice and injustice. I have come to bring a positive peace, which is the presence of justice, love, yet even the Kingdom of God." *(p.24-5 STF)*

3 We will not find peace in our generation until we learn anew that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth, but in those inner treasuries of the spirit which no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. *(p.70 MWF)* ... (Moreover) ... it will come neither by man working alone nor by God destroying the wicked schemes of men, but when men so open their lives to God that he may fill them with love, mutual respect, understanding and goodwill. *(p.153 APQ)*

4 I do not minimize the complexity of the problems that need to be faced in achieving disarmament and peace. But I am convinced that we shall not have the will, the courage and the insight to deal with such matters unless in this field we are prepared to undergo a mental and spiritual reevaluation, a change of focus which will enable us to see that the things that seem most real and powerful are indeed now unreal and have come under sentence of death. We need to make a supreme effort to generate the readiness, indeed the eagerness, to enter the new world which is now possible,"the city which hath foundation, whose Building and Maker is God."*(p.185 WDWGFH)*

5 (If we are to have peace on earth there are four prerequisites):

a) (First) ... our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Our loyalities must transcend our race, our tribe, our class and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective *(p.68 CSP)*, more than ever before, men of all races and nations are today challenged to be neighborly. The call for a worldwide good neighbor policy is more than an ephemeral shibboleth; it is the call to a way of life which will transform our imminent cosmic elegy into a psalm of creative fulfillment... We cannot long survive spiritually separated in a world that is geographically together ... I must not ignore the wounded man on life's Jericho Road, because he is part of me, and I a part of him. His agony diminishes me, his salvation enlarges me. *(p.29 OBGN)* ... we aren't going to have peace until we recognize this ... interrelated structure of all reality. *(p.69-70 CSP)*

5 b) (Second) ... man and nations must embrace the nonviolent affirmation that the ends and means must cohere ... we will never have peace in the world until men everywhere recognize that the ends are not cut off from the means, because the means represent the ideal in the making, and the end 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. *(p.71 CSP)*

c) (Third) ... there must be belief in the nonviolent affirmation of the sacredness of all human life. Every man is somebody because he is a child of God ... made in his image and therefore must be respected as such ... 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. *(p.72 CSP)*

d) (And fourth) ... we must believe in the ultimate morality of the universe, and believe that all reality hinges on moral foundations ... Christ came to show us the way. Men loved darkness rather than light, and they crucified Him, and there on Good Friday on the Cross it was dark, but then came Easter, and Easter is the eternal reminder that "truth crushed to earth will rise again." *(p.75 CSP)*

6 a) Peace represents a sweeter music, a cosmic melody that is superior to the discords of war. Somehow we must transform the dynamics of the world power struggle ... from the arms race into a peace race. *(p.185 WDWGFH)*

b) We must narrow the gaping chasm between our proclamations of peace and our lowly deeds which precipitate war ... One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal that we seek, but as means by which we arrive at that goal. *(p.183 WDWGFH)*

7 Christianity affirms that God is able to give us the inner equilibrium to stand tall amid the trials and burdens of life. He is able to provide inner peace amid outer storms. This inner stability of the man of faith is Christ's legacy to his disciples. He offers neither material resources nor a magical formula that exempts us from suffering and persecution, but he brings us an imperishable gift: "Peace I leave with thee." This is that Peace which passeth all understanding. *(p.129-30 OGIA)*

IX PROGRESS

1 As the Kingdom of God

2 As a moral victory and the collaboration of God and man in conquering sin

3 As an inner spiritual transformation based on faith

4 As neither automatic nor inevitable

5 Never straight line

6 As dependent on you

7 And the role of tension

PROGRESS

1 ... All progress is precarious, and the solution of one problem brings us face to face with another problem. The Kingdom of God as a universal reality is "not yet", because sin exists on every level of human existence ... yet the Kingdom of God may exist in the present in such isolated forms as in judgment, in personal devotion, and in some group life. The Kingdom of God is in the midst of you. *(p.78 DES)*

2 Moral victory will come as God fills man and man opens his life by faith to God ... When enough people open their lives to God and allow him to pour his triumphant and divine energy into their souls. *(p.153 APQ)* ... Neither God nor man will individually bring the world's salvation ... (God will not; man cannot). Rather both man and God made one in a marvelous unity of purpose through an overflowing love as the free gift of himself on the part of God, and by perfect obedience and receptivity on the part of men, can transform the old into the new and drive out the deadly cancer of sin. *(p.152 APQ)*

3 Only through an inner spiritual transformation do we gain the strength to fight vigorously the evils of the world in a humble and loving spirit. *(p.16 TNC)* ... Man filled with God and God operating through man bring unbelievable changes in our individual and social lives. *(p.153 APQ)* ... The principle which opens the door for God to work through man is faith. *(p.153 APQ)*

4 a) What one group of men dedicated to a dying cause can do, another group, if they are as deeply committed to justice, should be able to do. *(p.321 HCR)*

4 b) Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable ... In every struggle progress is the result of the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals. Without this persistent effort, time becomes an ally of the insurgent and primitive forces of irrationalism and social stagnation. *(NFRC)*

5 The line of progress is never straight. For a period a movement may follow a straight line and then it encounters obstacles and the path bends. It is like curving around a mountain when you are approaching a city. Often it feels as though you were moving backward, and you lose sight of your goal; but in fact you are moving ahead, and soon you will see the city again closer by. *(p.12 WDWGFH)*

6 I have talked about the emerging new order of integration and the forces that are at work to assure its realizations. From this you may have concluded that we can sit complacently by the wayside and await the inevitable. Nothing could be further from the truth ... Progress depends on you. *(Excerpt NFRC)*

7 a) Tensions represent the necessary pains that accompany the birth of anything new. Long ago the Greek philosopher Heraclitus argued that justice emerges from the strife of opposites, and Hegel, in modern philosophy, preached a doctrine of growth through struggle. It is both historically and biologically true that there can be no birth and growth without birth and growing pains. Whenever there is the emergence of the new we confront the recalcitrance of the old. *(p.4 FAI)*

b) There is a kind of tension that is both healthy and necessary for growth ... Nonviolent coercion brings this tension into the open to force citizens to confront the ugliness of their prejudice and the tragedy of their racism. *(p.91 WDWGFH)*

X EVIL

1 As stark, grim and colossally real but containing the seeds of its own destruction

2 And the history of man

3 As antithetical to moral and spiritual dignity

4 Two impossible ways to eradicate it

5 The only means of eradicating it

6 And thoughts on the mystery surrounding the purpose of God

7 Under God's control

8 And the unpardonable sin

9 The ultimate evil

EVIL

1 a) Our planet teeters on the brink of atomic annihilation; dangerous passions of pride, hatred, and selfishness are enthroned in our lives; truth lies prostrate on the rugged hills of nameless calvaries; and men do reverence before the false gods of nationalism and materialism. (*p.17 TNC*)

b) Evil is stark, grim and colossally real ... Evil is as real as the face of good *(p.71)* ... evil is recalcitrant and ... never voluntarily relinquishes its hold short of persistent, almost fanatical resistance. But there is a check-point in the universe: evil cannot permanently organize itself. *(p.73)* ... Evil has a self-defeating limit. *(p.78 DES)*

c) ... evil contains the seeds of its own destruction ... There is a law in the moral world - a silent, invisible imperative, akin to the laws of the physical world - which reminds us that life will work only a certain way. *(p.127 OGIA)*

2 a) In a sense, the history of man is the story of the struggle between good and evil. All of the great religions have recognized this tension at the core of the universe. Hinduism calls this tension a conflict

2 between illusion and reality; Zoroastrianism, a conflict between the god of light and the god of darkness; and traditional Christianity a conflict between God and Satan. Each realizes that in the midst of the upward thrust of goodness there is a downward pull of evil. *(p.72 DES)*

b) Christianity has always insisted that in the perennial struggle between good and evil, that the forces of light will eventually emerge as the victor. *(Excerpt MIA)*

c) Evil is ultimately doomed by the powerful, inexorable forces of Good. Good Friday must give way to the triumph music of Easter. *(p.72 DES)*

3 When man comes to himself, he knows that evil ... must be driven from the native soil of his soul before he can achieve moral and spiritual dignity. *(p.145 APQ)*

4 a) How can evil be cast out? Men have usually pursued two paths to eliminate evil. The first calls in man to remove evil by his own power ... This idea ... has ushered God out and escorted man in and substituted human ingenuity for divine guidance ... Armed with (his) growing faith in the capability of reason and science, modern man set out to change the world ... The laboratory became man's sanctuary and scientists his priests and prophets. *(p.146-7 APQ)*

b) But alas! something has shaken the faith of those who have made the laboratory "the new cathedral of man's hopes." The instruments which yesterday were worshipped today contain cosmic death, threatening to plunge us all into the abyss of annihilation. Man is not able to save himself or the world. Unless he is guided by God's spirit, his new found scientific power will become a devastating Frankenstein monster that will bring to ashes his earthly life. *(p.125 OGIA)*

c) The second idea for removing evil from the world stipulated that ... the Lord, in his own good time ... will alone redeem the world. *(p.148 APQ)* ... (But) the belief that God will do everything for man is as untenable as the belief that man can do everything for himself ... to expect God to do everything while we do nothing is not faith but superstition. *(p.151 APQ)*

5 a) "How, (then), can evil be cast out of our individual and collective lives?" ... The answer is found in an idea which is distinctly different from the two we have discussed for neither God nor man will individually bring the world's salvation. Rather both man and God, made one in a marvelous unity of purpose

5 through an overflowing love as a free gift of himself on the part of God and by perfect obedience and receptivity on the part of man, can transform the old into the new and drive out the deadly cancer of sin. *(p.152 APQ)*

b) One cannot remove an evil habit by mere resolution nor by simply calling on God to do the job, but only as he surrenders himself and becomes an instrument of God. We shall be delivered from the accumulated weight of evil only when we permit the energy of God to come into our souls. God has promised to co-operate with us when we seek to cast evil from our lives and become true children of his divine will. *(p.154 APQ)*

c) Evil can be cast out, not by man alone nor by a dictatorial God who invades our lives, but when we open the door and invite God through Christ to enter ... when we open it in faith believing, a divine and human confrontation will transform our sin-ruined lives into radiant personalities. *(p.155 APQ)*

6 a) At times ... forces cause us to question the ableness of God ... what Keats calls "the giant agony of the world"; ruthless floods and tornadoes that wipe away poeple as though they were weeds, in an open field; ills like insanity plaguing some individual from birth and reducing their days to tragic cycles of meaninglessness; the madness of war and the barbarity of man's inhumanity to man - why, we ask, do these things occur if God is able to prevent them? *(p.125 OGIA)*

b) I would limit my response to an assertion that much of the evil we experience is caused by man's folly and ignorance and also by his misuse of freedom. Beyond this I can only say that there is and always will be a penumbra of mystery surrounding God. What appears at the moment to be evil may have a purpose that our finite minds are incapable of comprehending. *(p.125 OGIA)*

7 a) ... why is God as slow in conquering the forces of evil ... I do not pretend to understand all the ways of God or his particular timetable for grappling with evil. *(p.79 DES)* ... But we want the world to know that we believe ... God controls the destiny of the universe and Evil can't triumph *(Excerpt MIA)* ... God is able to conquer the evils of history. His control is never usurped. *(p.128 OGIA)*

b) Almost anything that happens to us may be woven into the purposes of God. It may lengthen our cord of sympathy. It may break our self-centered pride. The

7 cross which was willed by wicked men, was woven by God into the tapestry of redemption. How familiar is the experience of ... transforming disappointed expectations into opportunities to serve God's purpose! *(p.100-101 SD)*

8 The unpardonable sin, thought the poet Milton, was when a man so repeatedly said, "Evil, be thou my good," (and) so consistently lived a lie, that he lost the capacity to distinguish between good and evil. *(p.96 WDWGFH)*

9 Death is not the ultimate evil; the ultimate evil is to be outside of God's love. *(p.143 AF)*

XI REVOLUTION

1 *As the birth of new systems of justice and equality*
2 *As a commitment to Christ and the Gospels in the spirit of the early Church and early Christians*
3 *Two methods*
4 *And an axiom of social change*
5 *As a mechanism of human behaviour*
6 *And a social movement*
7 *Three kinds: scientific, political and axiological*
8 *The American racial revolution, its origin and purpose*
9 *And America*

REVOLUTION

1 These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against the old systems of exploitation and oppression, and ... new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people ... are rising up as never before ... We in the West must support these revolutions. Communism is a judgment of our failure to make democracy real ... and follow through the revolutions we initiated.
(pp.189-90 WDWGFH)

2 a) We need to pledge ourselves anew to the cause of Christ. We must recapture the spirit of the early Church. Wherever the early Christians went they made a triumphant witness for Christ ... they daringly proclaimed the good news of the gospel ... in the faith that they had discovered a cause so great and been transformed by a Saviour so divine that even death was not too great a sacrifice ... They urged men to revolt against the old systems of injustice and old structures of immorality. *(p.122 CC)*

b) Where is this kind of revolutionary commitment to Christ today? ... Christ must once more be enthroned in our lives ... Like the early Christians, we must move into a sometimes hostile world

2 armed with the revolutionary gospel of Jesus Christ. With this powerful gospel we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust moves and thereby speed up 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; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed". *(pp.122-3 CC;& pp.189-90 WDWGFH)*

3 Before this century, virtually all revolutions had been based on hope and hate. The hope was ... the expectation of freedom and justice (and) the hate was an expression of bitterness toward the perpetrators of the old order. It was the hate that made revolutions bloody and violent. What was new about Mahatma Gandhi's movement ... was that he mounted a revolution on hope and love, hope and non-violence. *(p.44 WDWGFH)*

4 It is an axiom of social change that no revolution can take place without a methodology suited to the circumstances of the period *(p.34 WWCW)* ... A methodology and philosophy of revolution is neither born nor accepted overnight. From the moment it emerges, it is subjected to rigorous tests, oppositions, scorn and prejudice.*(p.41 WWCW)*

5 There is no tactical theory so neat that a revolutionary struggle for a share of power can be won merely by pressing a row of buttons. Human beings with all their faults and strengths constitute the mechanism of a social movement. They must make mistakes and learn from them, make more mistakes and learn anew. They must taste defeat as well as success, and discover how to live with each other. Time and action are the teachers.*(p.43 WWCW)*

6 A social movement that only moves people is merely a revolt. A movement that changes both people and institutions is a revolution. The summer of 1963 was a revolution because it changed the face of America ... dismantling the structure of segregation ... *(p.43 WWCW)*

7 (There are three types and kinds of revolution):

a) (Scientific and technological). Our world is geographically one. This geographical togetherness has been brought about, to a great extent, by man's scientific and technological genius ... through his scientific genius man has been able to dwarf distance and place time in chains; he

7 has been able to carve highways through the stratosphere. Now we are faced with the challenge of making it spiritually one. Through our scientific genius we have made of the world a neighborhood; now through our moral and spiritual genius we must make of it a brotherhood. *(p.9 FAI; see also pp.167-8; 171 WDWGFH)*

b) (Political). In the past two decades, the contemporary world entered a new era characterized by multifaceted struggles for human rights ... The issues of human rights and individual freedom challenged forms of government as dissimilar as those of the Soviet Union, Colonial Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States ... The Negro freedom movement represents this world upheaval within the United States. It is a component of a world era of change, and that is the source of its strength and stability. *(p.231 HCR; see also pp.169-70 WDWGFH)*... in the contemporary struggle between good in the form of freedom and justice, and evil in the form of oppression and colonialism ... the victory of the forces of justice and human dignity is gradually being achieved. *(pp.74-75 DES)*

c) (Axiological). The stability of the large world house which is ours will involve a revolution of values to accompany the scientific and freedom revolutions engulfing the earth *(p.186 WDWGFH)* ... A genuine revolution of values, in the final analysis, means that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies ... This ... worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for all-embracing and unconditional love for all men.*(p.190 WDWGFH)* ... Rapidly we must (also) shift from a "thing" oriented society to a "person" oriented society ... We are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside; ... the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be beaten and robbed as they make their journey through life. *(pp.187-8 WDWGFH)*

8 a) ... the Negro Revolution ... was born from the same womb that always gives birth to massive social upheavals - the womb of intolerable conditions and unendurable situations ... no leader or set of leaders could have acted as ringmasters ...

It was the people who moved their leaders, not the leaders who moved the people. *(pp.131-2 WWCW)*

b) The American racial revolution has been a revolution to "get in" rather than to overthrow. We want a share in the American economy, the housing market, the educational system and the social opportunities. This goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be nonviolent. If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory ... To destroy anything, person or property, cannot bring us closer to the goal that we seek. *(p.130 WDWGFH)*

9 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. A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. (It) will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast between poverty and wealth ... 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 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" ... (It) will lay (its) hands on the world order and say of war "This way of settling difference is not just" ... (and) a nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than the programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual doom. *(p.33 CVW)*

a) If we do not act (soon) 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 weight. *(p.34 CVW)*

XII HOPE AND SUFFERING

1 As an integral part of Christianity

2 As chastening

3 As exemplified in the life of St Paul

4 Three unhealthy reactions to shattered dreams: resentment, detachment and fatalism

5 As the means of achieving our humanity's full stature

6 As essential in standing up for Christ

7 As redemptive and creative

8 As necessary today

HOPE AND SUFFERING

1 ... we are gravely mistaken to think that Christianity protects us from the pain and agony of mortal existence. Christianity has always insisted that the cross we bear precedes the crown we wear. To be a Christian, one must take up his cross, with all its difficulties and agonizing and tragedy-packed content, and carry it until that very Cross leaves its marks upon us and redeems us to that more excellent way which comes only through suffering. *(p.18 TNC)*

2 a) After praying in the Garden of Gethsemane that the cup might pass, Jesus nonetheless drank to the last bitter dregs. *(p.96 SD)*

b) The New Testament rightly declares: "No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nonetheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness". Pharaoh exploits the children of Israel - nevertheless afterward! Pilate yields to the crowd which crucifies Jesus - nevertheless afterward! The early Christians are thrown to the lions and carried to the chopping block - nevertheless afterward! *(pp.73-74 DES)*

3 ... few, if any of us, live to see our fondest hopes fulfilled. The hopes of our childhood and the promises of our mature years are unfinished symphonies ... In Paul's letter to the Roman Christians we find a potent illustration of disappointed hopes ... One of his ardent hopes was to travel to Spain (by way of) Rome ... But he

never got to Rome according to his hopes. He was indeed taken there ... held captive in prison ... (and) put to death, we presume, as a martyr for Christ. Paul's life is a tragic story of shattered dreams. *(pp.95-96 SD)*

4 There are three unhealthy reactions to shattered dreams:

a) One ... is ... bitterness and resentment. The person who pursues this path is likely to develop a callous attitude, a cold heart, and a bitter attitude toward God, toward those with whom he lives and toward himself ... Such a reaction ... psychosomatic medicine ... shows may result in physical deterioration. *(pp.96-97 SD)*

b) Another ... is to withdraw completely ... Detachment is the word which best describes (those people). Too unconcerned to love, 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 ... Disappointed hopes lead them to a crippling cynicism. *(p.97 SD)*

c) A third way ... is to adopt a fatalistic philosophy ... 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 *(p.98 SD)* ... The embracing of fatalism is as tragic and dangerous a way to meet the problem of unfulfilled dreams as are bitterness and withdrawal. *(p.99 SD)*

5 a) How may I, confined in some narrow Roman cell and unable to reach life's Spain transmute this dungeon of shame into a heaven of redemptive suffering? *(p.100 SD)*

b) The answer lies in our willing acceptance of unwanted and unfortunate circumstances ... our acceptance of finite disappointment even as we adhere to infinite hope. *(p.100 SD)*... By discovering the distinction between spiritual tranquility and the outer accidents of circumstance, Paul learned to stand tall without despairing amid the disappointments of life. *(p.103 SD)*

c) By suffering in a righteous cause, we may possibly achieve our humanity's full stature *(p.101 SD)* ... for we know, as Paul testified, in life or in death, in Spain or in Rome "that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are

5 called according to his purpose". *(p.105 SD)* ... (Hence) we must accept finite disappointment but never lose infinite hope. *(p.101 SD;see also p.47 WDWGFH)*

6 Do not despair if you are condemned and persecuted for righteousness' sake. When you testify for truth and justice, you are liable to scorn ... You may be put in jail ... or ... (lose) a job ... Do not worry about persecution, American Christians; you must accept this when you stand up for a great principle. *(p.162 PL to Amer.)*

7 My personal trials have also taught me the value of unmerited suffering. As my sufferings mounted, I soon realized that there were two ways in which I could respond to my situation - either to react with bitterness or to seek to transform the suffering into a creative force. I decided to follow the latter course. Recognizing the necessity for suffering, I have tried to make of it a virtue ... I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive ... So like the Apostle Paul I can now humbly yet proudly, say: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." *(p.172 PN/V)*

8 a) Indeed there is ... a deep longing for the bread of hope. In the early years of this century many people did not hunger for this bread ... They worshipped at the shrine of inevitable progress. They believed that every new scientific achievement lifted man to higher levels of perfection. But then a series of tragic developments ... led to one of the most colossal breakdowns of optimism in history. *(p.55 KAM)*

b) Many concluded that life has no meaning ... Others cried out with Shakespeare's Macbeth that life is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. But even in the ... moments when all seems hopeless, men knew that without hope they cannot live.*(p.55 KAM)*

XIII FEAR

1 As man's elemental alarm system which needs to be mastered

2 Four dimensions of

3 Four ways to master

4 Hate and war

5 Courage and cowardice

6 Racial segregation and the need for love

7 And communication

8 And armaments vs.understanding goodwill

FEAR

1 Fear is the elemental alarm system of the human organism which warns us of approaching danger ... moreover (it) is a powerful creative force ... 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 then is not to be rid of fear but ... how to master it.*(pp.134-5 AF)*

2 Four Dimensions of Fear:

a) Envy, jealousy, a lack of self confidence, a feeling of insecurity, and a haunting sense of inferiority ... (are) annoying fears that pervert our personal lives. *(p.140 AF)*

b) Equally common ... are economic fears ... Captains of industry are tormented by ... possible failure. Employees are plagued by the prospect of unemployment and ... automation. *(p.134 AF)*

c) And consider, too, the multiplication ... of religious and ontological fears. The ... atomic age has lifted the fear of death to morbid proportions ... and put Hamlet's words, "To be or not to be" on millions of trembling lips. *(p.134 AF)*

d) Our deteriorating international situation is ... (full) of fears. Russia fears American and America fears Russia. Likewise China and India *(p.138 AF)*

3 Four Ways to Master Fear:

a) First, we must unflinchingly face our fears ... more often than not, fear involves the misuse of the imagination ... By bringing our fear to the forefront of consciousness, we may find them more imaginary than real. *(pp.135-6 AF)*

b) Second, we can master fear through ... courage. Courage ... is the power of the mind to overcome fear. Courage 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. *(pp.136-7 AF)*

c) Third, fear is mastered ... The New Testament affirms through the kind of love which led Christ to the cross and kept Paul unembittered amid the angry torrents of persecutions ... Such love confronts evil without flinching and shows ... an infinite capacity "to take it". *(p.138 AF)*

d) Fourth, fear is master through faith ... Many of our abnormal fears can be dealt with by ... psychiatry ... But much of our fearful living encompasses a realm where the service of psychiatry is ineffectual ... Abnormal fear and phobiae ... expressed in neurotic anxiety may be cured by psychiatry; but the fear of death, nonbeing, and nothingness ... may be cured only by a positive religious faith. *(pp.140-1 AF)*

4 a) Hate is rooted in fear ... We say that war is a consequence of hate, but a close scrutiny reveals: first fear, then hate, then war, and finally deeper hatred.*(p.138 AF)* ... hatred and bitterness can never cure ... fear, only love can do that. Hatred paralyzes life; love releases it. Hatred confuses life; love harmonizes it. Hatred darkens life, love illumes it. *(p.140 AF)*

b) ... disappointment produces despair and despair produces bitterness, and the one thing certain about bitterness is its blindness. When some members of the dominant group, particularly those in power, are racist in attitude and practice, bitterness accuses the whole group. Bitterness has not the capacity to make distinction between some and all. *(p.26 WDWGFH)*

5 Courage and cowardice are antithetical. Courage is an inner resolution to go forward in spite of obstacles; ... cowardice is a submissive surrender to circumstances. Courage breeds creative self-affirmation; cowardice produces destructive self-abnegation. Courage faces fear and thereby masters it; cowardice represses fear and thereby is mastered by it. Courageous men never lose zest for living even though their situation is zestless; cowardly men, overwhelmed by the uncertainties of life lose the will to live. *(p.137 AF)*

6 Racial segregation is buttressed by such irrational fears as loss of preferred economic privilege, altered social status, intermarriage and adjustment to new situations. Through sleepless nights and haggard days numerous white people struggle pitifully to combat these fears. By following the path of escape some seek to ignore the question of race relations ... Others, placing their faith in legal manoeuvres, counsel massive resistance. Still others hope to drown their fears by engaging in acts of meanness and violence toward their Negro brethren ... all these remedies instill deeper and more pathological fears ... If our white brothers are to master fear, they must depend not only on their commitment to Christian love but also on the Christlike love which the Negro generates towards them. Only through our adherence to love and nonviolence will fear in white community be mitigated. *(p.139 AF; pp.59-60 WDWGFH)*

7 (We desperately need) ... channels of communications open between races. Men often hate each other because they fear each other; they fear each other because they cannot communicate;they cannot communicate because they are separated.*(p.18 STF)*

8 ... nations have believed that greater armaments will cast out fear. Not arms but love, understanding, and organized goodwill can cast out fear. *(p.139 AF)*

XIV KNOWLEDGE/TRUTH/FAITH/SCIENCE

1 And the New Testament's command to love God

2 And King's criticism of Wieman's methodological imperialism

3 The method of rational coherence and dialectic reading

4 And personalism

5 The two types of faith and St Paul's doctrine of salvation

6 And three characteristics of a positive religious faith

7 And the relation of science and religion

8 And the dual function of theology

9 And the philosophical role of God's revelation in Christ

KNOWLEDGE/TRUTH/FAITH/SCIENCE

1 a) The call for intelligence is a call for open-mindedness, sound judgment and love for truth ... One does not need to be a profound scholar ... nor a keen academician to engage in an assiduous pursuit for truth. *(p.39 LIA)*

b) Throughout the New Testament ... We are commanded to love God, not only with our hearts and souls, but also with our minds. When the Apostle Paul noticed the blindness of many of his opponents, he said, "I bear them record that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge." Over and again the Bible reminds us of the danger of zeal without knowledge and sincerity without intelligence. *(p.38 LIA)*

c) ... Calvary was composed not of evil people but of blind people. They knew not what they did. *(p.34 LIA)*

2 a) For Wieman, the only way to gain true knowledge is through the scientific method. In accepting (this) as the only way of distinguishing truth from error, (he) automatically rejects most traditional ways of knowing. Revelation *(p.26)*, faith *(p.28)*, and authority *(p.29 DD)*

b) There are however three principal difficulties with Wieman's epistemology:
(First) ... Wieman's method, thoroughgoing empiricism, eliminates faith and analogical reference from the quest for knowledge of God. But is it possible to eliminate faith and analogical reference from genuine knowledge of God, or from any other knowledge for that matter? The outcome of such an elimination would be as Santayana has shown a "solipsism of the present moment." Without faith and a recourse to analogy it is impossible to develop a working knowledge of the actual world. *(p.39 DD)*

c) (Second) ... Wieman is inconsistent in denying analogical reference and faith in knowledge about God yet (saying) that the terms "process" and "interaction" apply to everything that exists because everything in existence is a process and interacts with other things. For, how is this known? Certainly not by direct observation. Since observations are limited in proportion to being, any assertion must be analogous. *(p.40 DD)*

d) (Third) ... The scientific method in religion omits so much valid experience. By its nature, instruments and procedures science limits itself to so few elements within an infinite variety of life's experiences. Tillich calls this "methodological imperialism" which is as bad as political imperialism. *(p.41 DD)*

3 a) ... in Hegel's philosophy ... I strongly disagreed with his absolute idealism ... because it tended to swallow up the many in the one. But ... His contention that the "truth is the whole" led me to a philosophical method of rational coherence. *(p.82 STF)*

b) I read ... all the influential historical thinkers - from a dialectical point of view - combining a partial yes and a partial no. In so far as Marx posited a metaphysical materialism, an ethical relativism and a strangulating totalitarianism, I responded with an unambiguous "no"; but in so far as he pointed to weakness of traditional capitalism, contributed to the growth of a definite self-consciousness in the masses, and challenged the social conscience of the Christian Churches I responded with a definite "yes". *(p.77 STF)*

c) (Ultimately, however, I concluded that) Truth is found neither in traditional capitalism nor in classical communism. Each represents a partial truth. Capitalism fails to see the truth of collectivism. Communism fails to see the truth of individualism. Capitalism fails to realize that life is social. Communism fails to see that life is personal. The good and just society is neither the thesis of capitalism nor the antithesis of communism, but a socially conscious democracy which reconciles the truths of individualism and collectivism. *(p.187 WDWGFH)*

4 ... At Boston University under Edgar S.Brightman and L. Harold DeWolf ... I studied personalistic philosophy - the theory that the clue to the meaning of ultimate reality is found in personality. This personal idealism remains today my basic philosophical position. Personalism's insistence that only personality - finite and infinite - is ultimately real strengthened me in two convictions: it gave me metaphysical and philosophical grounding for the idea of a personal God, and it gave me a metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality. *(p.82 STF)*

5 a) Two types of faith in God are clearly set forth in the Scriptures. One may be called the mind's faith, wherein the intellect assents to a belief that God exists. The other may be referred to as the heart's faith, whereby the whole man is involved in a trusting act of self-surrender. To know God, man must have this latter type of faith, for the mind's faith is directed toward a theory but the heart's faith is centered in a Person. *(p.152 APQ)*

b) Faith is the opening of all sides at every level of one's life to the divine inflow ... That is what the Apostle Paul emphasized in his doctrine of salvation by faith. For him, faith is man's capacity to accept God's willingness through Christ to rescue us from the bondage of sin. In his magnanimous love, God freely offers to do for us what we cannot do for ourselves. *(p.152 APQ)*

c) Genuine faith imbues us with the conviction that beyond time is a divine Spirit and beyond life is Life. *(p. 104)* ... Our earthly life is a prelude to a glorious new awakening, and death is an open door that leads us to Life eternal. *(p.105 SD)*

6 a) A positive religious faith does not offer ... that we shall be exempt from pain and suffering ... Rather it endows us with the inner equilibrium needed to free the strains, burdens and fears that inevitably come, and assures us that the universe is trustworthy and that God is concerned. *(p.141 AF)*

b) Religion endows us with the conviction that ... Above the manyness of time stands the one eternal God, with wisdom to guide us, strength to protect us, and love to keep us. His boundless love supports and contains us as a mighty ocean contains and supports the tiny drops of every wave. With a surging fullness he is forever moving toward us seeking to fill our ... lives with unlimited resources. This is religion's everlasting diapason, its eternal answer to the enigma of existence. *(p.142 AF)*

7 a) There is a widespread belief that there is a conflict between science and religion. But this is not true ... Their respective worlds are different and their methods are dissimilar. Science investigates; religion interprets. Science gives man knowledge which is power; religion gives man wisdom which is control. Science deals mainly with facts; religion deals mainly with values. The two are not rivals. They are complementary. Science keeps religion from sinking into the valley of crippling irrationalism and paralyzing obscurantism. Religion prevents science from falling into the marsh of obsolete materialism and moral nihilism. *(pp.3-4 TMTH)*

b) Reason, devoid of the purifying power of faith, can never free itself from distortions and rationalizations. *(p.166 PN/V)*

8 All theology has a dual function: to state the basic truth of the Christian faith and to interpret this truth to the existing cultural situation. In other words, theology has both a "kergymatic" and "apologetic" function. It is the unavoidable duty of the theologian to interpret the "message" to the cultural situation of his day. *(p.5 DD)*

9 The philosopher who is a Christian does not differ from other philosophers in starting with a belief which he takes as the key to reality. He finds the key to reality in the events of God's revelation in Jesus Christ. This does not mean that having found the key in a particular event, he should cease to look at the universal structure of being. The fact that he has found the key enables him to look at the structure of being with a clearer understanding of it. *(p.24 DD)*

XV AMERICA/DEMOCRACY/WESTERN/CIVILIZATION

1 As a great nation gone astray
2 Its two dominant and contradictory strains
3 Its schizophrenic personality
4 Its destiny
5 Its race problem as a personal and national moral problem emerging from the growth of freedom
6 The dangers and opportunities of its present crisis
7 Its present choice
8 Its need for radical restructuring
9 What is its purpose?
10 As particularly vulnerable
11 And the dialectic of scientific and spiritual progress
12 And the struggle against Communism
13 And the pitfalls of Capitalism
14 As the greatest form of government ever conceived

AMERICA/DEMOCRACY/WESTERN CIVILIZATION

1 a) America is a great nation, offering to the world, through the Declaration of Independence, the most eloquent and unequivocal expression of dignity of man ever set forth in a socio-political document. *(p.83 TDCL)*

b) America ... was solidly structured idealistically. Its pillars were soundly grounded in the insights of our Judeo-Christian heritage: all men are made in the image of God; all men are brothers; all men are created equal; every man is heir to a legacy of dignity and worth; every man has rights that are neither derived from nor conferred by the State, they are God-given ... But America strayed away. *(p.84 WDWGFH)*

2 a) (There are) ... two dominant and contradictory strains in the American psyche:

b) Our democratic heritage ... took from John Locke of England the theory of natural rights

2 b) of man, racism - the myth of inferior peoples - was flourishing to contradict and qualify the democratic ideal. *(pp.7O-1 WDWGFH)*

3 a) ... since the birth of our nation, white America has had a schizophrenic personality on the question of race ... a self in which she proudly professed the greatest principles of democracy, and a self in which she sadly practised the antithesis of democracy. *(p.68 WDWGFH)*

b) ... through two centuries a continuous indoctrination of Americans has separated people according to mythically superior and inferior qualities while a democratic spirit was evoked as the national ideal. The concepts of racism and this schizophrenic duality of conduct, remain deeply rooted in American thought today. *(p.8O WDWGFH)*

4 History has thrust upon our generation an indescribably important destiny - to complete the process of democratizaion which our nation has too long developed too slowly, but which is our most powerful weapon for world respect and emulation. How we deal with this crucial situation will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation and our political prestige as a leader of the free world ... The U.S. cannot hope to attain the respect of the vital and growing colored nations of the world unless it remedies the racial problems at home. *(pp.173-4 STF)*

5 a) The racial issue that we confront in America is not a sectional but a national problem. The citizenship rights of Negroes cannot be flouted anywhere, without impairing the rights of every other American. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. A breakdown of law in Alabama weakens the very foundation of lawful government in the other forty-nine states. The mere fact that we live in the United States means we are caught in a network of inescapable mutuality. Therefore, no American can afford to be apathetic about the problem of racial justice. It is a problem that meets every American at his front door. The racial problem will be solved in America to the degree that every American considers himself personally confronted with it. *(p.176 STF)*

5 b) In the final analysis the problem is not purely a racial one with Negroes set against whites. In the end it is not a struggle against people at all, but a tension between justice and injustice. *(p.191)* ... In this conviction, President Kennedy uttered on June 11, 1963 ... "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities ... Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality. *(p.32 WWCW)*

c) The present crisis (in race relations) developed when the collective pressures to achieve fair goals for the Negro met with tenacious and determined resistance. Then the emerging new order, based on the principle of democratic equalitarianism came face to face with the older order based on the principles of paternalism and subordination. The crisis developed, paradoxically, when the most sublime principles of American democracy - imperfectly realized for almost two centuries - began fulfilling themselves and met with the brutal resistance of forces seeking to contract and repress freedom's growth. *(pp.168-9 STF)*

6 Every crisis has both its dangers and opportunities. It can spell either salvation or doom ... In the present crisis America can achieve racial justice or ultimate social psychosis that can only lead to domestic suicide. 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 ... We can choose either to walk the high road of human brotherhood or to tread the low road of man's inhumanity to man. *(p.173 STF)*

7 a) America must seek its own ways of atoning for the injustices she has inflicted upon her Negro citizens. *(p.135 WWCW)* ,

b) Gunnar Myrdal ... wrote ... the Negro problem is not only America's greatest failure but also America's incomparably great opportunity for the future. If America should follow its own deepest convictions ... (it) can demonstrate that justice, equality and co-operation are possible between white and colored people ... America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity. *(pp.84-5 WDWGFH)*

8 a) (1967) ... there is a need for radical restructuring of the architecture of American society ... For the evils of racism, poverty and militarism to die, a new set of values must be born. Our economy must become more person-centred than property- and profit-centred. Our government must depend more on its moral power than on its military power ... *(p.133 WDWGFH)*

b) America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in a revolution of values. There is nothing ... to prevent us from guaranteeing an annual minimum - and livable - income for every American family ... and ... reordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. *(p.189 WDWGFH)*

9 a) Are we seeking our national purpose in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "All men are created equal ... endowed with certain inalienable rights ... Among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? Or are we pursuing the national purpose proclaimed by Calvin Coolidge, who said: "The business of America is business"? *(p.192 FNF)*

b) Are we more concerned with the size, power and wealth of our society or with creating a more just society? *(p.85 WDWGFH)*

c) Overwhelmingly America is still struggling with irresolution and contradictions. It has been sincere and even ardent in welcoming some change. But too quickly apathy and disinterest rise to the surface when the next logical steps are taken.*(p.5 WDWGFH)*

10 a) Western civilization is particularly vulnerable at this moment, for our material abundance has brought us neither peace of mind nor serenity of spirit.*(p.172 WDWGFH)*

b) ... the United States, has long possessed the material wealth and resources to feed, clothe and shelter all of its citizens.*(p.128 WWCW)*

c) We have created scientific and industrial miracles: Yet in a luncheonette in a Southern town, the government cannot make the Constitution function for human rights. *(p.266 BNS)*

11 a) Western civilization is great, but ... the injustices and evils of colonialism ... has permitted its material means to outdistance its spiritual ends.*(p.83 TDCL)*

b) America, I wonder whether your moral and spiritual progress has been commensurate with your scientific progress. It appears to me that your moral progress lags behind your scientific progress, your mentality out-distances your morality and your civilization outshines your culture ... through your scientific genius you have made of the world a neighborhood, but you have failed to employ your moral and spiritual genius to make of it a brotherhood. Therefore I urge you to keep your moral advances abreast of your scientific advances.*(p.157 PL to Amer.)*

c) If Western civilization continues to degenerate until it, like 24 of its predecessors, falls hopelessly into a bottomless void, the cause will be not only its undeniable sinfulness, but also its appalling blindness. And if American democracy gradually disintegrates, it will be due as much to a lack of insight as to a lack of commitment to right.*(p.38 LIA)*

12 a) There is the convenient temptation to attribute the current turmoil and bitterness throughout the world to the presence of a communist conspiracy to undermine Europe and America, but the potential explosiveness of our world situation is much more attributable to the disillusionment with the promises of Christ-ianity and technology. *(p.175 WDWGFH)*

b) Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons ... our great-est defense against Communism is to take offensive action on behalf of justice. We must with affirmative 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 ... (for) Communism is a judgment on our failure to make democracy real ... *(pp.189-190 WDWGFH)*

13 a) America ... (through) capitalism you have accomplished wonders. You have become the richest nation in the world, and you have built the greatest system of production that history has ever known ... (But) how often have you taken necessities from the masses and given luxuries to the classes. *(p.158 PL to Amer.)*

b) Capitalism has often left a gulf between the superfluous wealth and abject poverty ... and encouraged small-hearted men to become cold and conscienceless ... unmoved by suffering and povery-stricken humanity. The profit motive, when it is the sole basis of an economic system, encourages a cut-throat competition and selfish ambition that inspires men to be more I-centred than thou-centred. *(p.186 WDWGFH)*

14 ... let us not lose faith in democracy. For with all its weaknesses, there is a ground and a basis of hope in our democratic creed. If we have the courage in America to transform that thin paper to thick action, we will find that we are involved in the greatest form of government that the mind has ever conceived. *(Excerpt MIA Speech)*

XVI SLAVERY/RACISM/THE WHITE BACKLASH

Slavery

1 Its chief causes and consequences

2 The Negro and its negative peace

Racism

3 As a faith, a philosophy and a form of idolatry

4 Its scope

5 Its origin

White Backlash

6 As nothing new

7 And the white man defined

SLAVERY

1 a) Slavery in America was perpetuated not merely by human badness but also by human blindness. True, the causal basis for the system of slavery must to a large extent be traced back to the economic factor. Men convinced themselves that a system which was so economically profitable must be morally justifiable. They formulated elaborate theories of racial superiority. Their rationalizations clothed obvious wrongs in the beautiful garments of right-eousness. This tragic attempt to give moral sanction to an economically profitable system gave birth to the doctrine of white supremacy. *(pp.35-6 LIA)*

b) The institution was so important to the economic development of America, it had a profound impact in shaping the socio-political-legal structure of the nation. Land and slaves were the chief forms of private property; property was wealth and the voice of wealth made the law and determined politics. In the service of this system, human beings were reduced to propertyless property. Black men, the creators of wealth of the New World, were stripped of all civil and human rights. And this degradation was sanctioned by institutions of government, all for one purpose: to produce commodities for sale at a profit, which in turn would be privately appropriated.
(p.72 WDWGFH)

2 Throughout slavery the Negro was treated in a very inhuman fashion. He was a thing to be used not a person to be respected. He was merely a depersonalized cog in a vast plantation machine. The famous Dred Scott Decision of 1857 well illustrates the status of the Negro during slavery. In this decision the Supreme Court of the United States said, in substance, that the Negro is not a citizen of the United States; he is merely property subject to the dictates of his owner. Then came 1896. It was in this year that the Supreme Court of this nation, through the Plessy v. Ferguson Decision, established the doctrine of separate-but-equal as the law of the land. Through this decision segregation gained legal and moral sanction. The end results of the Plessy Doctrine was that it lead to a strict enforcement of the "separate" with hardly the slightest attempt to abide by the "equal." So the Plessy Doctrine ended up making for tragic inequalities and ungodly exploitation. Living under these conditions, many Negroes came to the point of losing faith in themselves. They came to feel that perhaps they were less than human. The great tragedy of physical slavery was that it lead to the paralysis of mental slavery. So long as the Negro maintained this subservient attitude and accepted this "place" assigned to him, a sort of racial peace existed. But it was an uneasy peace in which the Negro was forced patiently to accept insult, injustice and exploitation. It was a negative peace. *(p7 FAI)*

RACISM

3 a) Dr George Kesley states:
Racism is a faith. It is a form of idolatry ... In its early modern beginnings, racism was a justificatory device. It did not emerge as a faith. It arose from an ideological justification for the constellations of political and economic power which were expressed in colonialism and slavery. But gradually the idea of the superior race was heightened and deepened in meaning and value so that it pointed beyond the historical structures of relation, in which it emerged, to human existence itself. *(p.69 WDWGFH)*

b) Racism is a philosophy based on a contempt for life. It is the arrogant assertion that one race is the center of value and object of devotion, before which other races must kneel in submission. It is the absurd dogma

3 that one race is responsible for all the progress of history and alone can accuse the progress of the future. Racism is total estrangement (And) ... inevitably descends into inflicting spiritual or physical homicide upon the out-group. *(p.70 WDWGFH)*

4 a) To live with the pretence that racism is a doctrine of a very few is to disarm us in fighting it frontally as scientifically unsound, morally repugnant and socially destructive. *(p.83 WDWGFH)*

b) For too long the depth of racism in American life has been underestimated ... Our nation was born in genocide when it embraced the doctrine that the original American, the Indian, was an inferior race. Even before there were large numbers of Negroes ... It was upon this massive base of racism that the prejudice toward the non-white was readily built, and found rapid growth . This long-standing racist ideology has corrupted and diminished our democratic ideals. It is this tangled web of prejudice from which many Americans now seek to liberate themselves, without realizing how deeply it has been woven into their consciousness. *(pp.119-20 WWCW)*

c) Racism is no mere American phenomenon. Its vicious grasp knows no geographical boundaries. In fact ... its perennial ally - economic exploitation - provides the key to understanding most of the international complications of this generation. The classical example of organized and institutionalized racism is the Union of South Africa ... But ... that racist government ... is virtually made possible by the economic policies of the United States and Great Britain ... which profess to be the moral bastions of the Western world.*(p.173 WDWGFH)*

5 a) Generally we think of the white supremacist views as having their origins with the unlettered, underprivileged, poorer class whites. But the social obstetricians who presided at the birth of racist views in our country were from the aristocracy: rich merchants, influential clergymen, men of medicine, historians and political scientists from some of the leading universities of the nation. *(pp.74-75 WDWGFH)*

5 b) Religion and the Bible were cited and distorted to ... argue that the Negro was inferior by nature because of Noah's curse upon the children of Ham ... The great Puritan divine Cotton Mather culled the Bible for passages to give comfort to the plantation owners and merchants.*(pp.72-3 WDWGFH)*

c) Academicians ... gave their prestige to the myth of the superior race. Their contribution came through the so-called Teutonic Origins theory ... this concept argued that all Anglo- Saxon institutions of any worth had their historical roots in the Teutonic tribal institutions of ancient Germany, and furthermore that "only the Teutonic race had been imbued with the ability to build stable governments." Historians from the lofty academic towers of Oxford, like Bishop William Stubbs and Edward A. Freeman, expounded the Teutonic Origins theory in British intellectual circles. It leaped the Atlantic and found lodging in the mind of Herbert Baxter Adams, one of the organizers of the graduate school at Johns Hopkins University and founder of the American Historical Association. He expanded Freeman's views by asserting that the Teutonic Origins theory really had "three homes - England, Germany and the United States." *(pp.73-74 WDWGFH)*

d) Even natural science ... was invoked and distorted to give credence to a political position ... It became fashionable to think of the slave as a species of property ... Dr Josiah C. Nott in his *Collections on the Natural History of the Caucasion and Negro Races,* used pseudo-scientific evidence to prove that the black man was little above the level of an ape ... (and) Count Arthur de Gobineau, in his book *The Inequality of the Human Races,*vigorously defended the theory of the inferiority of the black man. *(p.74 WDWGFH)*

e) Soon the doctrine of white supremacy was embedded in every textbook and preached in practically every pulpit. It became a structural part of the culture. And men then embraced this philosophy, not as the rationalization of a lie but as the expression of a final truth. *(p.75 WDWGFH)*

f) This does not mean that all white Americans are racist ... that America has made no progress in her attempt to cure the body politic of racism or that the dogma of racism has not been modified in recent years. However ... 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. *(p. 68 WDWGFH)*

WHITE BACKLASH

6 a) ... The white backlash is nothing new. White America has been backlashing on the fundamental God-given and human rights of the Negro American for more than 300 years. *(p.82 WDWGFH)*

b) 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. The white backlash is an expression of the same vacillation, the same search for rationalizations, the same lack of commitment that has always characterized white America on the question of race. *(p.68 WDWGFH)*

c) ... since the birth of our nation ... there has never been a solid, unified and determined thrust to make justice a reality for Afro-Americans. *(p.68 WDWGFH)*

7 ... the term white man ... is not meant to encompass all white people ... there are some who are willing to share power and accept structural alteration of society even at the cost of traditional privileges ... It is not the race *per se* that we fight but the policies and ideology that leaders of that race have formulated to perpetrate oppression. *(pp.8-9 IRR)*

XVII CIVIL RIGHTS

1 Two dissimilar views of the struggle

2 And the concept of victory

3 What needs to be done

4 And two obstacles to Negro rights: confusion over tactics and tokenism

5 As an issue over which to split the Southern Democrats and Conservative Republicans in 1962

6 And its historic turning point of 1963-4

7 And the Johnson "model cities" plan of 1965

8 And the changing content of freedom from political and legal issues to economic issues

9 And the key question now confronting the nation

CIVIL RIGHTS

1 The civil rights struggle can be viewed from two quite dissimilar perspectives. Many people of good will accept the achievement of steady advances, even when fractional. They feel simple addition must eventually accumulate a totality of gains which will answer the problems. Others, however, viewing the task from the long perspective of history are less sanguine. They are aware that the struggle being waged is against an opposition capable of the most tenacious resistance, either actively or through inertia. Such forces are not overcome by simple pressures, but only through massive exertion.*(p.191 FNF)*

2 a) This has not meant that we would refuse to recognize partial gains or to call a pause when we had made significant progress ... we have accepted less than full victory, knowing that a degree of success is a foundation from which later struggles can be launched for additional gains. *(p.270 LJRD)*

b) A final victory is an accumulation of many short term encounters. To lightly dismiss a success because it does not usher in a complete order of justice is to fail to comprehend the process of achieving full victory. It underestimates the value of confrontation and dissolves the confidence born of a partial victory by which new efforts are powered. *(pp.12-13 WDWGFH)*

c) Only when (Negroes) are in full possession of their civil rights everywhere, and afforded equal economic opportunity, will the haunting race question finally be laid to rest.*(p.272 LJRD)*

3 a) It is clear that to date no Administration has grasped the problem in its total sense and committed the varieties of weaponry required for constructive action on a broad scale ... The New Frontier is unfortunately not new enough; and the Frontier is set too close to the rear ... *(p.191 FNF)*

b) What is required is an initial sweep of positive action so far-reaching that it immobilizes and weakens the adversary, thus depriving him of the power to retaliate ... what is required is massive mobilization uniting the strength of individuals, organizations, press, and schools. *(p.191 FNF)*

c) The time has come when the government must commit its immense resources squarely on the side of the quest for freedom ... Negroes are isolated in communities which daily violate their constitutional privileges with total impunity. The government cannot merely mediate, because basic legal rights are involved. The scale on which violations exist is so vast that limited approaches will never reach the evil; only enforcement machinery of vast proportions will equal the task.*(p.260 BNS)*

4 a) For the past several years Negro Rights have been imperilled and impeded by a confusion of tactics. Earlier Executive Power was advocated as a more effective weapon than legislation, while attention now is properly focused on legislation ... Perhaps unintentionally one method became posed against another; the investigation and use of Executive Power receded as the legislative battle crowded into the limelight ... But there is no reason why the civil rights movement should abandon one weapon as it flourishes another ... Legislative enactments, like court decisions, declare rights, but do not automatically deliver them. Ultimately, Executive action determines what force and effect legislation will have. *(pp.231-2)*... Negroes have found non-violent direct action to be a miraculous method of curbing force, but it is not a cure-all.*(p232 HCR)*

b) ... another technique ... for thwarting the Negroes' dreams and aspirations is ... 'tokenism"
Those who argue in favour of tokenism point out that we must begin somewhere; that it would be unwise to spurn any breakthrough, no matter how limited. This position has a certain validity, and

the Negro freedom movement has more often than not attained broad victories which had small beginnings. (However) ... there is a critical distinction between a modest start and tokenism. The tokenism Negroes condemn ... is an end in itself. Its purpose is not to begin a process but ... to end the process of protest and pressure. It is a hypocritical gesture, not a constructive first step ... in which a few become educated, honored and integrated to represent and substitute for the many.*(pp.31-2 WWCW)*

c) The Kennedy Administration may have embraced tokenism as a least common denominator, acceptable to the whole South. But the fact is that this approach is tactically and strategically unsound; the South is not, today, one whole. It is already split, fissured into two parts: one is ready for extensive change, the other adamantly opposed to any but the most trivial alterations. The Administration should not seek to fashion politics for the latter; it should place its weight behind the dynamic South, encouraging and facilitating its progressive development. (In this respect) ,.. "tokenism" ... is not only a "useless goal", but a "genuine menace". *(p.260 BNS)*

5 a) In 1962 civil rights was displaced as the dominant issue in domestic politics ... (The) Liberals proved watchful rather than anxious; hopeful rather than insistent. The demand for progress was drained of its moral imperative, and the issue no longer commanded the conscience of the nation. *(p.259 BNS)*

b) The year 1962 passed and the President fumbled ... because of his concern that his legislative programs in other areas ... might suffer at the hands of key Southern Congressmen - if he moved "too fast" on Civil Rights.*(p.192 FNF)*

c) (But) ... the obstructive coalition of Southern Democrats and Conservative Republicans can be split on this issue. The Republicans cannot afford to block civil-rights legislation which the President earnestly sponsors, and Southern Democrats cannot defeat it if they are isolated ... These are practical political considerations all dictating one road. Yet above it all, a greater imperative demands fulfillment. Throughout our history, the moral decision has always been the correct decision. *(p.260 BNS)*

6 a) In 1963, the Civil Rights Movement coalesced around a technique for social change, nonviolent direct action. It elevated jobs and other economic issues to the summit, where earlier it had placed discrimination and suffrage. It thereby forged episodic social protest into the hammer of social revolution. *(p.230 HCR)* ... Taken together 1963-64 marked a historic turning point for the civil rights movement: Passage of Civil Rights Act and defeat of Goldwater. *(p.269 LJRD)*

b) But perhaps the most significant development of 1963 and 1964 was the emergence of a disciplined, perceptive Negro electorate, almost 100 per cent larger than that of the 1960 Presidential election. Mississippi, the Civil Rights Act, and the new massive Negro vote each represents a particular form of struggle; nevertheless, they are interrelated. Together, they signify the new ability of the movement to function simultaneously in varied arenas, and with varied methods. *(p.269 LJRD)*

7 In 1965 the President (Johnson) presented a new plan to Congress (which) in his words (would) make the decaying cities of the present into "the masterpieces of civilization". This Demonstration Cities plan is imaginative; it embodies social vision and properly defines racial discrimination as a central evil. However, the ordinary Negro, though no social or political analyst, will be sceptical. He will be sceptical, first, because of the insufficient funds assigned to the program. He will be sceptical, second because he knows how many laws exist in Northern states ...; he knows how many overlapping commissions exist to enforce ... these laws - and he knows how he lives. The ubiquitous discrimination in his daily life tells him that laws on paper, no matter how imposing their terms, will not guarantee that he will live in "the masterpiece of civilization". *(p.82 WDWGFH)*

8 a) The logic of growth means that the "civil rights odyssey" must move to new levels in which the content of freedom is (economic) security, opportunity, culture and equal participation in the political process. (Through 1965) all the changes of a decade have merely initiated preliminary alterations in an edifice of injustice and misery. *(p. 288)* ... Negroes have benefited from a limited change that was emotionally satisfying but materially deficient. *(p.289 LSA)*

b) The future is more complex ... White America evolved only a limited policy toward Negro freedom ... Jobs are harder to create than voting rolls *(p. 288)* ... Depressed living standards for Negroes are a "structural part of the economy" ... The instability of employment reflects itself in the fragile character of Negro ambitions and economic foundations.*(p. 291)* ... The direction of the Negro demand has to be toward substantive (economic) security. This alone will revolutionize Negro life, including family relations and ... the Negro male ego. *(p.291 LSA)*

c) As (Negroes) move forward for "fundamental alteration" of their lives a more bitter opposition grows ... (and) conflicts are unavoidable because a stage has been reached in which the reality of equality will require extensive adjustments in the way of life of some of the white majority. *(p.289 LSA)*

9 a) There is a tragic gulf between civil rights laws passed and civil rights laws implemented. *(p.82 WDWGFH)* ... the missing ingredient is the will to make it operative ... governments do equivocate. *(p.290 LSA)*

b) ... race relations in the nation is occurring within the larger transformation of our political and economic structure ... The fusing of economic measures with civil rights needs ... place the freedom struggle on a new elevated level ... *(p. 290 LSA)*

c) The key question now confronting the nation is whether a swiftly transforming society is to be permitted to give tokens to the Negro, while the white population ascends to new levels of social development. *(p.290 LSA)*

XVIII SEGREGATION

1 As a monster robbing Negroes of their birthright - freedom
2 As a paradox to democracy and Christianity
3 As a contemporary expression of racism and white supremacy
4 Two elements most responsible for
5 As blasphemy
6 As diametrically opposed to Christianity
7 As morally wrong and sinful and based on pride, hatred and falsehood
8 As the domestic aspect of colonialism and imperialism
9 And the role of legislation, judicial decrees and executive orders
10 And the role of love

SEGREGATION

1 a) All prejudice is evil, but the prejudice that rejects a man because of the color of his skin is the most despicable expression of man's inhumanity to man. *(p.110 WDWGFH)*

b) In our nation today a mightly struggle is taking place. It is a struggle to conquer the reign of an evil monster called segregation and its inseparable twin called discrimination - a monster that has wandered through this land for well near one hundred years, stripping millions of Negro people of their sense of dignity and robbing them of their birthright of freedom. *(p.28 OBGN)*

2 The reality of segregation, like slavery, has always had to confront the ideals of democracy and Christianity. Indeed segregation and discrimination are strange paradoxes in a nation founded on the principle that all men are created equal. This contradiction has disturbed the consciences of whites both North and South, and has caused many to see that segregation is basically evil. *(p.168 STF)*

3. It is a strange and twisted logic to use the tragic results of segregation as an argument for its continuation (e.g. depreciating real estate, increasing crime rate, lagging cultural standards, the fear that schools will become academically inferior) ... This is a contemporary expression of America's long dalliance with racism and white supremacy. *(p.119 WDWGHF)*

4 The two elements that are still most responsible for active segregationist sentiment are the newspapers and politicians. *(p.162 STF)*

5 I understand that there are Christians among you who try to find biblical bases to justify segregation and argue that the Negro is inferior by nature ... this is blasphemy and against everything that the Christian religion stands for ... in Christ "there is neither Jew, nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus ... God that made the world and all things therein ... hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." *(pp.159-60 PL to Amer.)*

6 Segregation is a blatant denial of the unity which we have in Christ. It substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and relegates persons to the status of things. It scars the soul and degrades the personality. It inflicts the segregated with a false sense of inferiority, while confirming in the segregator a false estimate of his own superiority. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. The underlying philosophy of Christianity is diametrically opposed to the underlying philosophy of racial segregation. *(p.160 PL to Amer.)*

7 ... segregation is morally wrong and sinful. Segregation is established on pride, hatred and falsehood. It is unbrotherly and impersonal. Two segregated souls can never meet in God. Segregation denies the sacredness of the human personality ... Segregation treats men as means rather than ends ... So long as the Negro ... is treated as a means to an end, the image of God is abused in him, and consequently and proportionately lost by those who inflict the abuse. Segregation is also morally wrong because it deprives man of freedom, that quality which makes him man *(p.97)* ... the capacity to deliberate, to weigh alternatives *(p.98)* ... Segregation ... is a selfishly contrived system which cuts off one's capacity to deliberate, decide, and respond.*(p.99 WDWGHF)*

8 We are all familiar with the old order that is passing away. We have lived with it for many years. We have seen it in its international aspect, in the form of colonialism and imperialism. We have also seen the old order in our own nation, in the form of segregation and discrimination. *(p.13 FAI)*... Segregation is still a fact in America. We still confront it in the South in its glaring and conspicuous forms. We still confront it in the North in its hidden and subtle forms. But if democracy is to live, segregation must die. *(p.15 FAI)*

9 Let us not be misled by those who argue that segregation cannot be ended by force of law. Let us never succumb to the temptation of believing that legislation and judicial decrees play only minor roles in solving this problem. Morality cannot be legislated, but behaviour can be regulated. Judicial decrees may not change the heart, but they can restrain the heartless ... The habits, if not the hearts, of people have been and are being altered every day by legislative acts, judicial decrees, and executive orders.*(p.28 OBGN)*

10 There will be no permanent solution to the race problem until oppressed men develop the capacity to love their enemies. *(p.48 LYE)*

XIX INTEGRATION

1 As a manifestation of the keyboard on God's piano of life

2 And liberation as ethical and political

3 And Negro-White alliances

4 And social understanding as something we create

5 As one of three distinct periods in American-Negro relations

6 Four necessary paths to

7 And desegregation

8 As the result of obedience to the unenforceable

INTEGRATION

1 a) God loves all of his children, and every man, from a bass black to a treble white, is significant on God's keyboard.

Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim
Skin may differ, but affection
Dwells in black and white the same. *(p.7 FAI)*

b) Life's piano can only produce the melodies of brotherhood when it is recognized that the black keys are as basic, necessary and beautiful as the white keys. *(p.123 WDWGFH)*

2 a) My friend John Killen wrote in the *Negro Digest:* (November 1960) ... "Integration comes after liberation. A slave cannot integrate with his master ... The oppressed fights to free himself from his oppressor, not to integrate with him. Integration is the step after freedom when the freed man makes up his mind as to whether he wishes to integrate with his former master." *(p.61 WDWGFH)* (Nevertheless)

b) There is no theoretical or sociological divorce between liberation and integration. In our kind of society liberation cannot come without integration and integration cannot come without liberation. I speak here of integration in both the ethical and the political senses. On the one hand, integration is true intergroup and interpersonal living. On the other hand it is a mutual sharing of power ... *(p.62 WDWGFH)*

c) ... in the struggle for racial justice in a multiracial society where both oppressor and oppressed are both "at home", liberation must come through integration ... I cannot see how the Negro will be totally liberated from ... poor education, squalid housing, and economic strangulation until he is integrated, with power, into every level of American life.*(p.62 WDWGFH)*

3 a) ... one has to face some inescapable facts about the Negro and American life. This is a multiracial nation where all groups are dependent on each other, whether they want to recognize it or not. In this vast interdependent nation no racial group can retreat to an island entire of itself. *(p.61 WDWGFH)*

b) There is no salvation for the Negro through isolation *(p.48)* ... Ten per cent of the population cannot by tension alone induce 90 per cent to change a way of life. *(p.51)* ... no group can make it alone ... the Irish, Italians, Jews stuck together ... But their group unity was always enlarged by joining in alliances with political machines and trade unions ... in a pluralistic society, and an often hostile one ... the Negro needs organized strength, but that strength will only be effective when it is consolidated through constructive alliances with the majority group ... *(p.5O WDWGFH)*

c) A genuine Negro-white unity is the tactical foundation upon which past and future progress depends ... The epic thrust of the millions of Negroes who demonstrated in 1963 in hundreds of cities won strong white allies to the cause. Together, they created a "coalition of conscience" which awoke a hitherto somnolent Congress ... Perceptive Negro leadership understands that each of the major accomplishments in 1964 was the product of Negro militancy on a level that could mobilize and maintain white support. Negroes acting alone and in a hostile posture towards all whites will do nothing more than demonstrate thay their conditions of life are unendurable, and that they are unbearably angry. On the other hand, whites who insist upon exclusively determining the time schedule of change will also fail, however wise and generous they feel themselves to be.
(p.272 LJRD)

4 a) Like life, racial understanding is not something that we find but something we must create. What we find when we enter these mortal plains is existence; but existence is the raw material out of which all life must be created. A productive and happy life is not something that you find; it is something that you make ... Along these lines, I implored everyone ... to see the morality of making the march completely interracial. Consciences must be enlisted in our movement ... not merely racial groups. *(p.28 WDWGHF)*

b) I have always insisted on racial openness in our organizations. Thus, we are setting a pattern for the racially integrated society toward which we work.*(p.94)* There is another mood ... which represents a large number of Negroes. It is the feeling that Negroes must be their own spokesmen ... must be in the primary leadership of their own organizations, white liberals must understand this. *(p.93 WDWGFH)*

5 a) There have been ... three distinct periods of race relations, each marked by a Supreme Court decision reflecting and validating the (country's) dominant pattern of thought. *(NFRC)*

b) ... from 1619-1863 Dred Scott 1857 reduced the Negro from the status of a person to a thing and gave constitutional validity to the whole system of slavery ... *(NFRC)*

c) ... from 1863-1954 Plessy v. Ferguson established the doctrine of separate but equal as the Law of the Land (This was a form of) ... restricted emancipation, thus the principle and practice of segregation emerged *(NFRC)* and ...

d) ... from 1954 to the present Brown v. Board of Topeka ... declared Plessy v. Ferguson must go, separate facilities were inherently unequal. As a result we stand on the threshold of the most creative period in our nation's development of race relations, Constructive Integration. *(NFRC)*

6 a) Many Negroes felt that integration could only come through legislation and court action ... Many white people felt that integration could come only through education ... On the contrary I felt both were necessary ... One method is not a substitute for the other but a meaningful and necessary supplement. Anyone who starts out with the conviction that the road to racial justice is only one lane will inevitably create a traffic jam and make the journey infinitely longer. *(pp.18-19 STF)*

b) Direct action is not a substitute for work in the courts and the halls of government ... Indeed, direct action and legal action complement one another; when skillfully employed each becomes more effective ...by combining direct and legal action ... a creative use of the law ... far-reaching precedents were established, which served, in turn, to extend the areas of desegregation. *(pp.42-43 WWCW)*

c) If the Negro is to achieve the goal of integration, he must organize himself into a militant and nonviolent mass movement. All three elements are indispensable. The movement for equality and justice can only be a success if it has both a mass and a militant quality; the barriers to be overcome require both. Nonviolence is an imperative in order to bring about ultimate community. *(p.191 STF)*

d) Another thing that we must do in pressing on for integration is to invest our finances in the cause of freedom. Freedom has always been an expensive thing. History is a fit testimony to the fact that freedom is rarely gained without sacrifice and self-denial. So we must donate large sums of money to the cause of freedom. We can no longer complain that we don't have the money. Statistics reveal that the economic life of the Negro is rising to decisive proportions. The annual income of the American Negro is now more than sixteen billion dollars, almost equal to the national income of Canada. So we are gradually becoming economically independent. It would be a tragic indictment of both the self respect and practical wisdom of the Negro if history reveals that at the height of the Twentieth Century the Negro spent more for frivolities than for the cause of freedom. We must never let it be said that we spend more for the evanescent and ephemeral than for the eternal values of freedom and justice. *(p.17 FAI)*

7 a) ... desegregation is only a partial, though necessary step toward the ultimate goal ... Desegregation will bring down the legal barriers, and bring men together physically. But something must happen so to touch the heart and souls of men that they will come together, not because the law says it, but because it is natural and right. *(p.196 STF)*

b) In other words our ultimate goal is integration which is genuine intergroup and interpersonal living. Only through nonviolence can this goal be attained, for the aftermath of nonviolence is reconciliation and the creation of the beloved community.*(p.196 STF)*

8 a) This is no day to pay lip service to integration, racial justice, we must pay life service ... If we fail to act now ... history will have to record that the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition was not the strident clamor of the bad people, but the appalling silence of the good people. Our generation will have to repent not only for the acts and words of the children of darkness, but also for the fears and apathy of the children of light.
(p.179 STF)

b) Genuine integration will come when men are obedient to the unenforceable obligations.
(p.29 OBGN)

XX THE NEGRO

1 In America: Four psycho-historical explanations of what it means
2 The central quality of his life
3 The root of his difficulty
4 The responsibility for his inferior status
5 Re-evaluating himself
6 His present dilemma, America's obligations, and a Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged
7 An appraisal of eight theoretical paths to freedom
8 Two ways he cannot gain freedom
9 And the three ways in which oppressed people characteristically deal with oppression
10 His need to work on two fronts
11 Decency and equality: two phases of his recent struggle
12 And equality as a good and a reality
13 And a serious miscalculation of the civil rights leaders
14 And the historic achievement 1955-65
15 Six subsidiary accomplishments of the same decade
16 And the vote
17 And six elements essential to a positive response to his dilemma
18 And the need for different tactics regionally and programatically
19 And the responsibility of its middle-class
20 In need of organizations permeated with trust, incorruptibility and militancy
21 And King's opposition to certain methods of attaining freedom

THE NEGRO

1 Being a Negro in America means:

a) being scarred by a history of slavery and family disorganization:

b) being herded into ghettoes or reservations, constantly ignored and made to feel invisible. *(p.111)*

c) to hope against hope ... fighting daily a double battle - a battle against pathology within and a battle against oppression without.*(p.113)*

d) being part of the company of the bruised, the battered, the scarred and the defeated. It means trying to hold on to physical life amid psychological death ... It means having your legs cut off, and then being condemned for being a cripple ... It means being harried by day and haunted by night by a nagging sense of nobodiness and constantly fighting to be saved from the poison of bitterness. It means the ache and anguish of living in so many situations where hopes unborn have died.
(pp.119-20 WDWGFH)

2 The central quality of the Negro's life is pain - pain so old and so deep that it emerges in almost every moment of his existence. It emerges in the cheerlessness of his sorrow songs, in the melancholy of his blues and in the pathos of his sermons.
(pp.102-3 WDWGFH)

3 a) The daily life of the Negro is still lived in the basement of the Great Society. He is still at the bottom despite the few who have penetrated to slightly higher levels ... (thus) in assessing the results of the Negro revolution so far, it can be concluded that Negroes have established a foothold, no more. We have written a Declaration of Independence, itself an accomplishment, but the effort to transform the words into a life experiencestillies ahead.
(pp.18-19 WDWGFH)

b) ... the root of the difficulty in Negro life today is pervasive and persistent economic want. To grow from within, the Negro family ... needs only fair opportunities for jobs, education, housing and access to culture. To be strengthened from the outside requires protection from the grim exploitation that has

haunted the Negro for three hundred years.
(p.108 WDWGFH)

c) The Negro today is not struggling for some abstract, vague rights, but for a concrete and prompt improvement in his way of life.
(p.135 WWCW)

4 It's time we tell each other the truth about who and what have brought the Negro to the condition of deprivation against which he struggles today ... The answer ... does not lie essentially in the world of the Negro himself, his ghetto, his history, his personality or his culture. It lies essentially in the world of the white man. In short, white America must assume the guilt for the black man's inferior status. *(pp.67-68 WDWGFH)*

5 Once plagued with a tragic sense of inferiority resulting from the crippling effects of slavery and segregation, the Negro has now been driven to re-evaluate himself. He has come to feel that he is somebody. His religion reveals to him that God loves all His children and that the important thing about a man is not "his specificity but his fundamentum" - not the texture of his hair or the color of his skin but his eternal worth to God.
(p.167 STF)

6 a) The moral justification for special measures (to help) the Negro is rooted in the robberies inherent in the institution of slavery.
(p.138 WWCW)

b) After 348 years (of) racial injustice ... the Negro is called upon to be as resourceful, as productive and as responsible as those who have not known such oppression and exploitation.
(p.120 WDWGFH)

c) This is the Negro dilemma. He who starts behind in a race must forever remain behind or run faster than the man in front. Our dilemma is serious and our handicaps are real. But equally real is the power of creative will and its ability to give us courage to go on "in spite of". *(p.120 WDWGFH)*

d) Whenever (the) issue of compensatory or preferential treatment for the Negro is raised, some of our friends recoil in horror.*(p.134 WWCW)*. (Yet) Special measures for the deprived have always been accepted in principle by the United States. *(p.136 WWCW)*

e) Certainly the Negro has been deprived ... In addition to being enslaved for two centuries,

> the Negro was ... robbed of the wages of his toil. No amount of gold could provide adequate compensation for the exploitation and humiliation of the Negro ... down through the centuries ... Yet a price can be placed on unpaid wages ... The payment should be in the form of a massive program by the government of special, compensatory measures ... as a settlement in accordance with the accepted practice of common law ... I am proposing, therefore, that ... America launch a broad-based and gigantic Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged, our veterans of the long siege of denial. *(p.137 WWCW)*

7 For a hundred years since emancipation, Negroes have searched the elusive path to freedom. They knew that they had to fashion a body of tactics suitable for their unique and special conditions ... For decades the long and winding trails led to dead ends. *(p.32 WWCW)*

a) Booker T. Washington, in the dark days that followed Reconstruction, advised them: "Let down your buckets where you are". Be content, he said in effect, with doing well what the times permit you to do at all. However, this path, they soon felt, had too little freedom in its present and too little promise in its future. *(p.33 WWCW)*

b) Dr W.E.B.Du Bois, at the turn of the century, urged the "talented tenth" to rise and pull behind it the mass of the race. His doctrine served to counteract the apparent resignation of Booker T. Washington's philosophy. Yet ... there was no role for the whole people. It was a tactic for an aristocratic elite who would themselves benefit, while leaving behind the "untalented" 90 per cent. *(p.33 WWCW)*

c) After the First World War, Marcus Garvey ... called for a return to Africa and a resurgence of race pride. His movement attained mass dimensions, and released a powerful emotional response ... Yet his plan was doomed because an exodus to Africa in the twentieth century by a people who had struck roots for three and a half centuries in the New World did not have the ring of progress. *(p.33 WWCW)*

d) (after) the death of the Garvey movement ... the doctrine which held the center stage for almost thirty years ... was the doctrine, consistently championed and ably conducted

by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that placed its reliance on the Constitution and the federal law. (For) under this doctrine it was felt that the federal courts were the vehicle that could be utilized to combat oppression ... Yet the failure of the nation, over a decade, to implement the majestic implications of these decisions caused the slow ebb of the Negro's faith in litigation as the dominant method to achieve his freedom. *(pp.33-34 WWCW)*

e) During the fifties ... some called for a colossal blood bath to cleanse the nation's ills ... But the Negro in the south in 1955, assessing the power of forces arrayed against him ... was not willing to commit himself to racial suicide with no prospect of victory. *(p.34 WWCW)*

f) In Montgomery (1955-6) ... Negro ministers with a growing awareness that the true Christian life is the projection of a social gospel, had accepted leadership in the fight for racial justice ... The doctrine they preached ... was not a doctrine that made their followers yearn for revenge but one that called on them to champion (nonviolent) change. *(p.35 WWCW)*

g) ... another solution proffered them during this period ... (was) the Black Muslims, convinced that an interracial society promised nothing but tragedy and frustration (they) began to urge a permanent separation of the races. Unlike Garvey, the Muslims appeared to believe the separation could be achieved in this country without a long sea voyage to Africa, but this message resembled Garvey's in another respect: It won only fractional support from the Negro community. *(p.35 WWCW)*

h) (Finally) ... another tactic offered the Negro was ... to seek unity with millions of disadvantaged whites of the South, whose basic need for social change paralléled his own ... This proposal held a measure of logic. But the rationale .. wilted under the heat of fact. (For) the need for immediate change was more urgently felt and more bitterly realized by the Negro than by the exploited white ... Moreover, the underprivileged southern whites saw the color that separated them from Negroes more clearly than they saw the circumstances

that bound them together in material interest. Negroes were therefore forced to face the fact that, in the South, they must move without allies; and yet the coiled power of state force made such a prospect appear both futile and quixotic. *(p.36 WWCW)*

8 a) Two things are clear to me ... One is that the Negro cannot achieve emancipation through violent rebellion. The other is that the Negro cannot achieve emancipation by passively waiting for the white race voluntarily to grant it to him. Without persistent pressure and agitation, the Negro has not gained a single right in America. *(p.90 WDWGFH)*

b) Equally fallacious is the notion that ethical appeals and persuasion alone will bring about justice. This does not mean that ethical appeals must not be made. It simply means that those appeals must be undergirded by some form of constructive coercive power. If the Negro does not add persistent pressure to his patient plea, he will end up empty handed. *(p.129 WDWGFH)*

c) Booker T. Washington tried this path of patient persuasion ... (His) error was that he underestimated the structures of evil; as a consequence his philosophy of pressureless persuasion only served as a springboard for racist Southerners to drive into deeper and more ruthless oppression of the Negro. *(p.129 WDWGFH)*

9 Oppressed people deal with the oppression in three characteristic ways:

a) One is acquiescence: the oppressed people resign themselves to their doom. They tacitly adjust themselves to oppression ... But this is not the way out. To accept passively an unjust system is to cooperate with that system; thereby the oppressed become as evil as the oppressor. *(p.188 STF)*

b) A second way ... is to resort to physical violence and corroding hatred. Violence often brings momentary results. Nations have frequently won independence in battle. But in spite of temporary victories, violence ... solves no social problem; it merely creates new and more complicated ones. *(p.189 STF)*

c) The third way ... is the way of nonviolent resistance. Like the synthesis in Hegelian philosophy, the principle of nonviolent resistance seeks to reconcile the truth of two opposites -

acquiescence and violence - while avoiding the extremes and immoralities of both.
(p.190 STF; see also pp.6-7 TMTH)

d) Our course of action must lie neither in passively relying on persuasion nor actively succumbing to violent rebellion, but in a higher synthesis that reconciles the truth of these two opposites while avoiding the inadequacies and ineffectiveness of both.
(p.130 WDWGFH)

10 This then must be our present program: Non-violent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold, constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation, inferior schools, slums and second class citizenship ... In short, we must work on two fronts. On the one hand, we must continue to resist the system of segregation, which is the basic cause of our lagging standards; on the other hand, we must work constructively to improve the standards themselves.There must be a rhythmic alternation between attacking the causes and healing the effects. *(p.200 STF)*

11 a) In the recent past our struggle has had two phases. The first phase began in the early 1950's when the Negroes slammed the door shut on submission and subservience. *(pp.4-5 IRR)* From issues of personal dignity, (Negroes) are now advancing to programs that impinge upon the basic system of social and economic control. At this level, Negro programs go beyond race and deal with economic inequality wherever it exists. *(p.17 WDWGFH)*

b) With Selma and the Voting Rights Act (of 1965) phase (one) of development in the civil rights revolution came to an end ... the past decade had been a struggle to treat the Negro with a degree of decency, not of equality. White America was ready to demand that the Negro should be spared the lash of brutality and coarse degradation, but it never truly committed itself to helping him out of poverty, exploitation or all forms of discrimination. *(p.3 WDWGFH)*

c) When the Negroes looked for the second phase, the realization of equality, they found that many of their white allies had quietly

disappeared ... Up to Selma there had been unity to eliminate barbaric conduct. Beyond it unity had to be based on the fulfillment of equality, and in the absence of agreement, the paths began inexorably to move apart. *(p.4 WDWGFH)*

d) The real cost lies ahead... The discount education given Negroes will in the future have to be purchased at full price, if equality in education is to be realized. Jobs are harder and costlier to create than voting rolls. The eradication of slums housing millions is complex, far beyond integrating buses and lunch counters. *(p.6 WDWGFH)*

12 a) These facts disclose the magnitude of the gap between the existing realities and the goal of equality.*(p.8)*... Let us take a look at the size of the problem through the lens of the Negro's status in 1967. When the constitution was written, a strange formula ... declared that the Negro was 60 percent of a person. Today another curious formula seems to declare he is 50 percent of a person. Of the good things in life he has approximately one half of those of whites; of the bad things in life, he has twice those of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in sub-standatd housing, and Negroes have half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experiences of life, the Negro has a double share. There are twice as many unemployed. The rate of infant mortality among Negroes is double ... There were twice as many Negroes as whites in combat in Vietnam at the beginning of 1967, and twice as many Negro soldiers died in action (20.6 percent) in proportion to their numbers in the population ... In other spheres the figures are equally alarming. *(pp.6-7 WDWGFH)*

b) (Unfortunately) ... white America is not even psychologically organized to close the gap - essentially it seeks only to make it less painful and less obvious but in most respects to retain it. *(p.8 WDWGFH)*

13 Civil Rights leaders had long thought that the North would benefit derivatively from the Southern struggle ... This was a miscalculation ... founded on the belief that opposition in the North was not intransigent, that it was flexible and was at least partially hospitable to corrective influences. We forgot what we knew daily in the South: freedom is not given, it is won. Concentration of effort in the

large Northern cities can no longer be postponed in favor of a Southern campaign. Both must now be sustained. *(p.19 WDWGFH)*

14 a) The argument that the Negro has made no progress in a decade ... rests on demonstrable facts ... in many areas, including income levels, housing and schools. But from a deeper perspective a different conclusion emerges. Substantial progress has been achieved in the South. The struggles of the past decade were not national in scope; they were Southern, they were specifically designed to change life in the South, and the principal role of the North was supportive. *(p.13 WDWGFH)*

b) The South was the stronghold of racism ... there could be no possibility of life-transforming change anywhere so long as ... Southern segregation remained unchallenged and unhurt. *(pp.13-14 WDWGFH)*

c) The historic achievement is found in the fact that ... the persistence of segregation is not the salient fact of Southern experience; the proliferating areas in which the Negro moves freely is the new advancing truth ... The ten year assault was fundamental to undermine the system. What distinguished this period from all preceding decades, was that it constituted the first frontal attack of racism at its heart. *(pp.13-14 WDWGFH)*

15 Six major accomplishments of the struggle from 1955-1965:

a) The future shape of Southern politics will never again operate without a strong Negro electorate as a significant force. *(p.15 WDWGFH)* ... A mature and permanent Negro electorate had emerged. *(p.271 LJRD)*

b) Today (1967) Civil Rights is a dominant issue in every state, crowding pages of the press and the daily conversation of white Americans. *(p.15 WDWGFH)*

c) The (Negro) came out of his struggle integrated only slightly ... in the external society, but powerfully integrated within. (And) ... this was the victory that had to precede all other gains. *(p.16 WDWGFH)*

d) We ... left the realm of constitutional rights and we are entering the area of human rights. The Constitution assured us the right to vote, but there is no assurance of a right to adequate housing, or the right to an adequate income. *(p.130 WDWGFH)*

e) The whole nation for a decade probed more searchingly the essential nature of democracy both economic and political. *(p.138 WDWGFH)*

f) After a decade the Negro has learned: how to compel the enactment of law, how to utilize to a degree some laws and how to expose spurious laws. He has learned that his adversaries are cunning, skillful and resourceful in obstruction and evasion. He has learned that governments do equivocate and retreat, no matter how exultant they are when they seek credit for legislation. Finally he has learned something about himself: Negroes are not now merely a subject of change but an active organ of change. This is the new political equation in contemporary society. *(p.290 LSA)*

16 The Negro vote presently is only a partially realized strength ... Up to now it has been inconsequential because ... we are unorganized, disunited and subordinated in the decision-making process ... Our political leaders are bereft of influence in the councils of political power. *(p.147)* ... Everything Negroes need ... will not like magic materialize from the use of the ballot. *(p.153 WDWGFH)*

17 (If the Negro is to respond positively and effectively to his present dilemma, he must do seven things.)

a) ... develop a rugged sense of somebodiness ... Every man must ultimately confront the question: "Who am I?" and seek to answer it honestly ... The Negro is the child of two cultures - Africa and America ... in search for wholeness all too many Negroes seek to embrace only one side of their nature ... The American Negro is ... Afro-American, a true hybrid, a combination of two cultures. *(p.53 WDWGFH)*

b) ... work passionately for group identity ... this does not mean group isolation or group exclusivity. It means a kind of group consciousness that Negroes need in order to participate more meaningfully at all levels of life in our nation ... This plea for unity is not a call for uniformity ... The dilemma that the Negro

confronts ... will of necessity involve a diversified approach. But Negroes can differ and still unite around common goals. *(pp.123-4 WDWGFH)*

c) ... utilize the community action groups and training centers now proliferating in some slum areas to create not merely an electorate but a conscious, alert, and informed people who know their direction and whose collective wisdom and vitality commands respect. *(p.157 WDWGFH)*

d) ... develop independent and representative political leaders *(p.150 WDWGFH)* ... The majority of our political leaders .. are selected by white leadership, elevated to a position, supplied with resources and inevitably subjected to white control. This hampers the Negro ... in bargaining. *(p.148 WDWGFH)*

e) ... learn the art of political alliances ... This is political freedom; this is political maturity expressing our aroused and determined new spirit to be treated as equal in all aspects of life ... A true alliance is based upon some self interest of each component group and common interest into which they merge. For an alliance to have permanence and loyal commitment from its various elements, each of them must have a goal with the others. This is the principle of selectivity. Thus we cannot talk evasively of alliance with all labor unions which persist in discrimination to retain their monopoly of jobs; we have no common interest. *(pp.150-1 WDWGFH)*

f) We shall have to have people tied together in a long-term relationship instead of evanescent enthusiasts who lose their experience, spirit and unity because they have no mechanism that directs them to new tasks ... in candor and self criticism we must acknowledge that the tortuous job of organizing solidly and simultaneously in thousands of places was not a feature of our work. This is as true for the older civil rights organization as it is for the newer ones ... born as specialists in agitation and dramatic projects; they attracted massive sympathy and support; but they did not assemble and unify the support for new stages of struggle ... to move to higher levels of progress we will have to emerge from crises with more than agreements and laws. *(pp.158-159 WDWGFH)*

g) (We must) finally organize our strength into compelling power so that the government cannot elude our demands. We must develop, from strength, a situation in which the government finds it wise and prudent to collaborate with us. We must for the moment, therefore, subordinate programs to studying the levels of power ... new times for new leaders. Negro leadership, long attuned to agitation, must now perfect the art of organization. *(p.271 LJRD)* ... This task is tedious, and lacks the drama of demonstrations, but it is necessary for meaningful results. *(p.131 WDWGFH)*

18 a) One point of central importance for this period is that the distribution of Negroes geographically makes a single national tactical program impractical ... The Negro of the South requires in the first place the opportunity to exercise elementary rights and to be shielded from terror and oppression by reliable, alert government protection. He should not have to stake his life, his home or his security, merely to enjoy the right to vote. On the other hand, in the North, he already has many basic rights and a fair measure of state protection. There, his quest is toward a more significant participation in government, and the restructuring of his economic life to end ghetto existence. *(p.274 LJRD)*

b) Very different tactics will be required to achieve these disparate goals. Demonstrations in the streets of the South reveal the cruel fascism underlying the social order there. No such result attends a similar effort in the North. However, rent strikes, school boycotts, electoral alliances summon substantial support from Negroes, and dramatize the specific grievances peculiar to those communities. *(p.274 LJRD)*

19 a) ... the value of Negro business should not be under-estimated. They are strength among the weak though they are weak among the mighty. *(pp.139-40 WDWGFH)*

b) It is especially important for the Negro middle-class to join this action program ... many ... middle-class Negroes have forgotten their roots and are more concerned about "conspicuous consumption" than about the cause of injustice - ... It is time for the Negro haves to join with the Negro have-nots and, with compassion, journey into that other country by hurt and denial. It's time for the Negro middle-class to rise up from its stool of indifference, to retreat from its flight into unreality and to

bring its full resources - its hearts, its mind and its checkbook - to the aid of the less fortunate brother. *(pp.131-2 WDWGFH)*

20 a) Negroes are human not superhuman ... Like all people that have differing personalities, diverse financial interests, and varied aspirations. There are Negroes who will never fight for freedom. There are Negroes who will seek profit for themselves alone from the struggle. There are even some Negroes who will cooperate with their oppressors ... Every minority and every people has its share of opportunists, profiteers, freeloaders and escapists ... No one can pretend that because a people may be oppressed, every individual member is virtuous and worthy. The real issue is whether in the great mass, the dominant characteristics are decency, honor, and courage. *(p.45 WWCW)*

b) (Ultimately) ... we need organizations that are permeated with mutual trust, incorruptibility and militancy. Without this spirit we may have numbers but they will add up to zero. *(p.160 WDWGFH)*

21 (Yes)I am concerned that the Negro achieve full status as citizens and as human beings here in the United States. But I am also concerned about our moral uprightness and the health of our souls. Therefore I must oppose any attempt to gain our freedom by methods of malice, hatred and violence that have characterized our oppressors. *(p.64 WDWGFH)*

XXI KING'S MOVEMENT

1 As Christian love operating through the Gandhian method
2 As a 'colony of heaven' in a 'colony of time'
3 As sheep in the midst of wolves
4 As transformed non-conformist
5 As creative dissenters calling our nation to a higher destiny
6 And the responsibilities of its leader
7 As quantitatively small but qualitatively large
8 As an army of God and a coalition of conscience
9 And the virtue of creative maladjustment
10 And the proper means of a righteous protest
11 As the hope of a new world founded on personal character and social justice

KING's MOVEMENT

1 a) From the beginning a basic philosophy guided the movement. This guiding principle has since been referred to variously as nonviolent resistance, noncooperation, and passive resistance. But in the first days of the protest none of these expressions were mentioned; the phrase most often heard was "Christian Love". It was the Sermon on the Mount, rather than a doctrine of passive resistance, that inspired the Negroes of Montgomery to dignified social action. It was Jesus of Nazareth that stirred the Negro to protest with the creative weapon of love. *(p.66 STF)*

b) As the days unfolded, however, the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi began to exert its influence. I had come to see early that the Christian doctrine of Love operating through the Gandhian Method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to the Negro in his struggle for freedom ... Nonviolent resistance had emerged as the technique of the movement while love stood as the regulating ideal. In other words, Christ furnished the spirit and motivation, while Gandhi furnished the method. *(pp.66-67 STF)*

2 Every true Christian is a citizen of two worlds, the world of time and the world of eternity ... Paul wrote, "We are a colony of heaven" ... living in the colony of time, we are ultimately responsible to the empire of eternity. Consequently as Christians we must never surrender our supreme loyalty to any time-bound custom or earth-bound idea, for at the heart of the universe is a higher reality - God and His Kingdom of love to which we must conform." *(pp.10-11 TNC)*

3 Jesus ... knew that His disciples would face a difficult and hostile world, where they would confront the recalcitrance of political officials and the intransigence of the protectors of the old order. He knew that they would meet cold and arrogant men whose hearts had been hardened by the long winter of traditionalism. So he said to them, "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves ... Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." *(p.1 TMTH)*

4 a) The Apostle Paul ... counselled, "Be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind". *(p.11 TNC)*

b) Nonconformity in itself contains no saving value, and may represent ... little more than a form of exhibitionism ... Nonconformity is creative when it is controlled and directed by a transformed life and is constructive when it embraces a new mental outlook. By opening our lives to God in Christ we become new creatures ... this experience ... Jesus spoke of as essential. *(p.16 TNC)*

c) "If anyone is in Christ" says Paul "he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new person. His old self has gone, and he becomes a divinely transformed son of God." *(p.154 APQ)*

5 a) We have gone courageously with the Christian movement ... this is a spiritual movement and we are depending on moral and spiritual forces ... we are not bitter. We are still preaching nonviolence; we are still using the method of passive resistance. We still use the Weapon of Love. This is the only weapon we have.*(Excerpt MIA)*

b) Let us, therefore, not think of our movement as one that seeks to integrate the Negro into all the existing values of American society. Let us be those creative characters who will call our beloved nation to a higher destiny, to a new plateau of compassion, to a more noble expression of humaneness. *(p.133 WDWGFH)*

6 a) Ultimately a genuine leader is not a searcher for consensus but a molder of consensus. I would rather be a man of conviction than a man of conformity. *(p.63 WDWGFH)*

b) Being a transformed nonconformist may mean walking through the valley of the shadow of suffering, losing a job, or having a six year old daughter ask: "Daddy, why do you have to go to jail so much?" *(p.18 TNC)*

c) If physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive. *(p.193 STF; p.162 PL to Amer.)*

7 a) ... most people, and Christians in particular, are thermometers that record or register the temperature of majority opinion, not the thermostats that transform and regulate the temperature of society. *(p.12 TNC)*

b) We need to recapture the gospel glow of the early Christians ... who refused to shape their witness according to the mundane patterns of the world ... quantitatively small, they were qualitative giants ... Willingly they sacrificed fame, fortune, and life itself for a cause they knew to be right. Their powerful gospel put an end to such barbaric evils as infanticide and bloody gladiatorial contests. Finally they captured the Roman Empire for Jesus Christ. *(p.15 TNC)*

8 a) We did not hesitate to call our movement an army. But it was a special army, with no supplies but its sincerity, no uniform but its determination, no arsenal except its faith, no currency but its conscience. It was an army that would move but not maul. It was an army that would sing but not slay. It was an army that would flank but not falter. It was an army to storm bastions of hatred, to lay siege to the fortresses of segregation, to surround symbols of discrimination. It was an army whose allegiance was to God and whose strategy and intelligence were the eloquently simple dictates of conscience. *(p.62 WWCW)*

b) This movement seeks to remove from the body of our nation a cancerous disease which prevents us from realizing the ideals of human brotherhood. *(p.2 FN)*

9 If we are to avoid neurotic and schizophrenic personalities, men of goodwill must be maladjusted to the evils of segregation and the crippling effect of discrimination, to the moral degeneracy of religious bigotry and the corroding effects of narrow sectarianism, to economic conditions that deprive men of work and food and to the insanities of militarism and the self-defeating effects of physical violence. *(p.17 TNC)*

10 a) Christianity at its best refuses to live by a philosophy of ends justifying means. Destructive means cannot bring constructive ends, because the means represent the ideal in the making and the end-in-progress. Immoral means cannot bring about moral ends, for the ends are pre-existent in the means. *(p.117 CC)*

b) ...(Thus) as you continue your righteous protest. Always be sure you struggle with Christian methods and Christian weapons. Be sure that the means you use are as pure as the end you seek ... As you press on for justice, be sure to move with dignity and discipline, using love as your chief weapon. Let no man pull you so low as to hate him. *(p.161 PL to Amer.)*

11 a) 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. *(p.173 WDWGFH)*

b) (And) the hope of a secure and liveable world lies with the disciplined nonconformists who are dedicated to justice, peace and brotherhood. *(p.15 TNC)*

XXII VIOLENCE

1 As abhorrent as cannibalism
2 As immoral and impractical in achieving racial justice
3 As a source of temporary victories but not permanent peace
4 War and King's changing view as to its being a negative good
5 And the Negro's domestic and international pursuit of freedom
6 As antithetical to wholeness and brotherhood
7 Anarchy and the intelligent use of public power
8 And riots, their message, limitations, culpability and solution
9 And nonviolence: rage or reason
10 The ultimate weakness of
11 And self-defense
12 As an inferior method

VIOLENCE

1 Man was born into barbarism when killing his fellow man was a normal condition of existence. He became endowed with a conscience. And now he has reached the day when violence toward another human being must become as abhorrent as eating another's flesh. *(p.142 WWCW)*

2 Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both impractical and immoral. It is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind. It is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to annihilate rather than to convert. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hate rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. Violence ends by defeating itself. It creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers. A voice echoes through time saying to every potential Peter "Put up your sword." History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations that failed to follow this command. *(p.189 STF)*

3 Violence brings only temporary victories; violence by creating many more social problems than it solves, never brings permanent peace ... if we succumb to the temptation to use violence in our struggle for freedom, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to them will be a never-ending reign of chaos ... *(p.7 TMTH)*

4 á) (At) ... Crozer, I felt that war could never be a positive or absolute good, it could serve as a negative good in the sense of preventing the spread and growth of an evil force. War, horrible as it is, might be preferable to surrender to a totalitarian system - Nazi, Fascist or Communist." *(p.77 STF)*

b) More recently I have come to ... believe that the potential destructiveness of modern weapons totally rules out the possibility of war ever again achieving a negative good. If we assume mankind has the right to survive ... the choice is either nonviolence or nonexistence.*(p.171 PN/V)*

5 a) One of the main questions that the Negro must confront in his pursuit of freedom is that of effectiveness. What is the most effective way to achieve the desired goal? If a method is not effective, no matter how much steam it releases, it is an expression of weakness, not of strength.*(p.56 WDWGFH)*

b) During the fifties ... some called for a colossal blood bath to cleanse the nation's ills. To support their advocacy of violence and its incitement, they pointed to an historical tradition reaching back from the American Civil War to Spartacus in Rome. But the Negro in the South in 1955, assessing the power forces arrayed against him, could not perceive the slightest prospect of victory in this approach ... Although his desperation had prepared him with the courage to die for freedom if necessary, he was not willing to commit himself to racial suicide with no prospect of victory.*(p.34 WWCW)*

c) ... advocates of violence ... fail to see that no internal revolution has ever succeeded in overthrowing a government by violence unless the government had already lost the allegiance and effective control of its armed forces ... (and that) ... in a violent social situation (in the United States), the power structure has the local police, the state troopers, the

national guard and finally the army to call on, all of which are predominantly white. *(pp.58-59 WDWGFH)*

d) Our history teaches us that wielding the sword against racial superiority is not effective. The bravery of the Indians, employing spears and arrows against the Winchester and the Colt, had ultimately to eventuate in defeat. *(p.120 WWCW)*

e) Arguments that the American Negro is a part of a world which is two-thirds colored and that there will come a day when the oppressed people of color will violently rise together to throw off the yoke of white oppression are beyond the realm of serious discussion. There is no colored nation, including China that now shows even the potential of leading a violent revolution of color in international proportions. Ghana, Zambia, Tanganyika and Nigeria are so busy fighting their own battles of poverty, illiteracy and the subservice influence of neo-colonialism that they offer little hope to Angola, Southern Rhodesia and Southern Africa,much less to the American Negro. *(p.57 WDWGFH)*

6 The problem with hatred ... and violence is that they intensify the fears of the white majority, and leave them less ashamed of their prejudices toward Negroes ...It deepened the brutality of the oppressor and increases the bitterness of the oppressed.Violence is the antithesis of creativity and wholeness. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. *(p.61 WDWGFH)*

7 Whereas I abhor the use of arms and the thought of war, I do believe in the intelligent use of police power. Though a pacifist, I am not an anarchist. Mississippi's breakdown of law and order demanded the utilization of police action to quell the disorder and enforce the law of the land. *(p.210 WITG)*

8 a) A riot is at bottom the language of the unheard. It is a desperate, suicidal cry of one who is so fed up with the powerlessness of his cave existence that he asserts that he would rather be dead than ignored. *(p.112 WDWGFH)*

b) The limitation of riots, moral questions aside, is that they cannot win and their participants know it ... rioting is not revolutionary, but reactionary, because it invites defeat. It involves

an emotional catharsis, it must be followed by a sense of futility. *(p.15 IRR)* ... For Negro rioters are outnumbered ten to one ... Anyone leading a violent rebellion must be willing to make an honest assessment regarding the possible casualties to a minority population confronting a well warmed, wealthy majority with a fanatical right wing that would delight in exterminating thousands of black men, women and children. *(pp.56-57 WDWGFH)*

c) Is the guilt for riots exclusively that of Negroes? ... For a vivid and perceptive expression of culpability, I would submit two sentences written a century ago by Victor Hugo: "If a soul is left in darkness, sins will be committed. The guilty one is not he who commits the sin, but he who causes the darkness." ... The policy-makers of white America have caused the darkness. *(pp.7-8 IRR)*

d) ... outbreaks of riots ... are indefensible as weapons of struggle ... Yet social justice and programs are the absolute guarantors of riot prevention. There is no other answer. Constructive social change will bring certain tranquility; evasion will merely encourage turmoil. Negroes only hold one key to the double lock of peaceful change. The other is in the hands of the white community. *(pp.21-22 WDWGFH)*

9 a) I have to face this fact: if we do not get a positive response in Washington, many more Negroes will begin to think and act in violent terms. I think we have come to the point where there is no longer a choice now between nonviolence and riots. It must be militant, massive nonviolence, or riots. I'm convinced that if something isn't done to deal with the very harsh and real economic problems of the ghetto, the talk of guerrilla warfare is going to become much more real. *(p.24 LK)*

b) This should not be construed as a prediction of violence ... But on the other hand, it cannot be taken for granted that Negroes will adhere to nonviolence under any and all circumstances ... Nonviolence is a powerful demand for reason and justice. When there is rocklike intransigence or sophisticated manipulation ... rage replaces reason. *(pp.20-21 WDWGFH)*

10 a) To meet hate with retaliatory hate would do nothing but intensify the existence of evil in the universe. Hate begets hate; violence begets violence; toughness begets toughness. We must meet the forces of hate with the power of love; we must meet physical force with soul force. Our aim must never be to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and understanding.*(p.69 STF)*

b) The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is ... begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. Through violence you may murder the hater but you do not murder the hate ... So it goes ... Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that. *(p.62 WDWGFH)*

11 On the question of defensive violence ... I don't think we need programmatic action around self-defense. People are going to defend themselves anyway. ... Furthermore, it is dangerous to organize a movement around self-defense. The line of demarcation between defensive violence and aggressive violence is very thin. The minute a program of violence is enunciated, even for self-defense, the atmosphere is filled with talk of violence, and the words ... may be interpreted as an invitation to aggression. *(p.56 WDWGFH)*

12 a) Always avoid violence. If you sow the seeds of violence in your struggle, unborn generations will reap the whirlwind of social disintegration. *(p.161 PL to Amer.)*

b) May it never be said ... that we used the inferior methods of falsehood, malice, hate and violence. *(p.7 TMTH)*

XXIII NONVIOLENCE

1 As a power, a commitment and a way of life
2 As essentially a positive concept
3 And a doctrine of Realistic Pacifism: the influence of Niebuhr and Gandhi
4 Rests on the morality of its claim not the 'effectiveness of its strategy
5 Seven key features of
6 And five salient facts about the Negro
7 Its perennial significance and maturity
8 And internationalization: the next stage of the movement
9 As effective even under totalitarian regimes
10 And the morality of boycotts
11 And the role of demonstrations
12 And self-defense
13 A summary of its message
14 As an imperative for action

NONVIOLENCE

1 When the protest began, my mind, consciously or or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount with its sublime teachings on love, and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. As the days unfolded, I came to see the power of nonviolence more and more. Living through the actual experience of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual assent; it became a commitment and a way of life. *(p.83 STF)*

2 a) Nonviolence is essentially a positive concept. Its corrollary must always be growth. On the one hand, it requires noncooperation with evil, on the other hand, it requires cooperation with the constructive forces of good. *(p.198 STF)*

b) The way of nonviolence means we will match your capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws. Do to us

what you will and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children; send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out on the wayside road, beating us and leaving us half dead, and we will still love you. But we will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process. *(p.194 STF)*

3 a) I am no doctrinaire pacifist *(p.171 PN/V)* ... I never joined a pacifist organization. After reading Niebuhr, I tried to arrive at a realistic pacifism. In other words, I came to see the pacifist position ... as the lesser evil in the circumstances. *(p.81 STF)*

b) Reinhold Niebuhr ... argued that there was no intrinsic moral difference between violent and nonviolent resistance. The social consequences of the two methods were different, he contended, but the differences were in degree rather than kind. *(p.79 STF)* ... He interpreted pacifism as a sort of passive nonresistance to evil expressing naive trust in the power of love. But this was a serious distortion. *(p.80 STF)*

c) My study of Gandhi convinced me that true pacifism…is not unrealistic submission to evil power, as Niebuhr contends. It is rather a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love, in the faith that it is better to be the recipient of violence than the inflicter of it, since the latter only multiplies the existence of violence and bitterness in the universe, while the former may develop a sense of shame in the opponent, and thereby bring about a transformation and change of heart. *(p.80 STF)*

4 Nonviolence in the truest sense is not a strategy that one uses simply because it is expedient at the moment; nonviolence is ultimately a way of life that men live by because of the sheer morality of its claim. But even granting this, the willingness to use nonviolence as a technique is a step forward. For he who goes this far is more likely to adopt nonviolence later as a way of life. *(p.71 STF)*

5 Seven key features of nonviolence:

a) First, it must be emphasized that nonviolent resistance is not a method for cowards ... If one uses this method because he is afraid or

merely lacks the instruments of violence, he is not truly nonviolent. *(p.83 STF)* ... While the nonviolent resister is ... not physically aggressive toward his opponent, his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade his opponent that he is wrong. *(p.84 STF)*

b) Second, ... nonviolence ... does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent but to win his friendship and understanding. The nonviolent resister's ... protests ... are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness. *(p.84 STF)*

c) A third characteristic of this method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil ... The tension is, at bottom between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory, it will be a victory ... for justice and the forces of light. *(p.84 STF)*

d) A fourth point that characterises nonviolent resistance is a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation ... the resister's justification for this ordeal ... is found in the realization that unearned suffering is redemptive. Suffering ... said Gandhi, "is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason." *(p.85 STF)*

e) A fifth point concerning nonviolent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. he nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him ... This can only be done by projecting the ethic of love to the center of our lives. *(p.85 STF)*

f) A sixth basic fact about nonviolent resistance is that it is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice ... (and that) there is a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspects of reality into a harmonious whole. *(p.88 STF)*

d) Nonviolent action, the Negro saw, was the way to supplement - not replace - the process of change through legal recourse. It was the way to divest himself of passivitiy witgout arraying himself in vindictive force. Acting in concert with fellow Negroes to assert himself as a citizen, he would embark on a militant program to demand the rights which were his: in the street, in the stores, on the busines, the parks, and other public facilities. *(p.36 WWCW)*

e) By nonviolent resistance, the Negro (could) also enlist all men of goodwill in his struggle for equality ... (for) Under its banner consciences not racial groups are enlisted. *(p.191 STF)*

7 a) After the summer (riots) of 1967, many people ask ... if nonviolence is going to be an effective strategy against the government and the status quo. *(p.59 NV/SC)*

b) I am still convinced that a solution of nonviolence remains possible. However, nonviolent protest must mature to a new level ... massive civil disobedience ... mass civil disobedience as a new stage of struggle can transmute the deep rage of the ghetto into a constructive and creative force ... to dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it ... it is a device of social action that is more difficult for the government to quell by superior force. *(pp.14-15 IRR)*

c) Nonviolent direct action will continue to be a significant source of power until it is made irrelevant by the presence of justice. *(p.139 WDWGFH)* ... But mass nonviolent demonstrations (alone) will not be enough. They must be supplemented by a continuing job of organization. To produce change, people must be organized to work together in units of power ... These units may be political ... they may be economic. *(p.130 WDWGFH)*

8 Can a nonviolent, direct-action movement find application on the international level to confront economic and political problems? ... the next stage of the movement is to become international ... National movements within developed countries ... must make it politically feasible for their governments to break the chains of poverty ... a united movement, nonviolently conceived and carried through

so that pressure can be brought to bear on both sides of the problem at once ... One of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces, operating outside governmental frameworks. *(p. 63 NV/SC)* ... nonviolent movements for social change must internationalize, because of the interlocking nature of the problems they all face ... (Yet) we have hardly begun to build the skills and strategy or even the commitment, to planetize our movement for social justice. *(p.64 NV/SC)*

9 a) There is a powerful motivation when a suppressed people enlist in an army that marches under the banner of nonviolence. A nonviolent army has a magnificent universal quality ... there is room for everyone who wants to join up. There is no color distinction. There is no examination, no pledge, except that as a soldier in the armies of violence is expected to inspect his carbine and keep it clean, nonviolent soldiers are called on to examine and burnish their greatest weapons - their heart, their conscience, their courage and their sense of justice. *(pp.38-39 WWCW)*

b) They (the Gandhians) seem to look upon the non-violent resistance technique's success in Montgomery as an outstanding example of its possible uses in Western civilization. To them as to me, it also suggests that nonviolent resistance, when planned and positive in action can work effectively even under totalitarian regimes. We argued this point with a group of African students who are today studying in India. They felt that nonviolence could only work in a situation where the resistors had a potential ally in the consciousness of the opponent. *(Excerpt MTTI)*

c) While I understand the reasons why oppressed people often turn to violence in their struggle for freedom, it is my firm belief that the Crusade for independence and human dignity that is now reaching a climax in Africa will have a more positive effect on the world, if it is waged along the lines that were first demonstrated in that continent by Gandhi himself. *(Excerpt MTTI)*

10 a) (When) I was forced for the first time to think seriously on the nature of the boycott ... certain doubts began to bother me. Is the boycott method basically unchristian? Isn't it a negative approach to the solution of a problem? (And) even if lasting practical

results come from such a boycott, would immoral means justify moral ends? Each pf these questions demanded honest answers. *(pp.35-36 STF)*

b) I had to recognize that the boycott method could be used to unethical and unchristian ends. I had to concede further that this method was often used ... to deprive many ... persons of goodwill of the basic necessities of life. But our purposes were altogether different. We would use this method to give birth to freedom and justice and to urge men to comply with the law of the land. *(p.36 STF)*

c) As I thought further ... I began to think about Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience* ... I became convinced that what we were preparing to do in Montgomery was related to what Thoreau had expressed ... (and) Something began to say to me, "He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to perpetrate it." *(p.36 STF)*

11 Demonstrations may be limited in the future, but contrary to some beliefs, they will not be abandoned. (For) ... demonstrations ... are part of the process of stimulating legislation and law enforcement ... (They) have a creative effect on the social and psychological climate not matched by the legislative process ... (And they) afford total community involvement, making activists of all people, rather than drawing some activists from the mass. *(p.270 LJRD)* ... When legal contests were the sole form of activity, the ordinary Negro was involved as a passive spectator. His interest was stirred but his energies were unemployed. Mass marches transformed the common man into the star performer and engaged him in a total commitment. *(p.17 WDWGFH)* ... (Finally) they educate the onlooker as well as the participant ... That is one reason why they have not outlived their usefulness. *(p.272 LJRD)*

12 a) ... (my) plea for nonviolence ... immediately aroused some of our friends from the Deacons of Defense, who contended that self-defense was essential and that therefore nonviolence should not be requisite for participation in the march ... I contended that the debate over self-defense was unnecessary since few people suggested that Negroes should not defend themselves as individuals when attacked. The question is not whether one should use his gun when his home was attacked, but whether it was tactically wise to use a gun while participating in an organized demonstration. *(pp.26-27 WDWGFH)*

b) ... (thus) the question of "self-defense" ... is a false issue, for the right to defend one's home and one's person when attacked has been guaranteed through the ages by common law. In a nonviolent demonstration, however, self-defense must be approached from another perspective. *(p.55 WDWGFH)*

13 Whether they read Gandhi or Frantz Fanon, all radicals understand the need for action - direct self-transformation and structure-transforming action. This may be their most creative collective insight *(p.41 YSA)* ... The nonviolent resistors can summarize their message in the following simple terms: We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it. *(p.192-3 STF)*

14 ... true nonviolence is more than the absence of violence. It is the persistent and determined application of peaceable power to offenses against the community, - in this case the world community. *(p.184 WDWGFH)* ... In this world, nonviolence is no longer an option for intellectual analysis, it is an imperative for action. *(p.64 NV/SC)*

XXIV POVERY/PROPERTY/WEALTH

1 The problem of poverty

2 Jesus' view of

3 God's intention and the moral obligation of all wealthy nations

4 An intelligent approach to

5 Why poverty must be outlawed

6 The cost and means of eliminating poverty in the United States

7 The need for new measures in attacking poverty

8 And guaranteed income

9 And the respective value of people and property

10 A distinction in property rights

11 And the need for a revolution of values

POVERTY/PROPERTY/WEALTH

1 a) There is nothing new about poverty ... like a monstrous octopus ... it stretches its choking, prehensile tentacles into lands and villages all over the world ... What is new, however, is that we now have the resources to get rid of it ... There is no deficit in human resources; the deficit is in human will. *(p.177 WDWGFH)*

b) The time has come for us to civilize ourselves by the total, direct and immediate abolition of poverty. *(pp.165-166 WDWGFH)*

2 Jesus never made a sweeping indictment against wealth. Rather, he condemned the misuse of wealth. Money is amoral and can be used for either good or evil ... Nothing in wealth is inherently vicious and nothing in poverty is inherently virtuous. *(p.63 MWF)*

3 a) God intends that all his children shall have the basic necessities for meaningful, healthful life ... it is unchristian and unethical for some to wallow in the soft beds of luxury while others sink in the quicksands of poverty. *(pp.120-1 CC)*

b) ... Every nation is an heir of a vast treasury of ideas and labor to which both the living and dead of all nations have contributed. *(p.181 WDWGFH)*

c) All wealthy nations have a moral obligation to provide capital and technological assistance to the developing areas ... (and) wipe out poverty, ignorance and disease from the face of the earth. *(p.179 WIM)*

d) As Christians we must not only think about "mansions in the sky" but also about the slums and the ghettoes that cripple the human soul, not merely about the streets in heaven "flowing with milk and honey," but also about the millions of people in this world who go to bed hungry at night. *(p.108 WIM)*

4 An intelligent approach to the problems of poverty and racism will cause us to see that the words of the Psalmist - "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" - are still a judgment upon our use and abuse of the wealth and resources with which we have been endowed. *(p.187 WDWGFH)*

5 (But) ... the real reason that we must use our resources to outlaw poverty goes beyond material concerns to the quality of our mind and spirit ... If we accept the profound moral fact that men are made in the image of God, and that they are souls of infinite metaphysical value *(p.180)* ... the rich must not ignore the poor because the rich and the poor are tied together ... the agony of the poor impoverishes the rich. We are inevitably our brother's kepper because we are our brother's brother. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. *(p.181 WDWGFH)*

6 a) (In America) a Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged could mark the rise of a new era, in which the full resources of the society would be used to attack the tenacious poverty which so paradoxically exists in the midst of plenty. *(pp.138-9 WWCW)*

b) The Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Hyman Bookbinder, in a frank statement on December 29, 1966, declared that the long-range cost of adequately implementing progress to fight poverty, ignorance and slums will reach one trillion dollars ... but (he) pointed out that the growth of the gross national product during the same period makes this expenditure comfortably possible. It is, he said, as simple as this: "The poor can stop being poor if the rich are willing to become even richer at a slower rate". *(p.6 WDWGFH)*

7 a) It is a simple matter of justice that America, in dealing creatively with the task of raising the Negro from backwardness, should also be rescuing a larger stratum of the forgotten white poor. *(p.138 WWCW)*

b) In the treatment of poverty nationally, one fact stands out: there are twice as many white poor as Negro poor in the United States ... Therefore I will ... discuss the poverty that affects white and Negro alike. *(p.161 WDWGFH)*

c) Up to recently we proceeded from the premise that poverty is the consequence of multiple evils (lack of education ... poor housing, fragile family relationships) and logically that each of these causes may be attacked one by one ... In combination these measures were intended to remove the causes of poverty ... While none of these remedies itself is unsound, all have a fatal disadvantage. The programs never proceeded on a coordinated basis or at similar rates of development. Consequently, fragmentary and spasmodic reforms have failed to reach down. In addition ... they are indirect. Each seeks to solve poverty by first solving something else. *(pp.161-2 WDWGFH)*

8 a) I am now convinced that the simplest approach will prove the most effective - the solution to poverty is to abolish it directly by ... guaranteed income. *(pp.161-2 WDWGFH)*

b) For nearly forty years two groups in our society have already been enjoying guaranteed income ... the two groups turn out to be the richest and the poorest. The wealthy who own securities have always had an assured income, and their polar opposite, the relief client, has been guaranteed an income, however miniscule, through welfare benefits. *(p.165 WDWGFH)*

c) Two conditions are indispensable if we are to ensure that the guaranteed income operates as a consistently progressive measure. First it must be pegged to the medium income of society not the lowest levels of income ... Second, (it) must be dynamic, it must automatically increase as the total social income grows. *(p.164 WDWGFH)*

d) This proposal is not a "civil rights" program in the sense that the term is currently used. The program would benefit all the poor, including the two-thirds of them who are white. I hope that both Negro and white will act in a coalition to effect this change, because their combined strength will be necessary to overcome the fierce opposition we must realistically anticipate.*(p.165 WDWGFH)*

e) In other words, the coalition of an energized section of labor, Negroes, unemployed and welfare recipients may be the source of power that reshapes the economic relations and ushers in ... a new level of social reform - The total elimination of poverty ... *(p.142 WDWGFH)*

9 ... there are many who wince at the distinction between property and persons - who hold both sacrosanct. My views are not so rigid. A life is sacred. Property is intended to serve life, and no matter how much we surround it with rights and respect, it has no person being. It is part of the earth man walks on; it is not man. *(p.56 NV/SC)*

10 On the question of property rights, I would be the first one to contend that there are certain sacred and basic rights that should be protected concerning private property, but I do not think this is the issue at this point. We are not dealing with property that is exclusively private. We are dealing with property that is privately owned but supported by, sustained by the public and which depends on the public for its very existence, and I think we have a great difference here. *(pp.9-10 NF)*

11 When machines and computers, profit motives and property are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered. *(p.186 WDWGFH)*

XXV VIETNAM

1 *And the duty of every man*

2 *As irreconcilable with wisdom, justice and love*

3 *King's five reasons for protesting*

4 *Six crucial facts about it*

5 *And America's untenable position, and expression of white colonialism*

6 *And the vocation of sonship and brotherhood*

VIETNAM

1 The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours ... These are times for real choices not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on 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. *(p.31 CVW)*

2 This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling the nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally human, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice and love. *(p.33 CVW)*

a) Since the spring of 1967, when I first made public my opposition to my government's policy, many persons have questioned me ... "Why you?", they have said. "Peace and civil rights don't mix. Aren't you hurting the cause of your people." And when I hear such questions, I have been greatly saddened, for that means that the inquirers have never really known me, my commitments or my calling. *(p.21 CVW)*

b) I believe everyone has a duty to be in both the civil rights and peace movements, but for those who presently choose but one, I would hope they will finally come to see the moral roots common to both. I hope they will understand that brotherhood is indivisible, that equality of races is connected with the equality of nations in a single harmonious co-existence of all human beings. *(Excerpt UN)*

3 Since I am a preacher by calling, I suppose it is not surprising that I had several reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision:

a) 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 ... and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds and energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demoniacal destructive suction tube. *(pp.22-23 CVW)*

b) Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that ... we are taking the black man who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in South-east Asia which they had not found in South-west Georgia and East Harlem ... I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor. *(p.23 CVW)*

c) My third reason ... grows out of my experience in the ghettoes of the North ... As I walked among the desperate, rejected angry young men ... (and) told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems ... they asked me, and rightly so, what about Vietnam? ... And I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettoes without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government. *(pp.23-4 CVW)*

d) 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 answer by saying that ... Justice is indivisible ... and it would be rather absurd to work passionately and unrelentingly for integrated schools and not be concerned about

the survival of the world in which to be integrated. *(pp.24-5 CVW)*

e) another ... responsibility was placed upon me in 1964: I cannot forget that the Nobel Prize for Peace was also a commission - a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for "the brotherhood of man." This is a calling which 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 am speaking against the War. *(P.25 CVW)*
Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the one who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? *(p.439 TBS)*

4 Six Facts of Vietnam War

a) Vietnamese people proclaimed (1945) their own independence after a combined French and Japanese occupation. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. *(p.26 CVW)*

b) For nine years following 1945, we vigorously supported the French in their abortive attempt to recolonize Vietnam. U.S. violated Geneva agreements to prevent Ho Chi Minh from uniting the temporarily divided nation. (Premier Diem who refused to discuss re-unification with the North ... America increased its troop commitments in support of a government which was singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. *(p.27 CVW)*

c) 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 crushing one of the nation's only non-communist revolutionary political forces, the United Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the Saigon peasants. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men. *(p.28 CVW)*

d) In Hanoi are men who led the nation to independence against the French and Japanese, and who led a second struggle against French domination and were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the 13th and 17th parallels as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954 they watched U.S. conspire with

Diem to prevent elections which would surely have brought Ho Chin Minh to power over a United Vietnam. They realized they had been betrayed again. *(p.29 CVW)*

e) Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces for war, and now he has surely heard increasing international rumors of American plans to invade the North. *(p.30 CVW)*

f) Our own troops ... know that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved, and the more sophisticated know ... we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam ... our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony, and men will not refrain from thinking that our maximum hope is to goad China into a war so that we may bomb her nuclear installations. *(pp.30-1 CVW)*

5 All of this reveals that we are in an untenable position morally and politically. We are left standing before the world glutted with wealth and power but morally constricted and impoverished. We are engaged in a war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate white colonialism. *(Excerpt UN)*

6 (Therefore) as I try to delineate for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to New York's Riverside Church and this meeting of the concerned laymen and clergymen on Vietnam 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 sonship and 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. *(p.439 TBS)*

a) 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 victims of our nation and for those it calls enemy, for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers. *(p.439 TBS)*

I N D E X

AGAPE
*Love III 5 & 6 all**

ALTRUISM
Good Life V 2b,5a & 6 all,7*

ALLEGIANCE/LOYALTY
Man II 9
Law IV 8b
Good Life V 2d
Church VI 7a & c
Peace VIII 5a
Revolution XI 7c
Movement XXI 2,8a
Violence XXIII 5c
Vietnam XXV 3e, 6a

AMERICA/UNITED STATES
Love III 11a
Church VI 14
Power VIII 5,6
Revolution XI 6a,7b,8b
Fear XIII 2d
Slavery XVI 1a-b,4b,5f,6a-b
Segregation XVIII 8
Integration XIX 2c,3a
Negro XX 6d,8a
Poverty XXIV 7a
Vietnam XXV 3a,4b-f

ANARCHY
Law IV 11
Violence 7

ARISTOTLE
God I 5c

BACKLASH
*Slavery XVI 6a & b**

BELOVED COMMUNITY
Love III 11a
Integration XIX 76
Nonviolence XXIII 5b

BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED
Negro XX 7d
Poverty XXIV 6a

BITTERNESS
Hope XII 2a,4a,c,7
*Fear XIII 4a,b**
America XV 12a
Negro XX 1d
Movement XXI 5a
Violence XXII 2,3,6
Nonviolence XXIII 3c,5b

BLACK MUSLIMS
Negro XX 7g

BLACK POWER
Power VII 8all,9*

BLINDNESS
Church VI 12a-b
Knowledge XIV 1b
Slavery XVI 1a

BOYCOTT
Love III 11a
Negro XX 18b
Nonviolence XXIII 6a,10

BROWN vs.THE BOARD OF TOPEKA
Integration XIX 5d

BRIGHTMAN, EDGAR
Knowledge XIV 4

CALVARY/THE CROSS
God I 9b,c
Love III 1,6c
Law IV 3,6c
Good Life V 7a
Peace VIII 5d
Evil X 1a,7b
Hope XII 1
Knowledge XIV 1c

CAPITALISM
Church VI 3b
Knowledge XIV 3b.c
America XV 13a.b

CHARACTER
Movement XXI 11a

CHRIST/JESUS
*God I 9 all**
Man II 3b,13,15
Love III 1,2 all,8d,12
Law IV 3,4
Good Life V 4a,5d,7a
Church VI 1b,3 all,6a,c, 7a,13
Peace VIII 2c,5d,7
Evil X 5c
Revolution XI 2a,b
Hope XII 2a,b,3,7
Fear XIII 3c,6
Knowledge XIV 5b,9
Segregation XVIII 5,6
Movement XXI 1,3,4b.c,7b
Poverty XXIV 2
Vietnam XXV 3e

CHRISTIAN REALISM
*Man II 6 all**

CHURCH
Power VII 8a
Revolution XI 2a
Knowledge XIV 3b

CITIZEN
Church VI 9a,c

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
Nonviolence XXIII 7b

CIVILIZATION
Man II 1b
Civil Rights XVII 7
Poverty XXIV 1b

CLASSISM
Church VI 8a & c, e*

COALITION/ALLIANCES
Power VII 9
Civil Rights XVII 5c
Integration XIX 3b,c
Negro XX 7g,11c,17e,18b*
Nonviolence XXIII 8
Poverty XXIV 8d-e

COERCION
Progress IX 7b
Negro XX 8b

COLLECTIVISM
Knowledge XIV 3c

COLONIALISM
America XV 11a
Slavery XVI 4
Segregation XVIII 8
Nonviolence XXIII 6a
Vietnam XXV 5

COMMANDMENT/MORAL IMPERATIVE
Law IV 1b,3,4,15
Good Life V 3

COMMITMENT
God I 9a
Law IV 5
Good Life V 4b,5b
Church VI 7a,d
Progress IX 4a
Revolution XI 2b
Fear XIII 6
America XV 11c
Slavery XVI 6b
Negro XX 17e
Nonviolence XXIII 1,8,11
Vietnam XXV 2a,3e

COMMUNISM
Man II 3a-b
Church VI 3b
Revolution XI 1
Knowledge XIV 3c
America XV 12a-b
Violence XXII 4a

COMPASSION/SYMPATHY
Law IV 5
Good Life V 6
Evil X 7b
Revolution XI 9a
Negro XX 19b
Movement XXI 5b

CONFLICT/STRUGGLE
God I 1,5a,6
Love III 2b-c,11a
Law IV 7a,13a
Peace VIII 2c,6a
Progress IX 4b,7a
Evil X 2a-b
Revolution XI 5
Fear XIII 6
Knowledge XIV 8
America XV 5b
Civil Rights XVII 1,2a,6c,8c,9b
Segregation XVIII 1
Integration XIX 2c
Negro XX 4c,15 all,20a
Movement XXI 1,10b
Violence XXII 3,8d,12a
Nonviolence XXIII 6e,7

CONFORMITY
Movement XXI 4a-b

CONSCIENCE
Man II 6b
Law IV 8d,9,11
Church VI 7a-b
Civil Rights XVII 5a
Segregation XVIII 2
Integration XIX 3c,4a
Movement XXI 8a
Violence XXII 1
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,6e,9a

CONSTITUTION
Law IV 10,12
America XV 5b,10c
Civil Rights XVII 3c
Negro XX 7d,12a,15d

COURAGE
God I 6
*Fear XIII 3b & 5**
America XV 14
Negro XX 6c,20a
Nonviolence XXIII 9a

COWARDICE
*Fear XIII 5**
Nonviolence XXIII 5a,6a

CULPABILITY/GUILT
Negro XX 4
Violence XXIII 8c

CUSTOM
Law IV 7a,8b,12
Movement XXI 2

DEATH
Love III 11b,12
Peace VII 4
Evil X 4b,9
Hope XII 3,5c
Fear XIII 2c,3d
Knowledge XIV 5c
Negro 1d
Movement XXI 6c

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
America XV 1a
Negro XX 3a

DEMOCRACY
Power VII 6
Revolution XI 1
Knowledge XIV 3c
Segregation XVIII 2,8b
Negro XX 15e
Movement XXI 8a

DEMONSTRATIONS
Law IV 12
Negro XX 17g,18b
Nonviolence XXIII 7c,11,12

DESEGREGATION
Law IV 6b,7a
*Integration XIX 7**

DESTINY
Man II 7a,b,11bi
Power VII 8ci-ii
Evil X 7a
America XV 4
Slavery XVI 4b
Movement XXI 5b

DETACHMENT
*Hope XII 4b**

DeWOLF, L. HAROLD
Knowledge XIV 4

DIALECTICAL
*Law IV 13a**
*Knowledge XIV 3b**

DIRECT ACTION/SIT-IN
Law IV 11,12
Civil Rights XVII 6
Integration XIX 6b
Nonviolence XXIII 7a & c,8,13

DISAPPOINTMENT
Church VI 6a
Hope XII 3,4b,5b-c

DISARMAMENT
Church VI 11b
Peace VIII 4

DISCRIMINATION
Civil Rights XVII 6a,7
Segregation XVIII 1,2,8
Negro XX 11b
Movement XXI 8a,9

DRED SCOTT
Slavery XVI 2
Integration XIX 5b

DUBOIS W.E.B.
Negro XX 7b

EASTER/RESURRECTION
Peace VIII 5d
Evil X 2c

ECONOMY/BUSINESS
Church VI 7a & c,10c
Power VII 2,7
Fear XIII 2b,d
America XV 8a,9a,13a-b
Slavery XVI 1a-b,4c
Civil Rights XVII 6c,8b,9b
Integration XIX 2c,6d
Negro XX 3b,11a,15e,18a,19a
Nonviolence XXIII 7c,8
Poverty XXIV 8e

EDUCATION
Law IV 13a-b
Power VII 13
Integration XIX 2,6a
Negro XX 3b,11d
Poverty XXIV 7c

EMOTIONALISM
*Church VI 8a & b**

ENEMY
Love III 2c,7 all,8d
Law IV 4
Nonviolence XXIII 6b
Vietnam XXV 3e,6a

EQUALITY/EGALITARIANISM
Revolution XI 1
America XV 5c,6,7b,9a
Slavery XVI 2,5f
Civil Rights XVII 8c
Integration XIX 6c
Negro XX 11 all,6e
Vietnam XXV 2b

ESTRANGEMENT
Man II 4,8
Slavery XVI 3b

EVIL
God I 1,2b,5c,6,9c
Man II 5,9
Love III 7a-b,8,11b
Law IV 3
Church VI 16,4a,6a-b
Power VII 8ci,12
Peace VIII 5b
Progress IX 3
America XV 8a,11a
Civil Rights XVII 3c
Segregation XVIII 1,2,3
Negro XX 8c,9a
Movement XXI 7b
Violence XXII 4a,10a-b
Nonviolence XXIII 2a,3 all,5c,6b
Poverty XXIV 7c

EXECUTIVE ORDERS
Law IV 10
Segregation XVIII 9

EXISTENTIALISM
Man II 4

FAITH
God I 2,9a
Love III 1
Good Life V 2d
Church VI 6a & d
Progress IX 2,3
Evil X 4 all, 5c
Revolution XI 2a
Fear XIII 3d
Knowledge XIV 5 all,7b,9*
America XV 14
Slavery 3
Movement XXI 8a

FANON, FRANTZ
Power VII 8ciii
Nonviolence XXIII 13

FATALISM
*Hope XII 4c**

FEAR
*(Itself) XIII 1**
Love III 6b,10
Law IV 6b
Church VI 9 a & d,10a
Knowledge XIV 6a
Integration XIX 8

FILLING THE JAILS
*Nonviolence XXIII 5g**

FOOL
*Man II 11 all**

FORGIVENESS
Love III 7a,10*
Church VI 6a & c

FOSDICK, HARRY EMERSON
Law IV 5

FREEDOM
God I 8
*Man II 2,3a,4,7 all**
Love III 2c,11a
Church VI 4c,12a
Power VII 6,8cii*
Evil X 5b
Revolution XI 3,7b-c
America XV 5c,6
Slavery XVI 5f
Civil Rights XVII 3c,4b, 8a-b,9b
Segregation XVIII 1,7
Integration XIX 2a,6d
Negro XX 7 all,13,20a,21
Movement XXI 1
Violence XXII 3,5a-b
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,10,9c

FRIEND(SHIP)
Love III 5,7c,8c
Good Life V 4d,
Church VI 9a & e
Violence XXII 10a
Nonviolence XXIII 5b

GANDHI, MAHATMA
Love III 2 all
Revolution XI 3
Movement XXI 1
Nonviolence XXIII 1,2c,5d, 6a,9b-c,13

GARVEY, Marcus
Negro XX 7c,d&g

GHETTO
Power VII 5
Negro XX 18a
Violence XXII 9a

GOD
*(Itself) I 3 & 4 &9a**
Man II 1,2,6c,8,11biii
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Law IV 2,4,7b,10
Good Life V 1,2a,d,3a-b, 5,7b
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Power VII 11
Peace VIII 3,7
Progress IX 1,2,3
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GOD
Hope XII 4a,5c
Knowledge XIV 1b,2,4,5a-b, 6a-b,9
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Slavery XVI 6a
Segregation XVIII 7
Integration XIX 1a
Negro XX 5
Movement XX 2,4b-c,8a
Poverty XXIV 3a,4
Vietnam XXV 6

GOOD
God I 9c
Man II 5,7a,9,12 all
Love III 3,6a,11b
Law IV 3
Church VI 6a-b
Power VII 4
Peace VIII 5b
Evil X 1b,2a-c,8
Hope XII 5c
Knowledge XIV 3c
Integration XIX 8
Violence XXII 4a-b
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GOSPEL/SCRIPTURES/BIBLE
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Good Life V 4c
Church VI 1b,2,7a,8a-b,10a,c
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Hope XII 2b
Fear XIII 3c
Knowledge XIV 1,5a
America XV 5b
Negro XX 7f
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GOVERNMENT
Power VII 7,8a
Revolution XI 7b
America XV 2b,8a,10c,14
Slavery XVI 1b
Civil Rights XVII 3b-c,9a
Negro XX 6e,15f,17g,18a
Violence XXII 5c
Nonviolence XXIII 7a-b,8
Vietnam XXV 3c

GRACE
God I 5c
Man 6c

GREAT SOCIETY
Negro XX 3a

GUARANTEED INCOME
America XV 8b
Poverty XXIV 8a-c

HAPPY(NESS)
Good Life V 5
America XV 9a
Integration XIX 4a

HARD-HEARTED
*Good Life V 4c-d**

HATE
Man II 8
Love III 3,5,7c,8a-b,11a-b*
Law IV 1b
Church VI 9a-b
Evil X 1a
Revolution XI 3
Hope XII 4b
Fear XIII 4a
Segregation XVIII 7
Negro XX 9b,21
Movement XXI 8a,10b
Violence XXII 6,10a-b,12
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,5e,6b
Vietnam XXV 2

HEGEL, G.W.F.
Progress IX 7a
Knowledge XIV 3a
Negro XX 9c-d

HISTORY
God I 6
Love III 2c
Law IV 3
Good Life V 7a
Church VI 6a,12b
Power VII 3
Peace VIII 1a
Evil X 2a,7a
America XV 4
Slavery XVI 3b
Civil Rights XVII 1,5c
Integration XIX 6d,8
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HOLINESS
Love III 8d

HOLY SPIRIT
*Love III 6c**

HOPE
Love III 11b
Law IV 15c
Church VI 6a & b
Evil X 46
Revolution XI 1,3
Fear XIII 3b
Negro XX 1c
Movement XXI 11a-b

HORIZONTAL PLANE
Church VI 2,9a & e

HOUSING
Negro XX 3b,11d,12,14a,15d
Poverty XXIV 7c

HUGO, VICTOR
Violence XXII 8c

INDIVIDUALISM
Knowledge XIV 3c

INTEGRATION/INTEGRATE
*(Itself) XIX 2 all & 7b**
Law IV 6b-c,13a
Church VI 2,7a,d

INTEGRATION/INTEGRATE
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Civil Rights XVII 4b
Negro XX 11d,15c
Movement XXI 5b
Vietnam XXV 3d

JERICHO ROAD
Love III 6b
Good Life V 5d
Peace VIII 5a
Revolution XI 7ci

JUDICIAL DECREES/INJUNCTION
Law IV 11
Civil Rights XVII 4a
Segregation XVIII 9
Integration XIX 6a-b

JUSTICE
God I 5c
Love III 9,11a*
Law IV 6a,7b
Church VI 4c,7a & c,e,11c-d
Power VII 1,2,3
Peace VIII 2c
Progress IX 4a,7a
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Hope XII 6
Knowledge XIV 3c
America XV 5a-b,6,7b,9,12b
Slavery XVI 6c
Civil Rights XVII 2
Integration XIX 2c,6c-d,8
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Movement XXI 10b,11a-b
Violence XXII 2,8d,9b
Nonviolence XXIII 5c,f,7c,9a,10
Poverty XXIV 7a
Vietnam XXV, 2,3d

KILLENS, JOHN
Integration XIX 2a

KINGDOM OF GOD
Church VI 1a
Peace VIII 2c
Progress IX 1

KNOWLEDGE
God I 9a
Love III 13a

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Negro XX 17e

LAW
Good Life V 5a
Church VI 7a,d,9a-b
Evil X 1c
America XV 5a
Slavery XVI 1b,2
Civil Rights XVII 4a,7,9a
Segregation XVIII 9
Integration XIX 7a
Negro XX 6e, 10,15f,17f
Violence XXII 2,7
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,5d,10, 11,12,14

LEADER(SHIP)
Peace VIII 1a
Revolution XI 8a
Slavery XVI 7
Integration XIX 4b
Negro XX 7f,13,16,17d,g
Movement XXI 6a

LIBERALISM
Man II 5

LIBERATION
*Integration XIX 2&7**
Nonviolence XXIII 6b

LIE/FALSEHOOD
Man II 8
Law IV 16
Church VI 10a
Evil X 8
Slavery XVI 5e
Violence XXII 10b,12b

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Man II 3a,11biii
Love III 3,11b
Church VI 6a&d,7a&d,8a&c
Peace VIII 5a,c
Progress IX 1,2
Evil X 1a,c,4b
Revolution XI 7ci
Hope XII 4b
Fear XIII 3b,4a,5
Knowledge XIV 3c,5b-c
America XV 9a
Slavery XVI 3b
Integration XIX 1b,3a,4a,8
Negro XX 1d,2,3b,4c,12a
Movement XXI 3,7b
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Poverty XXIV 3a

LOGIC
Slavery XVI 4b,5a,d
Segregation XVIII 3

LOVE
(Itself) III
God I 3,5c,9b
Man II 12b,14c
Law IV 3,4,6a,13a
Good Life V 3a,4d,5b,6c,7a
Church VI 3d,7a,e,10
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Evil X 5a,9
Revolution XI 3,7c
Hope XII 4b,5c
Fear XIII 3c,4,6
Knowledge XIV 5b,6b
Segregation XVIII 10
Negro XX 5
Movement XXI 1,2,5a,10b
Violence XXIII 2,10a-b
Nonviolence XXIII 1,2b,3b-c,5e
Vietnam

MACHIAVELLIAN
Power VII 4

MAN
*(Itself) II 6all**
God I, 1,4,9c
Law IV 2,3,13a-b
Good Life V 2b,5d,6all
Church VI 1,2,7a&d,12a
Power VII 1
Peace VIII 3,5b-c
Evil X 3,4all,5all,6a-b,8
Revolution XI 5,7a
Knowledge XIV 4,5a-b,7
America XV 1a-b,2
Integration XIX 1a
Negro XX 5
Movement XXI 4c,6c,10b
Violence XXII 1
Poverty XXIV 5,9
Vietnam XXV 1

MARRIAGE
Church VI 9a&d

MARX(ISM)
Knowledge XIV 3b

MATERIALISM
God I 7d
Evil X 1a
Knowledge XIV 3b 8

MEANS-ENDS
Man II 2,3a,11a-b
Peace VIII 5b
America XV 11a
Segregation XVIII 7
Movement XXI 10a-b
Nonviolence XXIII 10,13

METHOD/TACTIC
Love III 2a,c
Law IV 11
Revolution XI 4
Knowledge XIV 2,3a,7
Civil Rights XVII 4a-b,6a,c
Negro XX 18a-b,21
Movement XXI 1,5a,10b
Violence XXII 12
Nonviolence XXIII 1,5a-c,6c,10

MINISTER/PREACHER
Church VI 4b,10all
Negro XX 7f
Vietnam XXV 3d

MORALITY
Law IV all
Power VII 4
Peace VIII 5d
Revolution XI 9a
America XV 11b-c
Civil Rights XVII 5c
Segregation XVIII 7
Nonviolence XXIII 4
Vietnam XXV 2b

MOVEMENT
Civil Rights XVII 6all
Nonviolence XXIII 8
Vietnam XXV 2b,4d

MYRDAL, GUNNAR
America XV 9b

NATIONAL(ISM)
Law IV 15b
Church VI 3c,9a,c,11d
Peace VIII 5a
Evil X 1a
Revolution XI 7c
America XV 3a
Movement XXI 5b,8b
Poverty XXIV 3b-c
Vietnam XXV 2b

NAACP
Negro XX 7d

NEGRO/AFRO-AMERICAN/BLACKMAN
*(Itself) XX 17a**
Love II 9
Law IV 11,14
Church VI 8a-c,9all,10c
Power VII 6,8all
Revolution XI 7b,8
Fear XIII 6
America XV 5a-c,7a-b
Slavery XVI 2,5b,6all
Civil Rights XVII 2c,4a-b,6c, 7,8all,9c
Segregation XVIII 1,5,7
Integration XIX 2c,3all,4b,5b, 6a,c,7

NEGRO/AFRO-AMERICAN/BLACKMAN
Movement XXI 1,5b
Violence XXII 5a-b,e,6,8b-d,9a-b
Poverty XXIV 7a-b,8d-e
Vietnam XXV 3b

NEIGHBOR(HOOD)/BROTHER(HOOD)
Man II,8,11biii
Love III 6a
Law IV 6c
Good Life V 2c,3a,4d,5c&d 6a-b,7a-b*
Church VI 4a,10d
Peace VIII 2b
Revolution XI 7a,c
America XV 1b,6,11b
Segregation XVIII 6,7
Integration XIX 1b
Negro XX 19b
Movement XXI 8b,11b
Violence XXII 6
Poverty XXIV 4
Vietnam XXV 2b,3e,6all

NEO-ORTHODOXY
Man II 5

NEW FRONTIER
Civil Rights XVII 3a

NEW JERUSALEM
Good Life V 3b

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD
Nonviolence XXIII 3all

NONCONFORMITY
Movement XXI 1,4b 6a,11b*

NONVIOLENCE
Power VII 12
Progress IX 7b
Revolution XI 3
Fear XIII 6
Civil Rights XVII 6a
Integration XIX 6c,7b
Negro XX 7c,e
Movement XXI 1,5a
Violence XXIII 9a-b

NORTH
Civil Rights XVII 7
Segregation XVIII 8
Negro XX 13,14a,18a-b

OBEDIENCE
Law IV 1b,2,6b-c,9b,11
Church VI 5
Good Life V 7a
Evil X 5a
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,13
Vietnam XXV 3e

OBLIGATION/DUTY
Man II 7c
*Law IV 5&8a**
Good Life V 6c
Church VI 9a
Knowledge XIV 8
Integration XIX 8b
Poverty XXIV 3c
Vietnam XXV 2b

OPPRESSION
Love III 2a,c,11a
Revolution XI 1
Slavery XVI 7
Segregation XVIII 10
Integration XIX 2a
Negro XX 1c,6b,7d,8c,9all, 18a,20a,21
Violence XXIII 5e,6
Nonviolence XXIII 6b

ORDER
Love III 11b
Good Life V 2d
Progress IX 6
Revolution XI 3
America XV 5c
Civil Rights XVII 2
Segregation XVIII 8
Negro 18b
Movement XXI 3

PACIFISM
Violence XXII 7
Nonviolence XXIII 3all

PEACE
*(Itself) VIII 2all**
Love III 12
Church VI 4c,7a,c,e,11b
America XV 8b,10a
Slavery XVI 2
Movement XXI 11b
Violence XXII 3
Nonviolence XXIII 13,14
Vietnam XXV 1a,2a,3d-e,4e

PERSONALITY
*God I 4**
Man II 1,2,9
Love III 6b,8b
Law IV 5,9
Good Life V 1,4d
Church VI 3b
Power VII 8biii
Progress IX 1
Evil X 5c
Revolution XI 7ci,8b
Knowledge XIV 4,5a
America XV 3a-b,8a
Slavery XVI 2
Segregation XVIII 6,7
Negro XX 11a,12a,20a
Movement XXI 4c,11a
Nonviolence XXIII 5c,12
Poverty XXIV 9

PLESSY vs.FERGUSON
Slavery XVI 2
Integration XIX 5c

POLICE
Violence XXII 5c,7

POVERTY
Law IV 15a-c
Revolution XI 1,9
America XV 8a,12b,13b
Negro XX 11b
Nonviolence XXIII 8

POWER
*(Itself) VII 2**
God I 1,3,6,9b-c
Man II 3b
Love III 2a-c.8c,12
Church VI 6a-b,7a
Peace VIII 4,6a
Evil X 4a-b
Revolution XI 5,9a
Fear XIII 3b
Knowledge XIV 3,7a-b
America XV 8a-b,9b,11c
Slavery XVI 3a,7
Civil Rights XVII 3b,4a
Integration XIX 2b-c
Negro XX 6c,8b,16,17g
Violence XXII 5b,10a
Nonviolence XXIII 1,7c
Poverty XXIV 8e
Vietnam XXV 5

PRAYER
God I 4
Church VI 11all

PREJUDICE
Law IV 6b
Progress IX 7b
Revolution XI 4
Slavery XVI 4b
Segregation XVIII 3

PRIDE
Man II 6c
Law IV 6b
Evil X 1a,7b
Segregation XVIII 7

PROGRESS
*(Itself) IX 1**
America XV 11b
Slavery XVI 2b,5f
Civil Rights XVII 2,5a
Integration XIX 3c
Negro XX 7c,14all,17f
Movement XXI 10a

PROPERTY
Revolution XI 8b
America XV 8
Slavery XVI 1b,5d
Poverty XXIV 9,10

PROPHET
Church VI 10b
Evil X 4a

PSYCHIATRY
Fear XIII 3d

PUNISHMENT
Law IV 8c

RACISM
Law IV 15a,c
Progress IX 7b
Revolution XI 1
America XV 2c,3b,8a
*Slavery XVI 3a&b**
Segregation XVIII 3
Negro XX 14b-c
Poverty XXIV 4,11

RAUSCHENBUSCH, WALTER
Church VI 1a

REALISTIC PACIFISM
Nonviolence XXIII 3all

REALITY
God I 3
Man II 3a
Love III 3,4,6c
Good Life V 2c-d
Church VI 9a&e
Peace VIII 5a,d
Progress IX 1
Evil X 1b,2a
Knowledge XIV 4,9
Movement XXI 2
Vietnam XXV 3b

REASON/PHILOSOPHY
Evil X 4a
Knowledge XIV 7b
Slavery XVI 3b
Violence XXII 9b
Nonviolence XXIII 5d

RECONCILIATION
Love III 7a,11a*
Integration XIX 7b
Nonviolence XXIII 5b

REDEMPTION/GOOD FRIDAY
God I 9b
Love III 6b,7b,8c
Peace VIII 5d
Evil X 2c,7b
Hope XII 7
Movement XXI 6c
Nonviolence XXIII 5b

RELIGION
Man II 11a
Law IV 13a-b
Knowledge XIV 6b,7
Slavery XVI 5b
Segregation XVIII 5
Negro XX 5

RESIGNATION/PASSIVITY
SUBMISSION/SUBSERVIENCE
Slavery XVI 2,3b
Negro XX 7a,8a,9a,d,11a
Nonviolence XXIII 6c-d,11

RESPONSIBILITY
*Man II 7c**
Church VI 9a,c,10e
Slavery XVI 4b

RETALIATION/REVENGE
Love III 11b
Law IV 3
Civil Rights XVII 3b
Negro XX 7f
Violence XXII 10a
Nonviolence XXIII 5d

REVELATION
Knowledge XIV 2,9

REVOLUTION
Law IV 15c
America XV 2b
Civil Rights XVII 6a,8
Negro XX 3a,11b
Violence XXII 5c,e,8b

RIGHT
Law IV 1a-b
Good Life V 7a
Movement XXI 7b

RIGHTS
Man II 3a
Law IV 15
Church VI 9a,c
Revolution XI 7b
America XV 1b,2b-c,5a-b,9a,10c
Slavery XVI 1b,6a
Negro XX 4c,8a,15d,18a
Nonviolence XXIII 6d
Poverty XXIV 10
Vietnam XXV 2a-b

RIOT
Violence XXII 8all,8a
Nonviolence XXIII 7a-b

ST AUGUSTINE
Law IV 7a
Good Life V 2d

ST JOHN
Love III 4

ST. PAUL
Man II 9
Peace VIII 2a
Hope XII 3,5c,7
Fear XIII 3c
Knowledge XIV 1,5b
Movement XXI 2,4a,c

ST. THOMAS
Law IV 7b

SALVATION
God I 6
Peace VIII 5a
Evil X 5a
Knowledge XIV 5b
Integration XIX 3b

SAMARITAN
Love III 6b
Good Life V 5a-b,6all
Revolution XI 7ci

SANTAYANA, GEORGE
Knowledge XIV 2

SATAN
Evil X 2a

SCHIZOPHRENIA
Man II 9
America XV 3
Movement XXI 9

SCIENCE
God I 7c
Power VII 11
Evil X 4a-b
Revolution XI 7a,c
Knowledge XIV 2,7
America XV 10c,11b
Slavery XVI 5d

SECTARIANISM
Church VI 13

SECULARISM
God I 7d

SEGREGATION
*(Itself) XVIII 6&7**
Law IV 11
Church VI 5
Fear XIII 6
Slavery XVI 2
Integration XIX 5c
Negro XX 5,10,12b-c
Movement XXI 8a,9

SELF-DEFENSE
Violence XXII 11
Nonviolence XXIII 12

SELFISH(NESS)/EGOTISM
Man II 11bii
Good Life V 2b
Evil X 1a
Hope XII 4b
America XV 13b

SELMA
Negro XX 11b-c

SEPARATISM/ISOLATIONISM
Good Life V 4d
Church VI 4a
Integration XIX 3b
Negro XX 7g

SERMON ON THE MOUNT
Movement XX 1a
Nonviolence XXIII 1

SERVANTHOOD
Church VI 5,7a-b

SIN
Man II 6c
Love III 6b
Progress IX 1
Evil X 5a,c,8
Knowledge XIV 5b
America XV 11c
Segregation XVIII 7
Violence XXII 8c

SLAVERY
Segregation XVIII 2
Integration XIX 2a,5b
Negro XX 1a,5,6a,e,10

SOCIETY (SOCIAL)
Man II 3b
Power VII 7
Knowledge XIV 3c
America XV 9b
Negro XX 11a
Movement XXI 5b,7a

SOMEBODINESS
Negro XX 5,17a&b

SOUTH
Law IV 11
America XV 10c
Civil Rights XVII 4c,5b-c
Segregation XVIII 8
Negro XX 7e,13,14all,15a,18a-b

SOVEREIGNTY
God I 8

STATE
Man II 2,3a
Church VI 4c,7a-b
America XV 1b
Negro XX 7g,10,18a

SUFFERING
God I 5a,7b
Church VI 10b
Peace VIII 7
Knowledge XIV 6a
America XV 13
Movement XXI 6b
Nonviolence XXIII 2b,13
Vietnam XXV 6

SUPREME COURT
Law IV 10
Church VI 5
Slavery XVI 2
Integration XIX 5a

TENDERHEARTED
God I 5all
Good Life V 4c

TENSION
Love III 6b
Good Life V 2d
Peace VIII 2b
Progress IX 7a-b
Evil X 2a
America XV 5b
Integration XIX 3b

TEUTONIC THEORY
Slavery XVI 5c

THEOLOGY
Man II 3b,13
Knowledge XIV 8

TILLICH, PAUL
knowledge XIV 2d

TOKENISM
Civil Rights XVII 4b-c,9c*

TOTALITARIANISM
Knowledge XIV 3b
Violence XXII 4a
Nonviolence XXIII 9b

TOUGHMINDED(NESS)
God I 5all
Good Life V 4b-c*
Violence XXII 10a

TRANSFORMATION
God I 2d
Love III 2c,8c,11a
Law IV 6b
Power VII 5
Peace VIII 5a,6a
Progress IX 3
Evil X 5a,c,7b
Revolution XI 7ci
Hope XII 7
Civil Rights XVII 9b-c
Negro XX 3a,14b
Movement XXI 4all, 6b,7a
Nonviolence XXIII 3c,6b,11,13

TRUST
Knowledge XIV 5a,6a

TRUTH
God I 9b
Man II 5,8
Love III 8b
Church VI 7a&e,10a,13
Power VII 12
Peace VIII 5d
Progress IX 6,7a
Evil X 1a
Hope XII 6
Knowledge XIV 3a, 7,8*
Slavery XVI 5e
Negro XX 9d
Violence XXII 10b,14

UNDERSTANDING GOODWILL
Love III 5,7c,10,11a*
Peace VIII 3
Fear XIII 8

VALUES
God I 3
Man II 1
Law IV 2
Good Life V 4d
Revolution XI 7c,9
Knowledge XIV 7
America XV 8a-b
Slavery XVI 3a-b
Integration XIX 6d
Negro XX 5
Movement XXI 5b

VERTICAL PLANE
Church VI 2, 9a&e

VICTORY
*Civil Rights XVII 2a&b**
Negro XX 7e,15c
Violence XXII 3,5b
Nonviolence XXIII 5c

VIETNAM
Negro XX 12a

VIOLENCE
Love III 8a,11a
Law IV 15b
Power VII 8a,8ciii
Revolution XI 3
Fear XIII 6
Negro XX 7e,8a,7b-d,21
Movement XXI 8
Nonviolence XXIII 3b-c,5a-b,e, 9a,c,14
Vietnam XXV 3c

VIRTUE
Love III 1
Law IV 16
Church VI 12b
Hope XII 7
Negro XX 20a

VOTE
Power VII 8bi
Negro XX 11b

VOTING RIGHTS ACT
Negro XX 11b

WAR/MILITARISM
Man II 9
Law IV 15a-c
Church VI 4c
Peace VIII 1a-b,2b,6a-b
Evil X 6a
Revolution XI 1,9
Fear XIII 4a
America XV 8a-b
Movement XXI 9
Violence XXII 4a-b,7
Poverty XXIV 11
Vietnam XXV 1

WASHINGTON, BOOKER T
Negro XX 7a-b,8c

WEAKNESS
*Power VII 10**
Knowledge XIV 3b
America XV 14
Negro XX 19a
Violence XXII 5a,10

WEALTH
Man II 11bii
Church VI 4,11d
America XV 9b,10b,13
Slavery XVI 1b
Vietnam XXV 5

WHITEMAN
Love III 6b
Church VI 9a,d
Power VII 7,12
America XV 3a,7b
*Slavery XVI 7**
Civil Rights XVII 8b-c,9c
Integration XIX 1a-b,3c
Negro XX 4,8a,11b,12all
Violence XXII 8c-d,10a
Nonviolence XXIII 6c
Poverty XXIV 7a-b,8d

WHOLE(NESS)/ONE(NESS)/UNITY
Man II 7c
Love III 6c,8b
Good Life V
Church VI 3all,8a&c
Evil X 5a
Knowledge XIV 3a,6b
Segregation XVIII 6
Negro XX 17a-b
Violence XXII 6
Nonviolence XXIII 5f

WIEMAN, HENRY NELSON
Knowledge XIV 1

WISDOM
Knowledge XIV 7,8
Vietnam XXV 2

WORLD
God I 1,5a,6,7d
Man II 12
Law IV 4
Good Life V 2b
Church VI 4a-b,11b
Peace VIII 5a,c
Evil X 1c,4b-c,7a
Knowledge XIV 8
America XV 1a,8b
Movement XXI 1,2,3,4a,7b,11a-b
Nonviolence XXIII 9c,14
Poverty XXIV 1a,3d
Vietnam XXV 3c-d,5

WORSHIP
Law IV 10
*Church VI 8c**

WRONG
Law IV 1a,8b,12
Nonviolence XXIII 5a

ZEIGEIST
Revolution XI 2

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