MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
The Unfinished Agenda

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“Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice.” (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

INTRODUCTION

Carnesville, Georgia: the South after half a century

Last September, I went back for a short visit to the place of my birth and childhood, Carnesville, the county seat of Franklin County, Georgia. The last time I was there was to attend my grandfather's funeral. That was forty-nine years ago. Naturally my only memories of Franklin County contain the familiar "White Only" signs over the water fountain and the toilets in the court house, public school busses for white children only, and colored people who stood aside to let white people pass, never looking them in the eye.

Those images completely fit Franklin County no longer. It was rather nice to physically confirm the changes, to drink at the integrated water fountain, to meet a Negro man on the square who was about my age and who smiled directly at me as he said hello. Race relations there, like every other place in the South, are no longer determined by KKK enforced Jim Crow laws.

As I walked around the country town of my earliest memories, I was profoundly impressed by those evidences of a greatly changed racial situation. I was filled with a deep appreciation for the lasting contributions made by the civil rights movement that Rosa Parks had ignited in 1955 and that Martin Luther King, Jr. had led until his assassination in 1968.

One thing surprised me more than anything else. That occurred when I visited Mr. Bob's home. Mr. Bob Harrison was the wealthy politician and land-owner on whose land my family and several others were share-croppers during the depression years. The cotton fields and unpainted houses where we worked and lived had been replaced by I-85 and the filling stations, restaurants and stores which serve it. But I had heard in town that Mr. Bob's house was still there, so I decided to visit it.
My memory of the Harrison place was clear, the neatly trimmed hedge and
closely cut lawn, the white house with its screened front porch and green shutters, and
of course a late model General Motors luxury car in the driveway. As we turned our
rent-a-car into the drive, I said to my companion that the only thing different was that
the Cadillac was a 1997 model. I expected a Harrison grandson or granddaughter to
answer my knock on the door; to my surprise however, a Negro man emerged and
greeted us. I told him who I was, and he told me that he too was a native of Franklin
County. He had recently retired from an automobile plant in Atlanta and bought the
place from the Harrison heirs.

It was a great surprise to be brought to the realization of the changes coming
about in the South. Namely, when the present resident of Mr. Bob’s house and I were
growing up in Franklin County, Negroes did not live in painted houses. It is possible
of course that few, if any, Negroes in the county at that time had enough money for
a painted house. But that is a moot point. The fact of the matter is that if it had hap-
pened, white men such as my own elders and neighbors almost certainly would have
donned white sheets and burned the house as a warning to other Negroes against such
uppity ways.

In sharp contrast to the way it was half a century ago, a Negro family presently
resides in apparent safety and contentment in the former residence of one of the
county’s most prosperous and influential white families. The pleasant realization that
profound changes were occurring because of the civil rights movement was deepened
in my mind during my 1997 visit to Franklin County.

Today’s unfinished agenda

However, another realization also began to impress itself upon me during that
visit. As my companion and I continued to drive around the county, we saw that there
are still many unpainted houses, with Negro children playing in their yards. I think I
could see quite clearly that while there was equality at the drinking fountain, schools
and sidewalks, except for a few Negroes such as the present owners of Mr. Bob’s place,
economic justice remains a largely unfulfilled dream.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was the chief architect of the racial equality which
American society enjoys today. Therefore, as a tribute to him on the 30th anniversary
of his assassination, I shall attempt to review his philosophy of nonviolence: its
development in his life, its essential elements as well as its unfinished agenda.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s nonviolent philosophy proved astonishingly effective in overcoming the structures of statutory racial segregation. Yet at the time of his death, the civil rights leader was frustrated by his inability to achieve the kind of national consensus needed for nonracial, economic justice to be realized. He was searching for a way of deepening his philosophy at this very point when an assassin's bullet took his life thirty years ago today.

Today, as during Martin Luther King's lifetime, we still have the urgent agenda of finding alternatives to violence. His philosophy of nonviolence must be deepened, intellectually expanded, acted upon and passed on to future generations. Even though legal racial segregation in America has been abolished, systemic racial discrimination, with the resulting need for economic justice, still remains. A way must be found to form a national consensus to achieve this goal.

The necessary next step in moving toward that consensus is to squarely address America's criminal history of slavery. Clearly, slavery is the key question that continues to shape the structure of racial realities in the United States. Black people in the United States are a "nation within a nation;"[42] They are Americans, but with a unique cultural and historical reality. And this reality can only be understood in terms of slavery. Accordingly, it would be difficult in the extreme to overstate the urgency of America's slavery agenda.

**Ubuntu, African participatory humanism**

In this regard, the United States could learn from South Africa. Under the leadership of President Nelson Mandela, that nation is now in the process of a noble experiment in dealing with the criminal past of apartheid. Familiar patterns of retribution, such as the post World War II trials in Japan in Germany, have been rejected in favor of reconciliation and justice through truth.

An important key to understanding the approach of the new South Africa is to be found in the African concept of participatory humanism which, in the Nguni languages, is called *ubuntu*. This is a fundamental value in South African life, past and present. It has been a reliable guide to community life in traditional society. Its contemporary importance is seen in the theology of Nobel Prize laureate and apostle of nonviolence,
South African Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu. His theology is described as "ubuntu theology."[3]

Moreover, ubuntu was expressly written into the post-apartheid interim constitution for the purpose of warning the country against the risks of pursuing strategies of vengeance at the expense of the new country's flourishing.[4] Furthermore, ubuntu was a vital element in the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,[5] which was formed by Mandela's government, and which Archbishop Tutu serves as chairperson.

It is the contention of this paper that understanding the African concept of ubuntu and its South African implementation could make a vital contribution to America's continuing search for nonviolent means to the goal of full equality which Dr. King dreamed of, struggled for, and realized to a very remarkable degree.

April 4, 1998
CHAPTER I
ELITE BLACK PURITAN BEGINNINGS

501 Auburn Avenue

Martin Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929 - April 4, 1968) was born and grew up in a well-to-do Atlanta neighborhood. The King family lived in the white and grey two-story house at 501 Auburn Avenue. This Avenue occupied a position in America's Negro community not unlike that occupied by New York City's Wall Street in America's white community. Located in downtown Atlanta, it was the home of some of the largest Negro-owned businesses in America, such as the Atlanta Insurance Company, Citizens Trust and the Atlanta World. It was also the location of Atlanta's elite Black churches. Ebenezer Baptist Church, where Martin Luther King, Sr. was pastor, was among them.

Martin Luther King, Sr.

The senior King had not always lived in such comfortable circumstances. He carried bitter memories of his poor, racially disadvantaged childhood. Even though he became financially well-to-do, he never lost his concern for the poor of all races. Negroes were particularly handicapped because of limitations forced on them because of the color of their skin. The elder King felt this very keenly and was possessed of a burning zeal for Negro first-class citizenship. He passed these attitudes on to his adoring son.

One event during Martin Luther Sr.'s childhood evidently had a strong, lasting impact on him. Once he went to the brick house where his mother worked as the maid for a white family. The white children invited him in for lunch, but their mother shoved him out and ordered him to come around to the back door. There, a sandwich was handed out to him through the partially opened door. Through the opening he could see his beautiful mother inside ironing the white woman's clothes. As he backed away from the closed door he was overcome with indignation. He says that he threw the sandwich to the ground and ran home, telling himself as he went: "One of these days I'm going to have a brick house, and my brick house is going to be as fine as any brick house."[7]

Later as an adult, a preacher and a father, the elder King was absolutely uncompromising with every aspect of racial segregation. Because of his church and financial
connections, he became one of the ruling elite among Atlanta's Negroes, a part of what was often called the "Black Puritan class." They were called that because of the common ethic of work and social decorum. They believed that a Negro could "make it" if he studied hard, worked hard and stayed out of trouble.

Martin Luther King, Jr. later recalled that staying out of trouble for his father never included making concessions to racism. In an interview with Atlanta Constitution editor Ralph McGill, conducted during the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, King related two examples of his father's determined posture in this regard. One was about a white police officer who called the elder King "boy." The officer ordered Rev. King to pull his Ford car over to the curb at Atlanta's Five-Points and demanded, "What's your name boy?" King recalled that his father immediately rejoined, "Here's my boy." Then looking at his son, said, "Speak up Martin, tell him your name." When the policeman said, "I mean you," he was told: "Well, I'm a man, not a boy. If you want my name, speak to me as a man."[9]

In another example, young King told McGill that he sometimes wondered if he would ever have any shoes at all. "My father," he said, "would take me into a shoe store. He would sit in the front row. The clerk would order him to move to the back. He would not. The clerk would insist. My father would then get up, take me by the hand, and walk out. Only now and then would a clerk, after being sure no other customer was near, allow us to buy a pair of shoes on the front row. My father used to say to me, 'Martin, son, I have never accepted segregation and I never will. I don't want you ever to make any concession to it."[10]

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s seniors were pioneers and leaders in organized civil rights activities. His maternal grandfather, Rev. Adam Daniel Williams, had been a charter member of the Atlanta Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Rev. Williams had helped to lead a successful movement which defeated a city bond bill with no provision for construction of Negro schools. When the Atlanta Georgian, a Hearst newspaper, denounced the NAACP and the voters who defeated the bond issue as "dirty and ignorant," Williams organized a Negro boycott of the newspaper which led to its eventual demise.[11]

Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. followed his stouthearted father-in-law in NAACP
membership and other civil rights activities. He took the lead in a campaign to abolish Jim Crow elevators in the Atlanta courthouse. He also stood at the front-line of an ongoing struggle to gain equitable salaries for Atlanta’s Negro school teachers. He was also a leader in the Atlanta Negro Voters League which worked against terrible odds to secure the voting rights of Negroes. Because of his uncompromising stand on civil rights and active membership in such organizations, the elder King often received threatening phone calls and letters from the KKK.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois

The atmosphere in Atlanta during Martin Luther King, Jr.’s youth was highly charged by the influence of Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Young King was inspired by the example of this brilliant Negro leader. Dr. Du Bois was the first Negro to earn a Ph. D. at Harvard, the founder of the NAACP as well as editor and publisher of its official organ, the Crisis, and was the leader of the militant civil rights groups of the 1920s and 1930s. In 1934 he moved back to his old post as professor at Atlanta University, from which he continued to be a major public opinion maker. Du Bois proposed a program of “ceaseless agitation.” He wrote:

“I am resolved to be quiet and law abiding, but to refuse to cringe in body or in soul, to resent deliberate insult, and to assert my just rights in the face of wanton aggression... Oppression costs the oppressor too much if the oppressed stand up and protest... Agitate, then, brother, protest, reveal the truth and refuse to be silenced... A moment’s let-up, a moment’s acquiescence, means a chance for the wolves of prejudice to get at our necks.”

The NAACP remained important for Martin Luther King, Jr throughout his entire life. One of his first acts upon entering his first pastorate, the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, was to become a member of the local chapter. In that city, and beyond, the NAACP also played an important role in the civil rights campaigns which he led.

The NAACP was one of the primary organizing groups in the August 28, 1963 March on Washington. A note of pathos was rung on that historic occasion when, just moments before their departure from the Washington Monument, the vast assemblage stood bowed in reverent tribute at the announcement that Dr. Du Bois had just died. Then, at the Lincoln Memorial, shortly before King’s famous “I Have A Dream” speech, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins made a speech referring to “Du Bois’s vast
contributions to the long struggle for black freedom."[19]

**Intelligence, character and concern for the masses**

Young King admired his father for his courage, his dignity, and very importantly, for his great pulpit skills. Martin Luther, Sr. was a master pulpiteer who could move congregations with his words. His son was always fascinated by the power of his father's words to cause people to weep, shout and respond. His mother recalled that at age six he amazed her by saying: "You just wait and see, I'm going to get me some big words."[17] Little could she have known that before her precocious son was thirty-five he would take his rightful place among such figures as Cicero, Pericles and Daniel Webster as one of the great orators of all time.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 501 Auburn Avenue beginnings were in an atmosphere rich in culture, dignity and faith. He had been a model child and youth, with the exception of a few smokes with his buddies while hiding behind fences; this, in those days was a sort of rite-of-passage into manhood and was probably viewed as such by his parents. King's biographer names three important character attributes which King carried with him when he matriculated at his father's alma mater, Morehouse College. The three traits were intelligence, character and concern for the masses.[18]

**Morehouse College: male Negro excellence**

Martin Luther King, Jr. was an honor student. He took accelerated courses at Booker T. Washington High School. Thus at age fifteen, he graduated from high school and matriculated at Atlanta's famous and historic college for Negro men, Morehouse College.

That college was founded as the Augusta Institute in 1867, just two years after the end of the war between the states. It was founded for the purpose of providing education for former male slaves. The school rapidly expanded, moved from Augusta to its present position in West Atlanta, and changed its name to Morehouse College. Today it remains the only institution of higher education in the United States with a primary focus on the educational and spiritual needs of Negro men.[19]

In the light of the environment in which he had grown up, the choice of a college oriented to male Negro excellence was a natural one for King. Bennett states: "Young Martin assimilated the major facts of his environment. He learned that he was a male
and what meant, that he was a Negro male and what that meant, and that he was expected to succeed and become important and useful himself."[20]

An abiding influence

There is abundant evidence that the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. occupies an important place at Morehouse College. A larger-than-life-size bronze statue of the civil rights leader stands in the center of the campus. One of the newest, largest and most modern buildings among the 35 structures on the 55 acre campus is the Martin Luther King, Jr. International Chapel. The 1997 bulletin names Martin Luther King, Jr. "the College's most famous alumnus." Two religious organizations on campus, the Martin Luther King, Jr. International Chapel Ministry and the MLK Chapel Assistants (serving Christians, Muslims and members of other faiths) provide spiritual outlets for Morehouse students. Importantly, courses on King's life and thought are open to students in sociology, religion and related disciplines.[21]

Just as King's legacy is central to contemporary life at Morehouse College, his experience there was centrally important to his personal development as well. He chose Morehouse to prepare himself for a life of usefulness, but he did not think that following his father's footsteps into the ministry promised a suitable opportunity to be useful. In the first place, he felt that the upper class Negroes in the Black Puritan churches were primarily oriented to material success, with little or no concern for the impoverished Negro masses. Moreover, he had observed that the poorer Negro congregations were typically served by inadequately prepared ministers who majored on the emotional aspects of religion while neglecting the social and material needs of their flocks.[22] For these reasons, and perhaps the natural need of a fifteen year old to establish his own separate identity, young King rejected the ministry as a career choice.

Struggles with vocation and racism

The question of vocation was a pressing one for King. While he was a student at Booker T. Washington High School, he spoke of becoming a doctor. Meanwhile, however, his delight in the use of language continued; he earnestly sharpened his oratory skills and in his last year of high school won the Elks oratory contest. He said that he considered that event to be the summit of his youthful achievements.[22]

Racism had a powerful impact on the rapidly maturing young King. In the summer of 1944, after high school graduation, he travelled to Hartford, Connecticut and...
other northern cities. He was delighted by the absence of "White Only" signs and other trappings of Jim Crow. He also felt that there was less fearfulness among the Negroes he met while at Hartford than was common in Atlanta. He later said that returning to the South in the late summer of 1944 was a "bitter pill." On the return train he had been required to sit behind a curtain in the dining car. He remembered that experience "as if a curtain had been dropped on my selfhood." He said that these and other humiliations of that return trip caused him to come "perilously close" to hating white people. An important consequence of that experience was that he began to think of a career in law. "I was at the point," he said, "where I was deeply interested in political matters and social ills. I could envision myself playing a part in breaking down the legal barriers to Negro rights."

King matriculated at Morehouse at end of the summer of 1944. His major course was sociology, with emphasis on religion. He excelled in oratory, winning a prize in the annual college oratorical contest. Two questions, one personal and the other ethical, formed his major preoccupations as a college student. Personally, his first two college years were spent "wrestling deep inside with the problem of vocation." His ethical preoccupation was racism. As will be explored in detail below, he vigorously pursued this ethical question throughout his entire college career.

**Becoming a minister**

During King's junior year at Morehouse, he decided to become a minister and was ordained by his father at the Ebenezer Baptist Church. The combined influences of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who was then serving as the sixth president of the College, and the Department of Religion Director, Dr. George D. Kelsey, caused him change his mind and settle on the Christian ministry. Both of these men were seminary-trained ministers who, in spite of their heavy administrative duties, were frequent speakers at the Morehouse Tuesday morning chapel hour. Their sermons were socially relevant and intellectually stimulating. He said he saw in the these men the ideal of what he wanted "a real minister to be."

King's contacts with Mays and Kelsey were not merely limited to listening to their sermons. He also seems to have had considerable personal and academic interaction with them. For example, he would often remain after chapel and engage the speaker in a discussion on the sermon of the day. President Mays later recalled his impressions of King as a young college student: "I perceived immediately that this boy was mature.
beyond his years; that he spoke as a man who should have had ten more years experience than was possible. He had a balance and maturity then that were far beyond his years and a grasp of life and its problems that exceed even that."[28]

Racism: America's congenital deformity

Racism was an academic subject of profound interest to King. He sought to understand and define it while he was a student at Morehouse College. The two major informants in shaping his views on the subject were Professor Kelsey's lectures and publications and the writings of anthropologist Ruth Benedict. Kelsey approached the question from the standpoint of faith. He claimed that racism as a faith was idolatry, because, the "racist makes his race his God." It is an attempt to "elevate a human factor to the level of the ultimate."[29] Benedict approached the question from the standpoint of dogma. She argued that racism is the "dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority."[30]

In his book, Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?, written shortly before his assassination, King addressed the problem of racism in a direct challenge to the white backlash severely hindering the progress of civil rights. He said: "There has never been a solid, unified and determined thrust to make justice a reality for Afro-Americans."[31] signifying that the so-called white backlash was just another name for an old disorder. He continued:

"The step backward has a new name today. It is called the 'white backlash.' But the white backlash is nothing new. It is the surfacing of old prejudices, hostilities and ambivalences that have always been there. It was caused neither by the cry of Black Power nor by the unfortunate recent wave of riots in our cities. The white backlash of today is rooted in the same problem that has characterized America ever since the black man landed in chains on the shores of this nation . . . It lies in the 'congenital deformity' of racism that has crippled the nation from its inception. The roots of racism are very deep in America. Historically it was so acceptable in the national life that today it still only lightly burdens the conscience."[32]

Then to open his explanation of the meaning of racism, King quoted from Kelsey's Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man:

"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 as 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.\textsuperscript{[33]}

King then introduced a passage from Benedict's \textit{Race: Science and Politics}:

"(Racism is) the dogma that one ethic group is condemned by nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority. It is the dogma that the hope of civilization depends upon eliminating some races and keeping others pure. It is the dogma that one race has carried progress throughout human history and can alone ensure future progress."\textsuperscript{[34]}

\textbf{Racism: philosophy of the aristocracy}

The racist philosophy frequently referred to as white supremacy was contrived as a rationalization for the practice of enslaving Africans. Its authors were those for whom slavery was profitable. However, the historic role of poor whites sometimes tends to blur that important reality. The present writer has noted elsewhere:

"Even though white society in general has from the beginning been thoroughly racist, it has been through the poor among whites that violence has most often been inflicted upon Negroes. During the plantation era, it was the yeoman overseer who, in the execution of duties assigned by the plantation owner, regularly applied the lash and branding iron to black skins . . .

"After the Civil War, the role of dispensing violence . . . has continued even into the present century. (The kidnap murders of three civil rights volunteers in Neshoba County, Mississippi) was one of the subjects of the investigations conducted by President Lyndon Johnson's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

"In its report, the Commission commented on the situation of the only seven KKK members who were actually convicted of the Neshoba County murders. Speaking of a 'traditional sense of powerlessness and insecurity on the part of those marginal whites who historically have owned little else than their white skins and controlled little more than the local behavior of Blacks,' the report stated that the seven men convicted were 'typical rank-and-file Klansmen' and as such, 'in contrast to the middle and upper class' Klan and White Citizen's Council
members, were 'subject to the vicissitudes of southern economic insecurity and to a large degree excluded from the benefits of industrialization accruing to the new middle class.'[35]

At the height of the mid-century civil rights movement, it became common for elite members of the white community to refer to the history of violent behavior of poor whites and exempt themselves from racism. They attempted by this stratagem to dismiss it as an attitude of poor or uneducated white men.

King did not leave this trend unchallenged. He pointed out that it was the class of whites who found profit in slavery who invented racist, white supremacist doctrines. Accordingly, he challenged the tendency to "think of white supremacists views as having their origins with the unlettered, underprivileged, poorer-class whites."[36] Instead, King stated the historic reality of the matter followed by a pointed question that went to the heart of the matter:

"(The) social obstetricians who presided at the birth of racist views in our country were from the aristocracy: rich merchants, influential clergymen, men of medical science, historians and political scientists from some of the leading universities of the nation. With such a distinguished company of the elite working so assiduously to disseminate racist views, what was there to inspire poor, illiterate, unskilled white farmers to think otherwise?"[37]

**Slavery: the economic basis of racism**

King pointed out that it is "important to understand that the basis for the birth, growth and development of slavery in America was primarily economic."[38] He underscored the true economic motives underlying the practice:

"Since the institution of slavery was so important to the economic development of America, it had a profound impact in shaping the social-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 in the New World, were stripped of all human and civil rights. And this degradation was sanctioned and protected by institutions of government, all for one purpose: to produce commodities for sale at a profit, which in turn would be privately appropriated."[39]
King proceeds from there to show how criminal behavior for profit led to the rationalization which generated racism, or white supremacy:

"It seems to be a fact of life that human beings cannot continue to do wrong without eventually reaching out for some rationalization to clothe their acts in the garments of righteousness. And so, with the growth of slavery, men had to convince themselves that a system which was so economically profitable was morally justifiable. The attempt to give moral sanction to a profitable system gave birth to the doctrine of white supremacy."[40]

Investigations of racism brought Martin Luther King, Jr. to a conclusion which a man of lesser moral or intellectual integrity might have abandoned or kept in safe and private silence. His conclusion was that the “ultimate logic” of racism “is genocide.”

"Since racism is based on the dogma that ‘the hope of civilization depends upon eliminating some races and keeping others pure,’ its ultimate logic is genocide. Hitler, in his mad and ruthless attempt to exterminate the Jews, carried the logic of racism to its ultimate tragic conclusions . . .

“If a man asserts that another man, because of his race, is not good enough to have a job equal to his, or to eat at a lunch counter next to him, or to have access to certain hotels, or to attend school with him, or to live next door to him, he is by implication affirming that that man does not deserve to exist . . . Racism is a philosophy based on contempt for life.”[41]

The four year period Martin Luther King, Jr. spent commuting daily from his home at 501 Auburn Avenue to the Morehouse College Campus was of enormous value for his future life. The youngster who had matriculated as a precocious teen-ager graduated as a young minister of extraordinary promise. As he left his alma mater, King carried the assurance of God’s call to the gospel ministry, sealed by ordination at the hand of his proud and thankful father. He enjoyed the friendship and respect of his former classmates and professors alike. And he possessed an excellent liberal arts education with a sharp intellectual focus on that terrible scourge of his people, racism.
CHAPTER II
PREPARATION OF A PROPHET OF NONVIOLENCE

Crozer, Boston and Montgomery

After Morehouse, King entered direct preparation for work in the ministry. In September, 1948, he matriculated at Crozer Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. At Crozer, as at Morehouse, King was an outstanding student. He was president of the senior class, and upon graduation in June, 1951, was the recipient of the coveted Plafker award as Crozer's most outstanding student. In that connection he also received the J. Lewis Crozer fellowship of $1,200 for graduate study at the school of his choice.\[42\]

King chose Boston University and enrolled as a Ph. D. candidate in theology. That September, he drove to Boston in the new green Chevrolet which his parents had given him as a graduation present. Academically, he quickly moved ahead of most of his classmates. Within two years he had finished all the required courses and passed the Ph. D. qualifying examinations. The only thing remaining was writing the thesis. His thesis topic was "A Comparison of the Conception of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman."\[43\]

While King was in graduate school, he became impatient to be on with a career modelled after his ideal in the ministry, Dr. Benjamin Mays. He wanted to be a pastor and university teacher.\[44\] The opportunity was not long delayed. Soon after King had begun writing his thesis, he received the call to be the pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. He accepted and began his duties in May, 1954, commuting from Boston on weekends at first.

Pastor-teacher aspirations

No church could have been more fitting for King's career aspirations than Dexter Avenue. It was one in which he was able to begin his ministry in a place and manner "true to his Black Puritan heritage of noblesse oblige" to his region, his race, and his Auburn Avenue upbringing. Dexter Avenue was an upper-income Negro congregation primarily comprised of professionals and faculty members at Alabama State College, and which frowned on "emotionalism" and "amen-ing." The church was also well known for its strong leadership in the struggle for Negro civil rights, particularly under the leadership of Rev. Vernon Jones, who preceded King and was an outstanding preacher.
and fearless advocate of racial justice.\textsuperscript{[46]}

\textbf{Coretta Scott King}

In 1951, Martin Luther King, Jr. arrived in Boston in his bright new car without a financial worry. Coretta Scott also arrived in Boston that year. But unlike King, she was a child of struggle.

Coretta was born in Heiberger, Alabama, the second of three children, on April 27, 1927. Heiberger was "a county where the seven thousand ruling whites were always conscious of the human aspirations of the twenty thousand subject blacks." Her father was a farmer and small store owner who was often threatened by local whites who evidently feared his competition. When she was a growing child, her mother and the children were always anxious for the safety of the father. She says: "He would go out at night to work, and we never knew whether he would be coming back or not.\textsuperscript{[46]}

During the depression, Coretta had to help supplement the family income by hiring out to pick and hoe cotton, but she wanted to rise above the poverty inflicted on her family and her race. She was also early possessed of a desire to help others. Like Martin, Coretta came early to books which she believed were means to two ends, "to be treated as an equal" and "to do something for somebody.\textsuperscript{[47]}

Also like Martin, Coretta excelled academically. She was an honor student in junior high and high school. After high school graduation in 1945, she was awarded a race relations scholarship to Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Coretta had always loved music and singing, showing excellent promise in that field. While she was in college that talent blossomed. In 1948, the same year Martin entered Crozer, she made her debut as a soprano soloist in the nationally famous choir of the Second Baptist Church in Cleveland. Then in 1951, with the aid of a Jessie Smith Noyes scholarship, she went to Boston's New England Conservatory of Music.

In Boston, Coretta excelled in her studies and recitals, but poverty continued to be her lot. Even though the family had been poor in Alabama, there had always been plenty of food. Also, her scholarship at Antioch had covered her school and living expenses. In Boston, however, her scholarship only covered tuition and fees. She worked as a cleaning woman to cover her living, books and other expenses. Sometimes there
was not enough money to go around. Coretta was too stubborn to send home for money and too proud to beg, even in desperate circumstances. "For the first time in my life," she later recalled, "I got hungry."[48] Lerone Bennett, Jr. notes a certain irony in her situation. A friend helped her secure a room from a wealthy Boston dowager, a member of the Cabot family, who provided rooms to talented students. She was starving, therefore, at one of the most fashionable addresses in the city."[49]

Martin and Coretta were introduced by a mutual friend in February, 1952. After a courtship marked by endless conversations on a wide variety of subjects: Marxism, democracy, racism and how to overcome it, church life and host of other topics — including love and marriage, to each other. They concluded the latter matter on June 18, 1953 in a fashionable garden wedding in Heiberger, conducted by Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.[50]

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church

A year later in June, 1954, Coretta Scott King completed her studies at the New England Conservatory of Music. Two months later the Kings closed their Boston apartment and moved to Montgomery.

They had very settled ideas of their future life together. She would continue her career in music and he would be a teaching pastor. But rapidly occurring events in race relations would conspire to shape the direction of their lives into a very different course. The United States Supreme Court ruling in the case of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka that "separate education" was "inherently unconstitutional" was handed down the same month King began work at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.[51] The pace of events quickened in 1955. On May 31, the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation with "all deliberate speed." In rapid response, White Citizens Councils sprang us all over the South. The atmosphere had rapidly turned sinister during the ensuing days, during which, on June 5, King was awarded the Ph. D. degree in systematic theology.[52]

Soon after that, on August 28, 1955, fourteen-year old Emmet Till was kidnapped and lynched in Money, Mississippi and that galvanized American Negroes for "more radical departures."[53] Then as the fateful year was nearing its close, an event occurred in Montgomery which would launch Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. into his history-changing role of civil rights leader.
The Kings' first child, Yolanda[54] was born on November 17, 1955. Fourteen days later, Rosa Parks was jailed for sitting in the white section of a public bus and refusing to obey the driver's order to move. That event sparked the Montgomery bus boycott and King was called upon to lead it. Initially, it was a one-day boycott, but it stretched to 382 days before it ended.[55]

The boycott: three hundred and eighty two crucial days

The boycott brought young pastor King into national prominence on many fronts. He became a common topic of the news in both the white and Negro oriented media; Time, a leading white news magazine, and Jet, the number one Negro news magazine, both ran cover stories on him. The Negro media was becoming increasingly messianic in its reportage. Jet captured the general tenor in a piece which said that King had become "a symbol of divinely inspired hope, a kind of modern Moses who has brought new self-respect to southern Negroes."[56]

The trickle of tributes that started during the Montgomery campaign soon grew to a flood. In May, 1957, he became the youngest person and the first active pastor to win the coveted Spingarn Medal, which is awarded annually to the person making the largest contribution in the field of race relations. Then in June, he was awarded the first of many honorary degrees. It was particularly pleasing to him because it came from Morehouse. In the presentation, President Mays spoke with great feeling, saying:

"You are mature beyond your years, wiser at twenty-eight than most men at sixty; more courageous in a righteous struggle than most men can ever be; living a faith that most men preach about and never experience. Significant, indeed is the fact that you did not seek the leadership in the Montgomery controversy. It was thrust upon you by the people. You did not betray the trust of leadership. You led the people with quiet dignity, Christian grace, and determined purpose. While you were away, your colleagues in the battle for freedom were being hounded and arrested like criminals. When it was suggested by legal counsel that you might stay away and escape arrest, I heard you say with my own ears: 'I would rather spend ten years in jail than desert the people in this crisis.' At that moment, my heart, my mind, and my soul stood erect and saluted you. I knew then that you were called to leadership for just such a time as this . . . On this our 90th anniversary, your Alma Mater is happy to be the first college or university to honor you in this way"[57]
Mays then concluded in a typical rhetorical flourish, quoting a verse from Emerson:

"See how the masses of men worry themselves into nameless graves when here and there a great soul forgets himself into immortality."[38]

Also, King's charismatic leadership drew a number of existing national civil rights organizations into the Montgomery struggle. Prominent among them were such groups as the League of Women Voters, the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the UAW-CIO, the National Council of Churches, U.S.A, the Presbyterian Church, the National Urban League and the NAACP.

King, a third-generation member of the NAACP, was encouraged to compete for its national chairmanship. He declined, stating that he was not a "substitute" for existing leadership and programs of such groups, but a "supplement."[39] Nevertheless, each of these groups became heavily infused with his philosophy of nonviolence.

The Montgomery experience had molded King for his historic role as the premier leader in the American Negroes' struggle: In that regard, Bennett says:

"The 382 days changed the spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr., and King, thus transformed, helped to change the face and heart of the Negro, of the white man, and of America. Viewed thus, as a sensitizing social symbol, the Montgomery bus boycott was a myth-event comparable, in a different era and on a smaller scale, to the French Revolution, of which Kant prophetically said: 'Such a phenomenon in history can never be forgotten, inasmuch as it has disclosed in human nature the rudiment of and the capacity for better things which, prior to this, no student of political science had deduced from the previous course of events.'"[40]

Of the many changes which occurred in King's life during the Montgomery bus boycott, none was more significant than the transformation of his attitude toward the Negro church. From the very beginning, the Montgomery movement had a revival meeting character:

"The huge mass meetings, which rotated from church to church, served not only as a means of communication but also as a morale builder. At these meetings, professors, porters, doctors, maids, laborers, housewives, even drunks, abandoned the claims of rank, class and creed, reaching out to each other in new hope..."
and new faith. Under the impact of the old Negro spirituals, of hand-clapping, shouting, 'testifying' and 'amen-ing,' personality shells dissolved and reintegrated themselves around a larger, more inclusive racial self.\[63\]

King swiftly grasped the implications of these meetings. He began to see the Negro church in new ways. Whereas he had previously looked with disdain upon its emotional aspects, he now began to see "enormous reservoirs of psychic and social strength which had never been adequately tapped.\[62\] Furthermore, under the impact of these emotional church meetings, King's attitude toward himself as a Baptist preacher also underwent a transformation. He became less puritanically demanding toward himself and his people, and "began to accept himself and his people as history had made them."\[68\]

Finally, in terms of King's philosophy, the Montgomery experience was the crucible in which the essential elements of his philosophy of nonviolence were compounded into a coherent whole. The origins of those separate strands are found in the Old Testament prophets, Jesus' teaching of love — particularly the Sermon on the Mount — and Mahatma Gandhi. In the following chapters, we will briefly review these and related topics.
CHAPTER III
THE DEMANDS OF JUSTICE

The Hebrew prophets

An essential element of Martin Luther King’s philosophy of nonviolence is the teaching of the Old Testament prophets. His sermons, books and speeches abound with references extolling them for standing valiantly against unjust power structures and for declaring with prophetic urgency the eternal word of God.

In King’s 1966 “A Christmas Sermon on Peace,”[64] he employed a series of paraphrases from the prophets to give definition to his dream for a peaceful and just society:

“I still have a dream today that one day justice will roll down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream.”[65] I still have a dream today that in all of our state houses and city halls men will be elected to go there who will do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with their God.[66] I still have a dream today that one day war will come to an end, that men will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, that nations will no longer rise up against nations, neither will they study war anymore.[67] I still have a dream today that one day the lamb and the lion will lie down together and every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid.[68] I still have a dream today that one day every valley will be exalted and every mountain and hill will be made low, the rough places will be made smooth and the crooked places straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.”[69]

King did not merely find materials for his dream in the prophets. Importantly, he also found in them the very sinew of his ideas on direct participation of the church in the struggle for social justice. Those ideas are the subject matter of the following paragraphs.

Rauschenbusch: the church and social justice

Martin Luther King, Sr. was fond of quoting the words of the prophets, so Martin Luther, Jr. was familiar with them from his childhood. Also, he took a course in the prophets at Morehouse. But it was during his studies on Walter Rauschenbusch during his senior year at Crozer that he “developed his understanding of the social implications of the prophetic mission.”[70] His understanding of that mission further deepened during
his days at Boston.

King wrote that Rauschenbusch’s book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, “left an indelible imprint on my thinking.”[71] Although King did not totally agree with Rauschenbusch’s ideas, he was “fascinated” by the famous theologian-preacher’s application of the message of the prophets to social ills. Thereafter, Rauschenbusch’s idea that the church should take a direct, active role in the struggle for social justice became “pivotal” to King’s own personal philosophy.[72]

Rauschenbusch’s thinking had drawn on American liberalism and on British and Continental social Christianity.[73] Near the end of the nineteenth century, English churches became increasingly concerned with the acute social ills of industrial society. Bishop Westcott became the standard bearer for Anglicans who insisted that the church must begin to take direct action to correct social ills.[74] Meanwhile, on the Continent, similar and even more pronounced liberal movements were underfoot. In 1874, Adolph Stöker came to Berlin as court preacher. He was greatly concerned with the alienation of the industrial masses and engaged in direct political action for social and economic reformation.[75]

When the powerful ideas of social Christianity came to American shores, they had a direct influence on a number of King’s Baptist forbears: notably Dr. Shailer Mathews of the Chicago Divinity School, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of New York’s Riverside Baptist Church, and Rochester Theological Seminary professor Walter Rauschenbusch.[76] Among these three, it was the writings of Rauschenbusch that exercised the most dramatic impact on King.

Perhaps Rauschenbusch’s thinking had a particularly strong influence on King’s developing philosophy because of the socio-economic background of Rauschenbusch’s writings. It was a state of social affairs which resonated remarkably with the situation of most Black Americans of King’s day.

During the depression of the 1890s, Rauschenbusch was a pastor in an area called Hell’s Kitchen, one of New York City’s worst slums. He explained that his experiences in that situation produced his prophetic passion for social reform.[77] According to a quotation by Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rauschenbusch said:

“(My passion) came through personal contact with poverty, and when I saw
how men toiled all their life long, hard, toilsome lives, and at the end had almost nothing to show for it; how strong men begged for work and could not get it in hard times; how little children died — oh, the children's funerals! They gripped my heart."[78]

Rauschenbusch believed that the Old Testament prophets had exercised a great influence on the thought and life of primitive Christianity.[79] Therefore, he devoted the first part of Christianity and the Social Crisis to an examination of the lives and thoughts of the prophets. He found that the prophets had placed much higher value on public, ethical religion than on ritualistic, sacerdotal religion.

Hosea had proclaimed, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice,"[80] and Isaiah thundered out the Lord's indictment:

"Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash ye, and make ye clean; put away the evil of your doings from mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do good; seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."[81]

In his emphatic demands for ethical religion, Amos had even dared to fly into the face of Israel's long and treasured tradition of sacrificial offerings. He denied that God expected such a practice from his people. He pressed God's question. "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?"[82]

And in the same speech, Amos declared God's demand for justice and righteousness in the pericope that more than two and a half millennia later became Martin Luther King, Jr.'s most frequently quoted passage of Old Testament scripture:

"I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and meat offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let justice run down as waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."[83]

Rauschenbusch further pointed to the public life of the prophets and went on to apply this to the situation of the church in his day. He believed that the prophets were
actively involved in the public affairs of their nation, and that some of them were statesmen of the highest type. When they insisted on righteousness, they were concerned about the social morality of the nation rather than about the private morality of detached pious souls. He contrasted their principal concern to combat social injustice and oppression with the major concern of churches in his own day to condemn private evils.¹⁴

Courage, confidence and hope

The fascinating teachings of Walter Rauschenbusch concerning the Old Testament prophets and their relevance to the modern church had a formative influence on the developing philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. Through the teachings of the prophets, King found powerful lines for his own spoken and written words; more importantly, he found in them the ethical foundation on which to stand for his life and work.

The example of the prophets increased King's courage and confidence in the face of criticism. In April, 1963, he was arrested and jailed in Birmingham, Alabama for civil disobedience activities in that city. While in jail, King read a statement published by eight Alabama clergymen¹⁵ criticising him for joining the civil rights movement in Birmingham. In their statement, the clergymen called King's presence in Birmingham "unwise and untimely" and referred to him as an interfering "outsider."¹⁶ King answered their criticism in a letter that soon became famous as the "Letter from Birmingham City Jail."¹⁷ He stated, in part:

"I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their 'thus saith the Lord' far beyond the boundaries of their home towns."¹⁸

King was also inspired by the prophets to be deliberately maladjusted to social evils, and to call upon others to be similarly unwilling to adjust. On April, 19, 1961, King gave an address at the seminary where the writer was a student. In that address, he gave particular attention to the role of the church in society, challenging us not to be adjusted to society's evil attitudes and structures:

"I would like to say to you that there are some things within our social system to which I am proud to be maladjusted, to which I call upon all men to be maladjusted. I never intend to become adjusted to the evils of segregation. I never intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I never intend to adjust myself to the
madness of militarism and the self-defeating effects of physical violence. I think that all men of good will must be maladjusted to all of these things for it may well be that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of the maladjusted.

“So let us be as maladjusted as the prophet Amos, who in the midst of the injustices of his day could cry out in words that echo across the centuries, ‘Let justice run down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream’ . . . I am convinced that the world is in desperate need such maladjustments.”

Preeminently, King’s studies of the prophets brought him to the firm belief that God was the ruler of history and was working in human society, redeeming and transforming it. Accordingly, he was confident his work for racial justice was God’s work. This was a powerful source of strength and hope to King as he was constantly confronted by dreadfully powerful racist forces. King shared that hope with the world on August 28, 1963, on the occasion of American history’s largest civil rights demonstration, and the eight anniversary of Emmet Till’s murder.

The 250,000 persons assembled before him, together with millions more in other parts of America and around the globe listening to the speech by radio or watching it on television, were electrified by the power of his rhythmical repetition of the phrase, “I have a dream,” and the lofty message of hope he was communicating. In the part of the speech touching on his hope for equality among all children, he quoted from Isaiah:

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

“I have a dream today.

“I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor’s lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

“I have a dream today.

“I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.”
Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, a Jewish theologian who had fled from Poland to America in 1940, enjoyed a strong personal friendship, so close that Heschel was invited by Coretta Scott King to be one of the speakers at King's funeral.

It is remarkable that such a relationship grew up between a Negro Baptist preacher from Georgia and an Hasidic rabbi from Poland. But in spite of their different backgrounds, the two men had much in common, especially a strong devotion to the prophets of Israel. Also, Heschel and King had a mutually powerful influence on each other. Heschel encouraged King to speak out against the war in Viet Nam and King encouraged Heschel to become active in the civil rights movement.\(^{(92)}\) Both men had come to see the direct relationship of the war to the situation of minorities within the United States. King emphasized this in the first chapter of his 1967 book, Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?

"When the Constitution was written, a strange formula to determine taxes and representation 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 those of whites; of the bad he has twice those of whites. Thus half of all Negroes live in sub-standard 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 (widely accepted as an accurate index of general health) among Negroes is double that of whites."

"The equation pursues Negroes, even into war. There were twice as many Negroes as whites in combat in Viet Nam at the beginning of 1967, and twice as many died (20.6 percent) in proportion to their numbers in the population."\(^{(93)}\)

Both King and Heschel were criticized by their respective people. Many leading Jews said that Heschel's opposition to the war would endanger America support for the state of Israel. Similarly, prominent Negro leaders among the civil rights workers said that King's opposition would undermine the civil rights movement.\(^{(94)}\)

Rabbi and preacher as prophets

On April 4, 1967, Heschel and King took turns in "Fosdick's pulpit" on the platform in Manhattan's Riverside Church at a special assembly concerning the war in Viet Nam.
It was clear from the content of their speeches that their concerns transcended narrow racial or tribal interests. Their concern was for the spiritual welfare of America itself. King said:

“If America’s soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read “Vietnam.” A nation that continues, year after year, to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.”[96]

Heschel spoke in language reminiscent of the prophet Micah’s declarations on humility and mercy:

“The blood we shed in Viet Nam makes a mockery of all our proclamations, dedications, celebrations. Has our conscience become a fossil? Has all mercy gone? If mercy, the mother of humility, is alive as a demand, how can we say yes to bringing agony to that tormented country?”[96]

King’s and Heschel’s affinity for the Hebrew prophets was never clearer than it was when King spoke at the celebration of Heschel’s sixtieth birthday, shortly before King was assassinated. The occasion was organized by the Rabbinical Assembly of America and was held at the Concord Hotel in the Catskill Mountains. That day each of them referred to the other as a prophet. King said:

“Abraham Joshua Heschel is indeed a truly great prophet. Here and there we find those who refuse to remain silent behind the safe security of stained glass windows. And they are forever seeking to make the great ethical insights of our Judeo-Christian heritage relevant in this day, and in this age. I feel that Rabbi Heschel is one of the persons who is relevant at all times, always standing with prophetic insights to guide us through these difficult days.”[97]

Heschel spoke in a similar way of King:

“Where in America today do we hear a voice like the voice of the prophets of Israel? Martin Luther King, Jr. is a sign that God has not forsaken the United States of America. God has sent him to us.”[98]

As Rabbi Heschel words indicated, Martin Luther King, Jr. had become the leader of the American Negroes and the conscience of the nation. That was true in large measure because of the inspiration and strength drawn from the Hebrew prophets.
CHAPTER IV
THE PROBLEM OF POWER

Need for legitimate power

King fully understood that a basic problem of American society was its denial of legitimate power to minorities, especially Negroes. He wrote that legitimate power was "the ability of achieve purpose."[99]

But King noted that legitimate power was deliberately unequally distributed. "From the old plantations of the South to the newer ghettos of the north, the Negro has been confined to a life of voicelessness and powerlessness." He further pointed out that both "the plantation and ghetto were created by those who had power both to confine those who had no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness." Thus, he defined the civil rights struggle as a national "problem of power," maintaining that it was "a confrontation between the forces of power demanding change and the forces of power dedicated to preserving the status quo."[100] This concern caused him to eagerly pursue the philosophical problem of power.

Friedrich Nietzsche: the will to power

John Ansbro, in Martin Luther King, Jr., The Making of a Mind, observes that even though King eventually came to the firm conviction that "love of all men must permeate every successful crusade of nonviolent resistance," he had to experience an "intellectual and emotional crisis" before he reached the point where this belief became the dominant force in his life. As Ansbro further points out, that crisis was provoked by studies in the philosophy of power, particularly the writings of the nineteenth century German existentialist, Friedrich Nietzsche.[101]

Nietzsche, commonly known as the philosopher of the will to power, was born in 1844. His father, a Lutheran minister, died in 1849, so Nietzsche spent his childhood surrounded by women, his mother: sister, grandmother and maiden aunts. For normal school education, he was sent to a "first-rate boarding school," Schulpforta. From there he proceeded to the universities of Bonn and Leipzig to study classical philology.[102]

Nietzsche's introduction to the world at large occurred when he was twenty-four years old. It was in the letter of recommendation that earned him a professorship at Basil, written by Leipzig professor Friedrich Ritschl, a scholar famous both for his
conservatism and for his intellectual brilliance. He wrote:

"However many young talents I have seen develop under my eyes for thirty-nine years now, never yet have I known a young man, or tried to help one along in my field as best I could, who was so mature as early and as young as this Nietzsche...He is the first from whom I have ever accepted any contribution at all while he was still a student...I prophesy that he will one day stand in the front rank of German philology."

Ritschl noted that Nietzsche was deeply interested in classical Greece and that he was also impressed by the "growing greatness of Germany; but, like myself, no special tendre for Prussianism." He added that Nietzsche was "now twenty-four years old: strong, vigorous, healthy, courageous physically and morally, so constituted as to impress those of similar nature."

**Nietzsche's challenge to King**

King believed that Christian love was not only a personal value; he believed it was also a social value. That belief was seriously challenged by Nietzsche's arguments. Those arguments strongly attacked the Hebrew-Christian ethic of love as a "glorification of weakness." Nietzsche defined good as everything that heightens the feeling of power in man, the will to power, power itself. Badness, on the contrary, was defined as whatever is born of weakness.

Nietzsche's logic derives great strength through his unique fusion of appeals to nature and to the ancient civilizations. This fusion is nowhere clearer, or more appealing, that it is in *Homer's Contest*, in which he declares:

"When one speaks of humanity, the idea is fundamental that this is something which separates man from nature. In reality, however, there is no such separation: 'natural' qualities and those called truly 'human' are inseparably grown together. Man, in his highest and noblest capacities, is wholly nature and embodies its uncanny dual character. Those of his abilities which are terrifying and considered inhuman may even be the fertile soil out of which alone all humanity can grow in impulse, deed and work. Thus the Greeks, the most humane men of ancient times, have a trait of cruelty, a tigerish lust to annihilate."

Those dual traits were to Nietzsche the essence of the "Homeric world," the "womb of everything Hellenic." In that world:
"The extraordinary artistic precision, calm, and purity of the lines raise us above the mere contents . . . the colors seem lighter, milder, warmer; and in this colorful warm light the men appear better and more sympathetic. But what do we behold when, no longer led and protected by the hand of Homer, we stride back into the pre-Homeric world? Only night and terror and an imagination accustomed to the horrible . . . life ruled by the children of Night: strife, lust, deceit . . . death."[108]

Nietzsche's "pre-Homeric" world was strikingly similar to the world of many American Negroes in King's time. Theirs was a world in which demeaning, disabling laws and racist mores were enforced by night riders whose identities were concealed by white sheets and whose hands brandished twelve-gauge shotguns, blazing torches, hang-man's nooses, and the Holy Bible. In that world, Negro imaginations were well accustomed to the horrible. It is not therefore entirely remarkable that Nietzsche's arguments proceeded with great persuasion into the inquiring mind of Martin Luther King, Jr. He was impacted most acutely by two of Nietzsche's books, The Genealogy of Morals and The Will to Power.[109]

In The Genealogy of Morals, Nietzsche took his point of departure from the nobility of ancient Greek civilization. He contended that the Hebrews and the Christians, driven by resentment toward "noble, powerful" persons, developed a "slave ethic" which glorified compassion for "poor, sick, ugly" or otherwise powerless people as a substitute for that "noble morality" of the ancients which had promoted the "robust ideals of power, self-affirmation, health and beauty."[110]

With particular reference to Christians, Nietzsche distinguished three kinds. They were the "oppressed of all kinds who struggle against the political nobility and its ideal," the "mediocre of all kinds who fight against those who are spiritually and physically privileged" and the "discontented and diseased of all kinds who oppose the natural instinct of the happy and the sound."[111]

In The Will to Power, Nietzsche argued from nature and attacked the Christian virtue of love. He protested the Christian duty to love all persons as:

". . . favoring all the suffering, botched and degenerate, and as fostering the instincts of decadence by denying values such as pride, pathos of distance, great responsibility, exuberant spirits, splendid animality, the instincts that rejoice in
war and conquest, the deification of passion, anger, revenge, cunning, adventure and knowledge."[118]

Nietzsche continued his argument, dismissing the value of Christian love as a false value, one that attempted to replace the truly "noble" virtues with "modesty, reverence, resignation, moderation, piety, pity, leniency, simplicity and obedience." He further argued that, "while the human species demands the suppression of the weak, Christianity, through its emphasis on love, favors only the solidarity of the weak and reveals its hostility to all that is natural."[118]

Nietzsche's critique of Christian love presented a serious challenge to King. Later, he wrote that he was almost driven to the conclusion that Jesus' ethical teaching on loving one's enemies and on non-retaliation were effective only in individual relationships, but were useless in resolving conflicts among racial groups and nations.[114]

Fortunately, during King's struggle with questions of power, he encountered the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. This opened the door which led to the resolution of the crisis in an unshakable faith in the power of Christian love.
CHAPTER V
MAHATMA GANDHI

The power of active, selfless love

The teaching of Mahatma Gandhi is extremely important in King's nonviolent philosophy. While King was a student at Crozer, he heard a sermon on Gandhi. That inspired him to begin reading extensively about the famous Indian's life, teaching and work.

In those readings, King encountered the power of love in social action. He learned that active, selfless love had "muzzled the guns of the British Empire in India and freed more than three hundred and fifty million people from colonialism." Those readings settled the power question for King. He concluded that "power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice."[18]

An often mentioned feature of the life of Mohandas K. Gandhi is his youthful rejection the Hindu religion and subsequent restoration to it through his encounter with the love ethic of Jesus. It might seem karmatic to some that, half-a-century later, Martin Luther King, Jr. was able to overcome his doubts and return to his belief in the power of Christian love through the studies in Gandhi. King declared:

"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 force on a large scale"[19]. . . In a day when Sputniks and Explorers are slashing through outer space and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death, no nation can win a war. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence, we will return good for evil, Christ showed us the way and Mahatma Gandhi showed us it could work."[20]

An understanding of Mahatma Gandhi is absolutely imperative if one is to understand Martin Luther King, Jr. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an introduction to Gandhi's life, his thought, and his activity through the formative South Africa period.

Mohandas K. Gandhi of Porbandar

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was a native of Gujarat. He was born on October 2, 1869 in the seaside town of Porbandar, located on the Kathiawar Peninsula, off the beaten track about half way between Karachi and Bombay. The Kathiawar district was
divided into several city-states which were ruled by native princelings. These men were reported to have deported themselves "like autocrats to their subjects and quaking sycophants before the British."[118] Porbandar (population 72,077 according to the 1872 census) was one such minuscule domain. Gandhi’s father, Karamchand Gandhi, was a self-educated lawyer who served in various high offices, including prime minister to the raja.[119]

The family was high-caste and financially well-off. Karamchand owned a home in Porbandar, another in Rajkot and a third one in Kutiana. The men in the family wore heavy, solid gold necklaces and arm bands. When he was a child, Mohandas had his own nurse and owned a concertina.[120]

Later as Mahatma, Gandhi gratefully recalled traits in his parents which were certainly evident in his own personality. He said that even though his father “had no education save that of experience” and was even “innocent of history and geography,” he was a model father: “incorruptible and strictly impartial in his family as well as outside.” Moreover, the son remembered, “he was lover of his clan, truthful, brave and generous, but short tempered.”[121]

Putlibai, Mohandas’s mother, was a devout Hindu woman, illiterate but “deeply religious” in nature. The son later fondly recalled her “saintliness,” particularly expressed in faithful temple worship, prayers before meals and rigorous fasts. Once, in addition to the regularly prescribed fasts which she faithfully observed, she even observed an alternate day fast for an entire year.[122]

Indians “small” and Englishmen “tall”

When he was in normal school, Mohandas and his schoolmates had mixed and conflicting emotions of fear, respect, envy and rebellion toward the British. They recited a doggerel by the Gujarati poet Narmad currently in vogue among Indian schoolboys:

Behold the mighty Englishman
He rules the Indian small
Because being a meat-eater
He is five cubits tall.[123]

Mohandas even attempted meat-eating in youthful zeal to dispel the British.
There was a "wave of reform" sweeping over the district at the time, with much talk of expelling the British. So he decided to physically prepare himself to participate in the coming revolt by eating meat. "It began to grow on me that meat-eating was good, that it would make me strong and daring, and that, if the whole country took to meat-eating, the English could be overcome." Gandhi followed that resolve and secretly started eating meat. He had strong encouragement from a Muslim school chum who provided roasted goat meat for his Hindu pal's strength building program.\(^{124}\)

Gandhi stopped eating meat after about a year. He gave it up for a mixture of reasons. First of all, the expected revolution showed no signs of materializing. He was also fearfully troubled to be deceiving his parents on such a weighty matter. He was rebellious toward his parents, smoking occasionally in imitation of a favorite uncle with full knowledge that his father would not approve. But among devout Hindus, meat-eating was a far different category of behavior from ordinary teen-age rebellion. He later wrote:

"The Gandhis were Vaishnavas . . . The opposition to and abhorrence to meat-eating that existed in Gujarat among the Jains and Vaishnavas were to be found nowhere else in India or outside in such strength. These were the traditions in which I was born and bred. And I was extremely devoted to my parents. I knew that the moment they came to know of my having eaten meat, they would be shocked to death."\(^{125}\)

Moreover, as Gandhi later confessed, he was filled with remorse over the suffering of the animals, having nightmares in which "it seemed as though a live goat were bleating in my stomach." These feelings combined to cause him to abandon the eating of meat, for at least as long as his parents remained alive. Later, when he was a student in London, he rethought the matter and became "a vegetarian by choice."\(^{126}\)

Religions: accepted and rejected

Religion was a great problem for Gandhi as he grew into young manhood. He began to be repulsed by the "glitter and pomp" in Hindu temples. He even confessed that he had "no living faith in God." His father's death in 1885 seemed to have deepened his doubts and feelings of rejection toward Hinduism. Interestingly, however as he began rejecting Hinduism, he became quite open to the other religions with which he was personally acquainted, except Christianity. He began eagerly imbibing ideas from Jain and Buddhism.\(^{127}\) In addition, while Mohandas' father Karamchand was alive he
had often been visited by Muslim and Parsi friends. On such occasions, the boy Gandhi had listened to their conversations on the subject of religion. His father had always been very open-minded toward them. After his father’s death, Mohandas began to feel the influence of those conversations in a very positive way.\textsuperscript{128}

In his autobiography, Gandhi summed up his attitudes as a young adult on religions:

\begin{quote}
(Many) things combined to inculcate in me a toleration for all faiths. Only Christianity was at the time an exception. I developed a sort of dislike for it. And for a reason. In those days Christian missionaries used to stand in the corner near the high school and hold forth, pouring abuse on Hindus and their gods. I could not endure this. I must have stood there to hear them once only, but that was enough to dissuade me from repeating the experiment.\textsuperscript{129}
\end{quote}

In addition, young Gandhi had heard stories of Indians who had been converted to Christianity and as a result had adopted corrupt life styles and foppish western dress habits, even wearing hats. It seemed to him that when people became Christians they stopped being Indians. He said: “These things got on my nerves” and “created a dislike in me for Christianity.”\textsuperscript{130}

The Sermon on the Mount and the Hindu scriptures

On September 4, 1888, a month before his nineteenth birthday, Gandhi sailed for Southampton, England. For the next three years he studied law in London. Then, at age twenty-two, he successfully completed the qualifying examination and was admitted to the British bar.

While he was in England, Gandhi returned to Hinduism. This came about as a result of his encounter with the Christian scripture, the Sermon on the Mount\textsuperscript{131} in particular. An English friend gave him a Bible and asked him to read it, which he promised to do. Reading it wasn’t a trifle interesting at first. Gandhi reported in his autobiography that he read through the Old Testament with great tedium; the Book of Numbers put him to sleep and he kept at the task only because he felt duty-bound to keep his promise. But the experience of reading the New Testament was quite another matter:

\begin{quote}
“But the New Testament produced a different impression, especially the Sermon on the Mount which went straight to my heart. I compared it with the
\end{quote}
Gita. The verses, 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy clove too,' delighted me beyond measure and put me in mind of Shamal Bhatt's 'For a bowl of water, give a goodly meal'... My young mind tried to unify the teaching of the Gita, The Light of Asia and the Sermon on the Mount.[132]

Gandhi was remarkably successful in his efforts to unify the Christian and Hindu teachings. His contributions regarding Hindu doctrine are manifold, but two of them, ahimsa and satyagraha, have particular relevance to the present discussion.

Ahimsa, agape and satyagraha

Ahimsa is the negated form of the term for killing, himsa. Gandhi adopted this concept and gave it a wider and more socially relevant interpretation. His "science of ahimsa"[133] might be best described as a totally nonviolent life-style. As he put it: "Literally speaking, ahimsa means non-killing."[134] He also frequently described ahimsa simply as nonviolence, which he considered to be "the law of our species": namely, ahimsa is a divine call on the human species to "reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force."[135] Stated in its positive sense, it is a call to live by "the largest love, the greatest charity."[136]

The Hindu concept of ahimsa as expressed by Gandhi is not unlike the Koine Greek word for love, agape, an expression frequently used by Martin Luther King, Jr. to "highlight the form of love that should be the regulating ideal of the nonviolent movement."[137]

Anders Nygren, in Agape and Eros, speaks of the agape love of God as "unmotivated" and "disinterested" love. Agape love seeks the divine in the human soul as a "point of contact" for redemption of the lost relationship between God and a human soul.

"When man has fallen away from God, he is wholly lost and has no value at all. But just in this is the 'point of contact' for God's agape, since God seeks that which is lost. All thought of 'merit' is here excluded."[138]

Nygren shows that God's agape, which voluntarily and without self-interest seeks the estranged soul and restores the broken relationship, is the pattern of agape which
restores human community. He quotes Jesus' words in the Sermon on the Mount, "If ye love them that love you, what reward have you?"[139]

Similarly, Gandhi's summary statement on *ahimsa* was that it "is a willingness to treat all beings as oneself," and to him was "the basis of selfless action."[140] The moral force generated by *ahimsa* was held by Gandhi to be infinitely greater than any force founded upon selfishness or coercion. He alternatively referred to *ahimsa* as "soul-force and truth-force."[141]

Gandhi's second, and most important, contribution to Hindu doctrine was the concept of *satyagraha*. This term was actually formulated by Gandhi and the members of Phoenix Farm in 1906, soon after the end of the Zulu Rebellion. It is the term which best describes the *ahimsa* personality in action, bringing freedom, justice and community out of militaristic colonial rule and racist apartheid by the moral force of selfless love. The preparation of Gandhi's personality for the formulation of *satyagraha* probably depended largely upon three life-shaping experiences.

**Awakening to the humiliations of colonialism**

The first of those formative experiences occurred in 1891. Gandhi had recently returned from London to Porbandar and was doing occasional legal jobs for the local ruling prince. At that time his elder brother, Laxmidas, was seeking political advancement but was hindered by the local British Political Agent with whom he was on bad terms. Mohandas had become acquainted with the Agent in London, so Laxmidas prevailed upon him for intercession. Mohandas was reluctant but finally relented and made an appointment with the Agent.

When Gandhi arrived at the Agent's office, the usual cordialities were exchanged in renewal of friendship. But when Gandhi attempted to present his brother's petition, he was scolded and told: "If your brother has anything to say, let him apply through the proper channels." When Gandhi persisted, the Agent ordered his Indian peon to eject him. The order was promptly and somewhat roughly executed. The shock and humiliation of being thrown out of a colonial official's office by a fellow Indian was close to unbearable. Gandhi wrote in his autobiography:

"I pocketed the insult but also profited by it. 'Never again shall I place myself in such a false position, never again shall I try to exploit friendship in this way,' said I to myself, and since then I have never been guilty of a breach of that
determination. This shock changed the course of my life."\(^{[142]}\)

The incident also helped Gandhi see that the very structures of colonial control made it impossible to avoid such contradictions. After that he was filled with increasing distaste for the snobbery, petty intrigue and fawning sycophancy in local Indian administrators. He felt that the very environment would poison his character and as a result became obsessed with the desire to escape.\(^{[143]}\)

The opportunity to leave Porbandar soon presented itself in the form of an assignment to work in South Africa. A firm of Porbandar Moslems offered him a contract to work in Pretoria, the capital of Transvaal. He accepted the offer and sailed to South Africa, arriving on May 23, 1893, entering the country through the port city of Durban.\(^{[144]}\)

**Awakening to the brutalities of racism**

The second personality-shaping event occurred on the train carrying Gandhi from Durban to Pretoria upon his arrival in South Africa. He was travelling in a first class compartment. However, when the train arrived at Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, he was told that he would have to vacate that seat and sit in the baggage compartment because non-white persons were not allowed in first class. He refused and was thrown off the train.

As was seen in Chapter I of this essay, the impact of being made to sit behind a curtain on a Southern Railway train in the summer of 1944 greatly energized the resolve of young Martin Luther King, Jr. to combat Jim Crow laws. Similarly, in 1893, all through a bitter cold night, M. K. Gandhi sat on the Maritzburg Station platform and pondered what he should do. He first considered leaving South Africa at once, but rejected that as an act of cowardice. Finally, as dawn was breaking, he made up his mind, deciding to stay and fight racism:

"The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial — only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of colour prejudice."\(^{[145]}\)

True to this resolve, Gandhi began trying to mobilize the Indian population in defense of their human rights almost immediately upon his arrival in Pretoria. He was largely unsuccessful because most of the Indians there were enjoying prosperity for
which they were willing to swallow considerable racial humiliation.

However, Gandhi was somewhat more successful in organizing certain of his fellow countrymen into an Ambulance and Nurse Corps to aid wounded British soldiers during the Boer War. That conflict was waged by the Dutch settlers against the British between 1899 and 1902. Boer General Louis Botha, who later became the Prime Minister, had promised the Afrikaners that upon defeating the British he would “eradicate” South Africa’s “Asiatic cancer” by “driving the coolies” out of the country.\(^{[146]}\) Fear of and dislike for the Dutch combined with familiarity with the British to cause Gandhi and his friends to come to the aid of the Englishmen, even though they refused to bear arms with them.

At the end of the Boer War, which the British won, Gandhi bought a hundred acre farm near Phoenix, Natal and began communal life with a group of fellow believers in human rights and nonviolence. This community became famous as Phoenix Farm, the base from which Gandhi and his fellow workers conducted their first campaigns for human rights in South Africa. It was there that the important concept of *satyagraha* was conceived.

**Awakening to the horrors of war**

The third life-shaping prelude to the formulation of *satyagraha* occurred in the first few months of 1906. Once again, Gandhi had organized an Ambulance Corps and left Phoenix Farm, this time to aid the wounded Africans during the so-called Zulu Rebellion. His work on behalf of the wounded Zulu truly opened his eyes to the brutalities and atrocities of armed conflict. This experience caused him great mental agony:

“The Zulu ‘rebellion’ was full of new experiences and gave me much food for thought. The Boer War had not brought home to me the horrors of war with anything like the vividness that the ‘rebellion’ did. This was no war but a man-hunt ... To hear every morning reports of the soldiers’ rifles exploding like crackers in innocent hamlets, and to live in the midst of them was a trial. But I swallowed the bitter draught, especially as the work of my Corps consisted only in nursing the wounded Zulus. I could see that but for us the Zulus would have been uncared for. This work, therefore, eased my conscience.”\(^{[147]}\)

\(^{*}\) Botha used the Afrikaans word, *koelie*, a very insulting term to the Indians.
Working with the innocent wounded during the Zulu Rebellion gave Gandhi greater determination to struggle against South Africa's racial injustice. He returned from the battlefields to Phoenix Farm with ideas for a new concept fermenting in his mind.

Previously, Gandhi and his followers had been using the well-worn European term, passive resistance, to describe their nonviolent philosophy. However, they were becoming dissatisfied with it because it was considered by many to be a weapon of the weak. Therefore, as Gandhi returned to the farm he was hoping to develop a new term which would communicate the strength which he felt to be inherent in the growing Indian movement.\textsuperscript{148}

Soon after Gandhi returned to Phoenix Farm, a nominal prize was offered through the Farm's newspaper, \textit{Indian Opinion}, to the reader who made the best suggestion of a suitable word or phrase. The winning suggestion was made by Maganlal Gandhi, a handicraftsman who had earlier given up his business in the city and joined the Phoenix Farm community.\textsuperscript{149} The word he submitted was \textit{satyagraha}, a combination of \textit{sat} which means truth and \textit{agraha} which means firmness. Mohandas chose it as winner and then, "in order to make it clearer changed the word to \textit{satyagraha} which has since become current ... as a designation for the struggle."\textsuperscript{150}

In \textit{satyagraha}, Gandhi wrote, the opponent is "weaned from error by patience and sympathy."\textsuperscript{151} In this regard, Gandhi's biographer, Louis Fischer, notes:

"Weaned, not crushed. \textit{Satyagraha} assumes a constant beneficent interaction between contestants with a view to their ultimate reconciliation. Violence, insults, and super-heated propaganda obstruct this end ... \textit{Satyagraha} reverses the eye-for-an-eye-for-an-eye-for-an-eye policy which ends in making everybody blind or blind with fury. It returns good for evil until the evildoer tires of evil."\textsuperscript{152}

Gandhi often spoke of \textit{satyagraha} "as a process of conversion." He wrote: "The reformers, I am sure, do not seek to force their views upon the community, they strive to touch its heart."\textsuperscript{153} For example, as Fischer reports, Gandhi hoped that "if he practiced the Sermon on the Mount, General Jan Christiaan Smuts would remember that he was a Christian."\textsuperscript{154}

\textit{Satyagraha} is Gandhi's gift to the world. It restores human dignity and freedom. It overturns colonial rule. It converts racists. And it offers a viable, nonviolent alternative
to the bloodshed and devastation of armed conflict.

Johannesburg: Gandhi's watershed

_Satyagraha_ was soon tested. On August 22, 1906, the _Transvaal Government Gazette_ published the draft of a bill that would require all Indians, men, women and children over eight, to submit to official registration and fingerprinting. The law would be enforced on pain of fine, imprisonment or deportation of those Indians who refused to register or who were found without registration cards on their persons. Gandhi mobilized the Indian population in preparation for a _satyagraha_ campaign that would consist of registration refusal, burning of registration cards and other such deliberate violations of the racially oriented immigration laws. The hateful bill was passed into law on July 31, 1907. In prompt response, the _satyagraha_ campaign was set in motion.\(^{186}\)

The Johannesburg _satyagraha_ campaigns were to M. K. Gandhi as the Montgomery bus boycott would later be to Martin Luther King, Jr. In both cases, foundations for future civil rights struggles were laid. Gandhi wrote in his autobiography: "The history of this struggle is for all practical purposes a history of the remainder of my life in South Africa and especially of my experiments with truth in that sub-continent."\(^{186}\)

In the Montgomery experience, as was discussed earlier in Chapter II, King's previously discrete ideas were crystallized into a coherent nonviolent philosophy. Similarly, as Dr. John N. Jonsson writes, the Johannesburg experience was "the watershed in Gandhi's perception of viewing religion in terms of socio-human justice for all in society."\(^{187}\)

Moreover, as King would first go to jail in Montgomery, Gandhi's first jail experience occurred during the Johannesburg struggle. On August 14, 1908, Gandhi led a group of more than two thousand Indians in a public registration card burning at the Hamidia Mosque in Johannesburg. The London _Daily Mail_ compared that event to the Boston Tea Party. Soon afterward, in deliberate violation of the ban on Indians entering the Transvaal, Gandhi led a group in an attempt to do so. They were arrested, convicted and put in jail. Soon the jails were packed by scores of _satyagrahi_ who followed Gandhi's example and openly broke the immigration laws.\(^{186}\)

J. J. Doke: challenge to Christians

Two developments of signal import occurred during Gandhi's 1908 jail experience.
First, he became a challenge to Christians. This came about through Rev. J. J. Doke, a Baptist missionary who had arrived in the city in November, 1907. He had become “intrigued” by the “Indian Question.” Gandhi, in turn, was also intrigued by Doke, because he was the first missionary he had met who did not try to convert him.

In the Central Baptist Church, Johannesburg, on Sunday, January 12, 1908, two days after Gandhi was convicted of breaking the immigration law and sentenced to jail, Doke preached what was probably the first Christian sermon on Gandhi. The full text of it appeared the next day in the Transvaal Leader. Doke said:

“In the past days men and women who valued conscience, religion and liberty suffered great hardships to preserve them inviolate. Some even died for the cause . . . I think we have ill learned the lessons of the past if we fail to recognize the beauty, the Divine beauty, of loyalty to conscience, religion and liberty under whatever skin it shines. We are mere hypocrites if we build the sepulchers of past prophets and persecute the prophets of today. Christ says so. These days in which we live are, I think, great and glorious days. You need not go back three or four hundred years to see a heroic struggle for conscience sake. I think we have it here today. But the marvel of it all is this — that a little handful of Indians and Chinese should have imbibed the teachings of Christ in regard to the inherent nobility of man, that they should become the teachers of a mercenary age, while Christians stand by and smile or are silent as they suffer.”[199]

Doke and Gandhi were fast friends who shared similar views, particularly on religion and justice. Doke, who was also Gandhi’s first biographer, died in 1913. Gandhi spoke at the memorial service and said that Mr. Doke’s Christianity “was not modernized and civilized”; rather, Gandhi declared, Mr. Doke “practiced the original.”[200]

Jonsson says that funeral speech signifies that “Gandhi was giving recognition to religion as socio-human justice, distinct from institutionalized forms of religion encapsulated in confessional creeds, enslaved within the vested interests of hierarchical professionalism, and nationalized with the status of societal elitism.” Jonsson concludes, “If religion is truth, religion must be incarnate in life and society, as socio-human justice for all.”[201]

Henry David Thoreau: “Civil Disobedience”

The second important development for Gandhi during his jail term was reading
Henry David Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience." That essay had been written by the Concord Massachusetts rebel in 1849 concerning his own imprisonment for nonpayment of taxes as a protest against slavery in Massachusetts. Thus, Gandhi found a kindred spirit while he was in jail. He copied Thoreau's words, "I did not feel for a moment confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar."[103]

Gandhi probably found no fundamentally new ideas in Thoreau's essay, but he found great support for his own ideas, and gained new vocabulary for expressing them. For example, Thoreau declared:

"I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name - if ten honest men only - ay, if one HONEST man, in this State of Massachusetts, ceasing to hold slaves, were actually to withdraw from this copartnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be; what is once well done is done forever."[103]

Thoreau's withdrawal from the Massachusetts copartnership by refusing to pay his taxes had landed him in jail. His response to that was bluntly provocative:

"Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. The proper place today, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles."[104]

Gandhi and his followers, similarly in jail for having put themselves out of the unjust South African copartnership, found great strength in Thoreau's words. Gandhi used the "freedom" afforded him in jail to carefully study the essay. He found it "masterly" and said that it impressed him deeply. Thereafter, there was a Thoreau imprint on much that Gandhi did and said. Indeed there was a deep Hindu imprint on what Thoreau had done and wrote. This influence had come from his studies together with fellow transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson in the Bhagavad-Gita and the Upanishads.[105]

Thoreau had been enriched morally and intellectually by contact with the Indian scriptures. Thus, in a sense, his debt to India was repaid through his influence on Gandhi, especially by his ideas on civil disobedience. In turn, those ideas reechoed to America through the influence of Gandhi on Martin Luther King, Jr. That echo was
never more distinct than it was on August 28, 1963, when King declared to the quarter of a million participants in the March on Washington:

“I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.”[166]

Leo Tolstoy

Gandhi’s satyagraha campaigns against the injustices of colonial rule in South Africa were continued with increased vigor after he was released from jail. His influence and reputation spread, making him an international figure. The international persons numbered among his supporters included Russian novelist Count Leo Tolstoy. Beginning in 1909, correspondence between the two men began. Gandhi referred to Tolstoy as the “Titan of Russia,”[167] and reported that Tolstoy’s book, The Kingdom of God is Within You, “overwhelmed me. It left an abiding impression on me.”[168]

Tolstoy, already in his eighties and wearied by long, frustrating years of trying to bring a measure of humanity into the ruling classes of the Russian State, had concluded that the State was the personification of evil. Also, he maintained that, as an ally of the State, the Church had “deformed the simplicity of the Sermon on the Mount.” Even though Tolstoy refused to resist evil by violence, he believed it his duty to denounce it whenever he encountered it in the world.[169]

As Henri Troyat notes, “with one foot in the grave,” Tolstoy continued to write letters of unfailing encouragement to young Gandhi and his followers in satyagraha. He was determined to help the Indians struggling against injustice in the Transvaal to realize that there was “a monstrous inconsistency between the law of love professed by Christian nations and the violence they practiced.” He continued to exhort his Asian brethren “not to resist evil with evil. Perhaps they would succeed where the Christians had failed.”[170]

Tolstoy’s messages were gladly received in South Africa. Gandhi wrote of the great value of that correspondence:

“Anyone who has enjoyed the experience of the Transvaal struggle will perceive its value readily enough. A handful of Indian satyagrahis (sic.) have pitted
love or soul-force against the might of the Transvaal Government's guns.\[171\]

Gandhi proceeded to identify the principles of the Transvaal satyagraha with the central principle of Tolstoy's teaching, namely that God "has endowed (the) soul with such strength that sheer brute force is of no avail against it." In South Africa, Gandhi wrote, "we have been employing that strength against the Transvaal government not out of hatred or with a view to revenge, but merely in order to resist its unjust order."\[172\]

From Phoenix Farm to Tolstoy Farm

Satyagraha was born at the hundred-acre Phoenix Farm and received its first trials there during the immigration law struggles. However, it soon removed to more spacious premises and wider vistas of service to justice. At the end of 1909, Gandhi expressed his desire to create "a sort of cooperative commonwealth," a place where the satyagrahi "would be trained to live a new simple life in harmony with one another." Moreover, jailing was a frequently occurring experience and space was needed for family members of imprisoned resisters and for resisters themselves in intervals between sentences. Herman Kallenbach, a German Jew who had been a strong, trusted associate from the beginning of the Transvaal struggle, responded to the need. He purchased 1,100 acres near Lawley, about twenty miles from Johannesburg, and gave it to the resisters. Fittingly, Gandhi named the new location Tolstoy Farm. Soon thereafter, it became the new home for Gandhi and his family, as well as for Kallenbach and the growing group of satyagrahi.\[173\]

During his schoolboy years in Gujarat, Gandhi had harbored mixed feelings and lacked confidence before the strong, tall British. He had even resorted to eating meat in order to possess physical strength to match theirs. That had ended in frustration. But now, in satyagraha, he possessed strength against which brute force could never prevail. Tolstoy Farm became a living laboratory for developing that strength and employing it for socio-justice. It remained Gandhi's home until he left with his family in 1914 for his final return to India.

Great Soul

Soon after Gandhi's return to India, the title of "Mahatma" was conferred upon him by Nobel Prize laureate Rabindranath Tagore. "Great Soul in peasant's garb," the poet wrote, and as Fischer remarked, "the crown sat forever on the saint-politician's head."\[174\]
The next three decades were spent leading India's campaigns of nonviolent civil disobedience against, and noncooperation with, England's colonial rule over India. The outcome was independence which came on August 15, 1947. Five months later, on January 30, 1948, Gandhi was assassinated during afternoon prayers by a fanatically anti-Muslim Hindu.

After Gandhi's death, many commemorations and tributes were published. Among them were the highly appropriate words of Albert Einstein, "generations to come will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon the earth."

Gandhi's vision: nonviolence and the Negro soul

Gandhi's believability has been greatly enhanced by the life of Nobel laureate and world renowned advocate of nonviolence, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is fascinating that Gandhi himself thought he could see the future of his nonviolent way of life in the Negro. In July, 1929 he sent a message of greeting and encouragement to the Negroes of America:

"Let not the 12 million Negroes be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is no dishonour in being slaves. There is dishonour in being slave-owners . . . Let us realize that the future is with those who would be truthful, pure and loving. For, as the old wise men have said, truth ever is, untruth never was."

Following the publication of that message, many American Negroes travelled to India to meet the Mahatma. When one such group called on him in 1935 Gandhi reportedly interrupted the discussion with a request that they sing one of his favorites, "Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?" His request was granted and it is reported that:

"The words, weighed down with centuries of accepted and transmuted sorrow, winged their way to Gandhi's heart . . . When, at last the words were done, Gandhi sat for a moment, silent. Then he said: 'Perhaps it will be through the Negro that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world.'"

Twenty-one years later, as Bennett states, Gandhi's hope was "fleshed out in pain
and in love by the American Negro Martin Luther King, Jr., who was only six years old when Gandhi spoke those words, Bennett wrote:

"King's act, though focused by the act of the brown man of India, grew out of, exfoliated from, the polarities of pain and joy that Gandhi sensed in the subsoil of the Negro soul. King's genius — and it was that precisely — was not in the application of Gandhism to the Negro struggle but in the transmuting of Gandhism by grafting it onto the only thing that could give it relevance and force in the Negro community, the Negro religious tradition. In the process, King rose to new heights of creative leadership, perceiving not only what was 'ripe for development' but creating new fruit for the sun of despair to open."
CHAPTER VI
JUSTICE AND LOVE

In the lineage of satyagraha

A popular picture of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. family is one of them together at the dinner table. King is seated at the head of the table; a picture of Mahatma Gandhi hangs on the wall behind him. As that picture suggests, Gandhi occupied an honored and prominent place in King's life.

King often used the vocabulary of Gandhism. At the March on Washington, for example, his language was unmistakably Gandhian when he said:

"In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrong-ful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plain of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative power to generate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul-force."

King emphasized that the American Negro civil rights movement was in the spiritual lineage of Gandhi's satyagraha campaigns. From the world pinnacle afforded him upon receiving the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1964, King made a pointed reference to the prior example of the Indian struggle:

"I accept the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment when twenty-two million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice . . .

"After contemplation, I conclude that this award which I received on behalf of that movement is profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time — the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence.

"Civilization and violence are antithetical concepts. Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation."

The art and substance of Gandhism

It would be a mistake, however, to think that King was an American clone of the
Indian Mahatma. On the contrary, in life style, for example, while Gandhi had been a strict vegetarian, King was a lover of ham hocks with pork-seasoned turnips and greens, the basic ingredients of soul-food. Also, Gandhi's most visible trademark was his homespun cotton 
dhoti.\textsuperscript{183} King, on the other hand, was a titivated "prince of the church" who favored tailored silk suits.\textsuperscript{184}

Additionally, in important strategy decisions, King avoided an uncritical duplication of Gandhi's tactics. Gandhi's aim in India was removal of British colonial rule and return to Indian independence. To that end, his fundamental strategy was total noncooperation with the colonial regime. King, on the other hand, did not aim for the disintegration of the American system, but for full integration of minority groups into it. To that end, his strategy was to select highly visible targets for nonviolent civil disobedience. Ved Mehta, an Indian intellectual, wrote in a \textit{New York Times} magazine article, "Gandhism is Not Easily Copied," of the artistry he could see in the nonviolent tactics of both leaders:

"Contrary to what is sometimes thought, most of Gandhi's magic was in his actions. His life was crowded with a succession of Boston Tea Parties. And, theory or no, Dr. King and his people have demonstrated how a strike here, a sit-in there, a ride here, can revolutionize race relations. Their demonstration, as was Gandhi's, is not like that of a mathematical theorem, but an artistic performance. Thus, ultimately, the life-blood of the nonviolent movement may not be theology, politics, or even economics, but only art."\textsuperscript{185}

As an eye-witness to the revolution of which Mr. Mehta writes, the present writer would quickly affirm the artistry of those activities. However, I must immediately insist on the importance of the philosophical and theological substance underlying those art forms. First, the lives of both Gandhi and King were lived in dedication to the realization of social justice. Secondly, both men demonstrated unshakable faith in the power of the love ethic in the achievement of social justice. Finally, both men found the teaching of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount to be an indispensable resource on matters of justice and love.

The "parable of the porch"

King's Gandhi-like dedication to nonviolence was clearly shown very early in the Montgomery bus boycott in an event reported in the media as "the parable of the porch."\textsuperscript{186} At the close of the second month of the boycott, on January 30, 1956, while
King was away from home on a speaking engagement, their residence was bombed, severely damaging the front part of the house. Fortunately, Coretta and nine-week old Yolanda Denise were in a back room at the time and were unhurt. The intention of the bomber was immediately made plain. The phone rang and when Coretta answered, a woman's voice said: "Yes, I did it. And I'm just sorry I didn't kill you bastards."[187]

By the time King himself arrived home about fifteen minutes later, white policemen and firemen who had rushed to the scene were being angrily threatened by a gathering mob of outraged Negroes, most of whom were variously armed with guns, pop bottles, sticks and knives. As he pushed his way through the crowd toward the house, King overheard an angry Negro tell a white police officer: "Now, you got your .38 and I got mine; so let's battle it out."[188]

During the brief interval in which King went into the house, confirmed the safety of his wife and baby, and returned to the ruins of his front porch, the crowd of Negroes had grown to more than a thousand people and "was trembling on the verge of a violent and apocalyptic spasm." King stood on the porch for a moment, uneasily studying the crowd. He knew that "only a spark was needed to inflame the crowd, which had been driven to the edge of desperation by repeated acts of insult." Bennett describes the amazing transformation that occurred in the next few seconds:

"King raised his arms. 'Don't get panicky,' he said. 'Don't do anything panicky at all. Don't get your weapons. He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword.' As the crowd fell silent, wondering at these words coming from the lips of a man whose wife and child had narrowly escaped serious injury and perhaps death, King rushed on: 'We are not advocating violence. I want you to love our enemies. Be good to them. Love them and let them know you love them. I did not start this boycott. I was asked by you to serve as your spokesman. I want it known the length and breadth of the land that if I am stopped, this movement will not stop. If I am stopped, our work will not stop, for what we are doing is right. What we are doing is just and God is with us.' As King finished, cries of 'amen' and 'God bless you, son' floated up from the crowd, which began to disperse, its anger deflected, dissipated."[189]

American Gandhi
The Montgomery boycott, and the nation-wide struggle which it triggered, became clearly associated with the language, tactics and spirit of Gandhi. In the process, Martin
-Luther King, Jr. began to be viewed as an American Gandhi. Paradoxically, it was a southern white woman who first publicly made the connection. Juliette Morgan, a Montgomery librarian, remarked in a letter to a local paper upon the similarities between the nonviolent Indian independence struggle and the Negro struggle in her town.\[190\]

After the Morgan letter, the boycott leaders seized upon the Gandhi image and sloganized it throughout the movement. But for King, it was more than a slogan. He accepted the mantle of Gandhi, but on his own terms — as a Negro preacher first. Bennett says:

“What King did now — and it was a huge achievement — was to turn the Negro's rooted faith in the church to social and political account by melding the image of Gandhi and the image of the Negro preacher by overlaying all with Negro songs and symbols that bypassed cerebral centers and exploded in the well of the Negro psyche.”\[191\]

**Power at its best**

King's quest for the key to legitimate power went back to his youth. He had found that key in Gandhian nonviolence during his student days and employed it in the Montgomery struggle. Therein, he and the Negro citizens of that city had shown themselves, the nation, and the world that love implementing the demands of justice truly is power at its best.

Thus, beginning with Montgomery, the Negro struggle for equal rights increasingly became a living dramatization of that power at work. King's employment of the Gandhi-Thoreau tactic of civil-disobedience in Birmingham, Alabama was an excellent example. On April 3, 1963, King opened that campaign by reading “The Birmingham Manifesto.” In that document, he promised to lead demonstrations there until “Pharaoh lets God's people go.” Specifically, “Pharaoh” would have to establish fair hiring practices, organize a biracial urban committee and desegregate facilities in downtown stores.\[192\]

The campaign was not long underway before Pharaoh struck back. On Wednesday night, April 10, District Judge W. A. Jenkins, Jr. issued a sweeping injunction barring mass meetings, marches, sit-ins and protests until the courts ruled on their legality. The injunction was served on King at his headquarters in the Negro-owned Gaston Motel at 1:30 Thursday morning, April 11.\[193\]
It was a tactic with which King was already familiar; it had been used to break the back of a number of earlier civil rights actions in Atlanta and other cities. Typically, a court injunction would be served but the court would then delay a ruling on the legal questions until the movement lost its momentum and dissipated. The Birmingham movement was seriously threatened.

Civil disobedience against segregationist laws had already become a regular tactic for King. But he had never defied a court injunction. This time, however, as Bennett observes, "moving closer to Gandhi," he decided to do so to save the campaign.\[164\] The symbolic impact could scarcely have been more powerful. On April 12, Good Friday, King and his aide Ralph Abernathy emerged from the Sixth Avenue Zion Hill Baptist Church at the head of a group of about forty protestors in civil disobedience of the injunction. The were arrested and jailed.

Two historic events ensued. First, President John F. Kennedy, through Attorney General (his younger brother) Robert F. Kennedy, directed federal intervention. The President took the extraordinary step of calling both King in jail and Coretta at home to express his personal concern and willingness to stand with them. He also indicated that the Department of Justice was on the scene in Birmingham, carefully monitoring developments. Beyond that, the President introduced the Civil Rights Bill which was finally signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson in 1964.\[183\]

The second important event was King's letter to the clergymen who had criticized him in the press for his actions in Birmingham. That "Letter From Birmingham City Jail" has become a classic statement of nonviolent action for justice, masterfully crafted on the foundation of the Old Testament prophets, the teachings of Jesus and the apostles, the classics, American history and the philosophy of M. K. Gandhi. In reference to his present law-breaker status, King wrote:

"You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, 'How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?' The answer is found in the fact that there are just laws and there are unjust laws . . .

"I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This
would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming 'nigger, nigger, nigger') and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.[198]

The "new abolitionists"

Furthermore, the new direct action organizations which grew up under King's leadership also bore clear Gandhian marks. The best and most famous example is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, popularly known as SNCC and pronounced like the "sник" in snicker. Its members were the shock-troops in campaigns to integrate public facilities across the southland. Howard Zinn, struck by the similarities in spirit between SNCC and nineteenth century abolitionists, gave his book on the subject the title, SNCC: The New Abolitionists.[199]

SNCC came into existence through the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). King had organized SCLC in 1957 and established its office Atlanta in 1958; Ella Baker was the executive secretary.[198]

Direct action groups, especially sit-in activity groups, were rapidly spreading across the South at that time and SCLC was called on to help coordinate them. On Easter weekend, 1960, more than two hundred students, representing some sixty centers of sit-in activities, gathered at Ella Baker's alma mater, Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. At that meeting the young people took their soon to be famous name. They also adopted and published a profoundly nonviolent credo as the official expression of their views:

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action . . . Love is the central motif of nonviolence . . . Such love goes to the extreme, it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

"By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice
become actual possibilities."[199]

Congress of Racial Equality: education for nonviolent struggle

Hard discipline and thorough education were characteristic of the direct action programs of the civil rights movement. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) shouldered the major share of this burden.

CORE was a forerunner to King, both in time and in Gandhian philosophy. In 1942, James Farmer, a young Negro pacifist, submitted a proposal to the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) calling for a "creative" application of Gandhian tactics to the American race problem. Farmer suggested a national five to ten year mobilization "after which, it is hoped, relentless non-cooperation, economic boycott, civil disobedience, et. cetera will be thrown into swing whenever possible." The immediate result was the formation of CORE with Farmer as the first national director. CORE was successful in integrating a number of segregated facilities in northern and border states, but it's truly historic contributions "had to await the maturing of events and of Martin Luther King, Jr."[200]

Members of CORE went to Montgomery and assisted in the bus boycott. The need for schools to teach the principles of nonviolence and to train activists in the employment of those principles was immediately apparent. CORE was able to draw on its past experience and call in workers from other groups such as FOR to help meet this need.

A classroom in action

On June 3, 1963, Associated Press correspondent John Hall visited and reported on a class in Jackson, the state capital of Mississippi. The classes were being conducted in the city's Negro Masonic Hall under the direction of a young CORE worker named David Dennis. They were being carried out in connection with a comprehensive campaign to integrate that city's public facilities. Hall filed this account:

SIT-IN STUDENTS LEARN HOW TO ABSORB BEATINGS

About 25 Negro high school and college students sat in a semicircle in a corner of a large auditorium, intensely watching a 'white lunch counter' — two small tables and two chairs.

David Dennis, of Jackson, a 22-year-old field worker for the Congress of Racial Equality, conducted a class on nonviolence for the youths who would take
the places of other Negroes arrested at lunch counters downtown.

"James is sitting at a white lunch counter. Mrs. Robinson is a white waitress. This is a white agitator," Dennis said.

ATTACK IS CARRIED OUT

Sixteen-year-old James Wooten, a Jackson Negro high school pupil, asked for a cup of coffee. The "waitress," Mrs. Willie Robinson, 26, of Taylorsville, Miss., gruffly replied, "Sorry, but we don't serve niggers in here."

The "white agitator" — 20-year-old C.O.R.E. worker George Raymond of New Orleans — rushed Wooten, slammed him to the floor, beating him on the shoulders and kicking at his face.

"No, no. You got too many places open," Dennis interrupted. "You could get a judo chop on the back of your neck. Curl up, crouch up. Let's try it again."

By the third try, young Wooten rolled smoothly to the ground, pulling himself into a tight ball with his hands clasped behind his neck. "That was good," Dennis said. "Any questions?"

The students shifted and watched each other. They had laughed at the mock tussles, but thoughts of the real thing sobered them.

"WHAT IF HE HAS A KNIFE?"

"Look man, what if this agitator has a knife?" One asked.

"Well, if he has a knife, there's very little you can do. You can try to run," Dennis said, taking the question as the opening for a talk on the nonviolent technique.

"When you fight the individual you're not touching his sin. This is something that has grown up in him since he was a little boy. He's been told to say 'nigger, nigger' all his life.

"You, there, what good can violence do at this time? Why is it so important to use nonviolence?" the Negro teacher demanded of an inattentive youth.

"Well, we can't gain anything by violence," was the answer.

A hand in the back shot up. "Mainly because we're trying to play on his (the white man's) conscience," a young Negro said.

PICKETING TAUGHT

"Right. It's a fight of the righteous against the sinner, and you are trying to fight the sin, not the individual," Dennis said.

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The teacher went back to object lessons as three more students entered the Negro Masonic Hall.

Earnestine Preaster, a 16-year-old Negro high school pupil, took a seat by Raymond. This time the "white agitator" was white, 22-year-old Steve Rutledge of Croton, N.Y., student body president at predominately Negro Tougaloo College of Jackson.

Dennis told his class that Raymond would try to distract the attacker of the female as Rutledge slammed Miss Preaster from her seat.

EXPECT PROVOCATIONS

"The white agitator will try to provoke the male into violence by attacking the girl, but he's going to show you how to sacrifice yourself for another individual."

Raymond leaped up, his hands behind him. "My white brother, my white brother," he told Rutledge, diverting and absorbing the mock attack on Miss Preaster.

The class moved to lessons on how to picket and participate in mass marches. Dennis told them nonviolence did not demand they stop defending themselves, only passivity for "a demonstration with a specific goal."

Dennis, working with Raymond and Tougaloo student Betty Poole, said 100 to 150 youths were trained last week. The numbers were heartening, he said, "but if they don't think they can be nonviolent, we don't let them take part in demonstrations. They flunk the course."

Without a mecca or an icon

In addition to the groups discussed above, direct involvement by established civil rights institutions such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League was also critical for King and the civil rights movement. Without that involvement, Montgomery Alabama might well have become a mecca with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as its icon, thereby leaving the rest of the nation relatively undisturbed.

First, concerning the NAACP: In 1905, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois issued a call for an interracial meeting of liberals, militants and intellectuals — Negro and white — who shared his disheartenment with the leadership of Booker T. Washington, and his alarm regarding the rapid spread of legalized Jim Crow. In July, twenty-nine carefully
screened respondents to that call met on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. They repudiated the “separate-but-equal” doctrine, the unfairness of disfranchisement laws, and Booker T. Washington’s argument that Negroes were contentedly climbing up from slavery by “natural and gradual processes.”[202]

The Niagara Movement, as it immediately became called, stated its 1905 platform in sharp and vigorous terms, reflecting the hand of Du Bois in every line:

“We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed . . . . The Negro race in America, stolen, ravished, and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism, needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone . . . we do not hesitate to complain and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty.”[203]

The words of the Niagara people were strong, but the early Niagara Movement itself was weak and had to struggle merely to exist. Then the terrible race riots which occurred in Atlanta in 1906 and then in Springfield in 1908 galvanized the movement. It rapidly took on a national character. In New York City in 1910 it reorganized itself, becoming the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the first such organization in the history of the United States.

The NAACP focussed on litigation, legislation and education to achieve social, political and economic equality for Negroes. It won a number of vital legal victories, including protecting the franchise for Negroes in 1915 and abolishing segregation in municipal housing in 1917.[204] Notably, during its entire first four and a half decades, the NAACP was locked in a series of court challenges to the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson Supreme Court decision that sanctioned separate-but-equal education as constitutional.[205]

King was a third-generation member of the NAACP and held it in high esteem. In 1958 he stated that the NAACP had done more than any other organization to achieve the legal and constitutional rights of Negro citizens. He often praised the NAACP for its role in the historic Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka Supreme Court decision that finally struck down Plessy vs. Ferguson. Moreover, the Montgomery campaign had
received NAACP financial, moral, advisory and legal support. The NAACP legal staff secured the Supreme Court decision desegregating the Montgomery busses and ending the need for the boycott.\[208\]

Once considered radical, the NAACP had yielded this reputation and was thought of as moderate by the time King arrived on the civil rights scene. But the movement among Negro youth gave it an unprecedented vitality. The explosion in youth sit-in activities discussed above had its origins in NAACP youth chapters in Wichita and Oklahoma City. From those centers, the fires of nonviolent revolt against racial segregation swept through the South, the entire nation, and into the parent NAACP chapters. In this way the philosophy of nonviolent civil disobedience surged through the arteries of the entire NAACP organization, creating new energy at previously unknown levels.\[207\]

Moreover, at the management echelons of the NAACP, the King influence set off a "crisis of purpose."\[208\] In 1955, longtime secretary Walter White died and the logical successor Roy Wilkins, newsman and member since 1931, became the new secretary. However, many members felt that King was the right person to lead. James L. Hicks, editor of the New York Amsterdam News, editorialized that King was "the number one leader of sixteen million Negroes in the United States . . . At this point in his career, the people will follow him anywhere."\[209\]

Even though King stoutly refused to compete, dissatisfaction mounted because the membership had become disillusioned with traditional leadership approaches. Wilkins, however, as Bennett observes, was a resourceful and flexible leader who saw "the grain of history was moving in King's direction and the Negro leadership class . . . would have to move with the grain or lose the power to make and shape events."\[210\]

Next, concerning the National Urban League: As King's star rose, voices within the National Urban League also began calling for a new departure and a reexamination of basic premises. The League, the most conservative institution in the civil rights establishment, was an interracial, nonprofit group organized in New York City in 1910 as a professional, voluntary agency. Its aims were equal opportunities in employment, education and housing for urban minorities. From its inception, there had been voices calling for a more aggressive program of civil rights, but they had carried small weight, until King's advent.
Because of the energies released through King's influence, dissatisfaction mounted and militants within the League formed an ad hoc committee, the "Disturbed Committee of the Executive Secretaries Council" to fight for a more daring program. Edwin C. (Bill) Berry, who later became the executive secretary of the Chicago branch, declared:

"(The League) played it so safe that we are well behind the safety zone . . .

This is the last half of the twentieth century, the age of Sputniks as well as the age of urban sprawl. Negroes have emerged from two and one-half world wars, with a new dimension of personal significance. They are no longer willing to be half slave and half free. They are at war with the status quo, and will no longer accept the leadership of an agency or organization that does not know how to act on it forthrightly. People who do not mean business do not walk with Martin Luther King or stand with Daisy Bates . . . Uncle Tom's day is over and Uncle Thomas' days are numbered. (Uncle Thomas is an Uncle Tom with a college degree and a Brooks Brothers suit.)"

A vital symbiosis

In addition to the NAACP and the Urban League, similar dynamics were also observed in the other established civil rights groups. As a result, a symbiotic relationship developed. The nature of the symbiosis was that the establishment helped King remain focussed on such national priority goals as voter registration, school desegregation, housing, wages and equal access to public facilities. Also, they provided money, legal counsel and personal advice to King and his aides. Moreover, they brought understanding, support and considerable direct participation from moderate Americans of all races and creeds.

On the other side of the relationship, King brought new life, revolutionary vision and hope to an establishment in which previously acceptable operating principles were failing to meet the needs of the hour. Bennett says:

"In this season, a deep groundswell of anticipation surged through the Negro masses and, pushing upward, met the revolutionary ideas King was shooting downward. By giving the people another ideology, old and yet new, alien and yet indigenous, King gave them a new way of thinking about their condition and a new tool for changing it."

The picture was probably most complete at the March on Washington. The March had been sponsored by a broad spectrum of groups. Thus King had shared
leadership with, among others, elder statesman of organized labor Asa Phillip Randolph of the Pullman Porters Union, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, James Farmer of CORE, John Lewis of SNCC, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, Walter Reuther of the UAW-CIO and Eugene Carson Blake of the Presbyterian Church.

Yet when King mounted the podium and spoke, he knew and they knew, the assembled throng knew, and the world knew, that he was the prophet of the hour. The authority of his leadership was not derived from elected office, but from their shared recognition of the moral pinnacle on which he stood, of the vision of a just society which he proclaimed, and of the Gandhian path to its realization which he embodied.

He proclaimed their dream. And they were prepared to follow him to its fulfillment on that inevitable “day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, ‘Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last.’”[214]
CHAPTER VII
UNFINISHED AGENDA

After 1964

The Civil Rights Law which President Johnson signed into law on July 2, 1964 was heralded as "the most comprehensive legislation of its kind since the Reconstruction era." King, who had been one of its architects, correctly called it "a child of storm, the product of the most turbulent motion the nation had ever known in peacetime."

At the same time, the summer of 1964 marked a watershed, both in King's life and in the civil rights movement. With the passage of the Civil Rights Law, the major emblems of Jim Crow: "White Only" signs over court house water fountains, "Negroes Sit in Back of Bus" signs in public busses, restaurants refusing to serve Negroes, patently racist local ordinances or court orders, and other such targets against which non-violent civil disobedience had been highly effective, were thereby consigned to unconstitutionality.

Beginning that summer, the quest for racial justice faced such remaining targets as corporate, governmental and educational structures in the grip of systemic racism. But new mutations of racist violence in American public life, protestant churches that provided all-white education in "Christian" schools, and a general white population which in large measure had not even begun to accept the idea of equality with persons of other races rapidly appeared.

A season of violence

Ironically, violence became the dominant player in the civil rights arena immediately following passage of the landmark Civil Rights Law. In less than a month after the legislation was passed, race riots swept through major non-southern cities, Rochester, New York City, Chicago, Jersey City, culminating in August in the Los Angeles ghetto, Watts. At the same time, America's brutal South East Asian war had deeply divided the nation, drained off the moral and material resources needed for social improvement, and stimulated a pervasive culture of violence.

Additionally, there was an increase in violent white resistance to the gains being made by Negroes. On August 4, 1964, TV viewers across America watched in appalled disbelief as the bodies of three SNCC volunteers were exhumed from a pond near
Philadelphia, county seat of Neshoba County, Mississippi. The three young men, who had come to Mississippi to assist in voter registration training for Neshoba County Negroes, had been murdered with the complicity of local law officers and the KKK.

King was facing a serious dilemma. Just a year before, in his speech during the March on Washington, he had cautioned, "We must not allow our creative power to generate into physical violence." Now, alarmed by that very prospect, and fearful that arch conservative Republican Barry Goldwater might win the November Presidential election, King joined with other civil rights leaders in calling for a moratorium on all demonstrations until after the election.\[217\]

King’s dilemma was compounded by disappointing developments within the ranks of his supporters and followers. Many began to fall away from the philosophy of nonviolence. None articulated a meaningful alternative to nonviolence as an offensive tactic, but large numbers began to champion what they called “the inalienable Western right of self defense.”\[218\]

In addition, voices within the Negro establishment began calling for a return to the old strategies of litigation and lobbying, saying, to King’s great dismay, that “the Negroes had made their point.”\[219\] Black nationalists became strident in their criticism of him for working with the national government to win passage of the bill, saying that he had become “if not an agent, at least a tool of the white power structure.”\[220\] And in the white community, liberal and moderate voices began to wonder aloud whether demonstrations any longer served a positive purpose.\[221\]

Nonviolence as an ongoing life style has always been a hard item to sell. Addressing this point, Bennett compares King's situation to that of Gandhi who lamented, at that terrible period when India, in spite of having just won its independence by nonviolent means, seemed to be dissolving into violence, that he was “perhaps the only Gandhian in India.” Bennett says that “It began to dawn on King in this fateful summer that his support on the issue of nonviolence as a way of life was hardly more substantial”\[222\]

**Turning point**

The necessity of rewriting the agenda was impressed upon King by the rapidly changing social climate. This impression was deepened by the sluggish implementation
of hard-won legislation. He said that sluggishness was a reflection of an historical ambivalence:

"Just as an ambivalent nation freed the slaves a century ago with no plan or program to make their freedom meaningful, the still ambivalent nation in 1954 declared school segregation unconstitutional with no plan or program to make integration real. Just as Congress passed a civil rights bill in 1868 and refused to enforce it, the Congress passed a civil rights bill in 1964 and to this day has failed to enforce it in all its dimensions. Just as the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 proclaimed Negro suffrage, only to permit its de facto withdrawal in half the nation, so in 1965 the Voting Rights Law was passed and then permitted to languish with only factional and half-hearted implementation."[223]

There was visible compliance with the new laws, particularly in open housing and career opportunities for the rising new Negro middle class. But even there, frustration was a common component. As King pointed out, it frequently happened that when a residential area was opened to Negroes, realtors would encourage a white exodus by telling the white people already living there that "property values will depreciate." Many whites, already fearful, prejudiced or simply disinclined to live in the same neighborhood with Negroes, quickly sought new, all white, areas to move to. This, King argued, was highly profitable for the realtor who "makes a huge profit from the whites who must be relocated and a doubly huge profit from the Negroes who often pay twice as much for a house as it is worth." Thus, King said, "Even the new Negro middle class finds itself in ghettoized housing."[224]

King further noted that the middle class Negroes still found themselves "in jobs at the mercy of the white world," declaring that:

"Some of the most tragic figures in our society now are the Negro company vice presidents who sit with no authority or influence because they were merely employed for window dressing in an effort to win the Negro market or to comply with federal regulations in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."[225]

**Obeying unenforceable obligations**

King set about defining the new agenda. Calling upon a Baptist ancestor in the fight for socio-justice, Harry Emerson Fosdick, King employed the concept of "obedience to unenforceable obligations." King wrote:

"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, expressions of compassion which lawbooks cannot regulate and jails can not rectify.^[226]

King then applied the axiom of obedience to the unenforceable to the situation in America's recently desegregated society:

"The ultimate solution to the race problem lies in the willingness of men to obey the unenforceable. Court orders and federal enforcement agencies are of estimable value in achieving desegregation, but desegregation is only a partial, though necessary, step toward the final goal which we seek to realize, genuine intergroup and interpersonal living . . . A vigorous enforcement of civil rights will bring an end to segregated public facilities, but it cannot bring and end to fears, prejudice, pride and irrationality, which are the barriers to a truly integrated society."^[227]

King also stressed the need for an "accurate diagnosis of the disease," as the next step toward the complete cure. He wrote:

"To define much of white America as self-deluded on the commitment to equality and to apprehend the broad base on which it rests are not to enthrone pessimism. The racism of today is real, but the democratic spirit that has always faced it is equally real. The value of pulling racism out of its obscurity and stripping it of its rationalizations lies in the confidence that it can be changed . . . The prescription for the cure rests with the accurate diagnosis of the disease."^[228]

We shall never know precisely what King's diagnosis would have been. He was killed before he stated it, and quite possibly to prevent him from ever doing so.[229] Fortunately, however, he left a very strong indication in a passage in the chapter in *Where Do We Go From Here?* entitled The Dilemma of Negro Americans.

"The dilemma of white America is the source and cause of the dilemma of Negro America. Just as the ambivalence of white Americans grows out of their oppressor status, the predicament of Negro Americans grows out of their oppressed status. It is impossible for white Americans to grasp the depths and dimensions of the Negro's dilemma without understanding what it means to be a Negro in America . . . Being a Negro in America means being scarred by a history
of slavery and family disorganization . . . Negroes were brought here in chains long before the Irish decided voluntarily to leave Ireland or the Italians thought of leaving Italy. Some Jews may have left their homes in Europe involuntarily, but they were not in chains when they arrived on these shores. Other immigrant groups came to America with language and economic handicaps, but not with the stigma of color. Above all, no other ethnic group has been a slave on American soil, and no other group has had its family structure deliberately torn apart."[230]

Clearly, the most important race relations agenda in 1968 was the control of race relations by the ongoing effects of slavery. That agenda remains the same today.

20th century thinking on slavery

Many writings have been produced on the subject of slavery in this century, 13,000 items between 1921 and 1980.[231] But two books have dominated the discussion. They are American Negro Slavery, written in 1918 by Ulrich B. Phillips, and The Peculiar Institution, written by Kenneth M. Sapp in 1956.

Phillips, the preeminent historian of the antebellum South during the first half of this century, almost singlehandedly directed the discussion of slavery until the climate changed during the mid-century civil rights struggle. Phillips believed that the key to the antebellum political economy was the plantation, which was "not a mere institution but an entire way of life." And he also held that the plantation was primarily a method of social control of a "stupid" and "genetically inferior" race. He regarded the plantation as the continuing and essential agent in preserving the South as "a white man's country."[232]

In his Preface of The Peculiar Institution, Stampp makes this striking assertion:

"I have assumed that the slaves were merely ordinary human beings, that innately Negroes are, after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less."[233]

Then, in a footnote at the end of the Preface he added this disclaimer:

"I did not, of course, assume that there have been, or are today, no cultural differences between white and black Americans. Nor do I regard it as flattery to call Negroes white men with black skins. It would serve my purpose as well to call Caucasians black men with white skins. I have simply found no convincing
evidence that there are any significant difference between the innate emotional and intellectual capacities of Negroes and whites.\[^{234}\]

*The Peculiar Institution*, carefully researched and profoundly critical of slavery's cruelties, dethroned Phillips and became a mainstay for those who were battling racism in the 1950s and 1960s. In regard to the plantations, in sharp contrast to Phillips, Stampp writes that they were cruel, dehumanized, fear controlled, labor exploitative societies: "Slaves apparently thought of the South's peculiar institution chiefly as system of labor extortion. Of course they felt its impact in other ways — in their social status, their legal status and their private lives — but they felt it most acutely in their lack of control over their own time and labor."\[^{235}\]

Probably Stampp's major contribution was to dethrone Phillips. However, for all his advances over Phillips, as historian Stanley M. Elkins points out, Stampp allowed Phillips's writings to "set the terms of the debate, never really rising above the proslavery and antislavery debaters of antebellum times."\[^{236}\]

**Slavery's legacy: alienation and guilt**

It is vitally important to recognize that both white and black cultures originated in a slave-labor society. Therein the relationships between Negroes and Caucasians were sharply delineated. W. J. Cash, in *Mind of the South*, has given this succinct statement:

"It rested on force. The black man occupied the position of a mere domestic animal, without will or right of his own. The lash lurked always in the background. Its open crackle could often be heard where field hands were quartered. Into the gentlest houses drifted now and then the sound of dragging chains and shackles, the bay of hounds, the report of pistols on the trail of the runaway. And, as the advertisements of the time incontestably prove, mutilation and the mark of the branding iron were pretty common."\[^{237}\]

Furthermore, Cash also makes the vital point that the experience of slavery was, in a different way, brutalizing to the white masters.

"Just as plain was the fact that the institution was brutalizing to white men. Virtually unlimited power acted inevitably to call up, in the coarser sort of master, that sadism which lies concealed in the depths of universal human nature bred angry impatience and a taste for cruelty for its own sake . . . There it stood,
terrible, revolting, serving as the very school of violence."[239]

The lasting impact of the Negro experience of slavery is a profound sense of alienation in America. Rev. Eugene F. Rivers, III, pastor of Azusa Christian Community in Dorchester, Massachusetts, clearly reflected this sense of alienation in a January, 1998 interview with Sojourners magazine.

Rivers declared that Negroes "are a nation within a nation." On the one hand they are Americans; and on the other hand, they're a separate and distinct cultural reality. He amplified in the following words:

"The experience of slavery in the United States is historically unique—there is no contemporary analogue. Unlike those who voluntarily crossed the border into the United States, the myriads of black people who came here involuntarily have no way of locating their place of origin. For that reason, slavery is the pivotal question that still shapes the structure of racial discourse in the United States...

"The fundamental issue... is about how this country comes to terms with fact that it hasn't figured out what to do with 35 million descendants of slaves. Although we resist the truth, we know for a fact that they will not be integrated into American society."

The sense of alienation among the descendants of slaves is matched by a sense of guilt among the descendents of slave owners. This seems to have been true from early on. Even though there were no legal obstacles, even in United States Constitution, standing in the way of planting slavery in American soil, slave owners themselves often displayed an uneasiness about it, preferring to use, for example, the euphemistic term "peculiar institution" as a pseudonym for "slavery." In the 1820s, John C. Calhoun was a stout defender of the South's "peculiar domestick institution." After Garrisonian abolitionists began their strong attacks on slavery in mid-century, "peculiar institution" came to be regularly used.[241]

Cash, concerning the moral arguments against slavery that were used by 19th century abolitionists, declares that "the South itself definitely shared these moral notions." He said that "in its secret heart" the South always carried a powerful and uneasy sense of the rightness of (its) position on slavery." Thus, he concludes:

"This Old South, in short, was a society beset by the specters of defeat, of shame, of guilt — a society driven by the need to bolster its morale, to nerve its arm against waxing odds, to justify itself in its own eyes and in those of the
Facing a criminal history

As long as alienation among the nation's Negroes and guilt among its Caucasians are not overcome, the possibility of achieving true equality must remain nothing more than a dream. That is simply because they will always act as stubborn barriers, preventing the building of a national consensus for full racial justice. Therefore, the shared experience of slavery must be openly and squarely addressed on a national level.

This, of course, will be a difficult task. The United States could well learn from the current experience of South Africa. Under the leadership of its first African president, Nelson Mandela, that country is in the process of dealing with its criminal experience of apartheid through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). President Mandela writes in regard to the TRC:

"The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a milestone on the freedom road . . . Our country has been through a long dark night of anguish, which we must now put behind us.

"I believe that joining hands in that task is a central aim of reconciliation . . . In such circumstances, personal bitterness is irrelevant. It is luxury that we, as individuals and as a country, simply can not afford, any more than we can afford to listen to special pleading from the privileged. Instead we must insist with quiet resolve on a firm policy of undoing the continuing effects of the past."
CHAPTER VIII
LEARNING FROM SOUTH AFRICA

I and the public know
What all school children learn
Those to whom evil is done
Do evil in return.

W. H. Auden

Breaking the retribution cycle

When Nelson Mandela assumed the office of President of South Africa in 1994, his government faced a terrible problem, how to deal with the criminal history of apartheid. Should the conventional wisdom of evil in return for evil have been followed, the ensuing blood bath would have been beyond imagination. That is because the evils that had been inflicted upon Africans under white apartheid rule were unspeakably cruel in every respect.

However, in a remarkable commitment to the ideals of reconciliation and nation-building, the new South African government rejected all types of triumphal victor's justice. There would be no summary trials and executions of murderers and torturers as there had been at the German concentration camps at the end of World War II. There would be no tribunals such as those at Nuremberg and Tokyo, in which certain war criminals were exempted from trial because of their potential usefulness: in Cold War schemes in Europe and in easing the task of the occupation in Japan. There would be no vindictive lustration laws on the recent Czech model, no black-listing of collaborators as in post-war France and Belgium, nor would there be dismissals of apartheid's social engineers or university faculty as in post-war Germany's de-Nazification measures. Instead, it was decided to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.[244]

When the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, the historic legislation which established the TRC, was enacted into law in 1995, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was asked by President Mandela to come out of retirement and serve as the TRC chairperson. In reference to that appointment, the authors of the book, Reconciliation through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance, included this arresting passage:

“Archbishop Tutu commented optimistically, in the dark days of 1977, that
'the powers of injustice, of oppression, of exploitation, have done their worst and they have lost. They have lost because they are immoral and wrong and . . . our cause, the cause of justice and liberation, must triumph because it is moral and just and right.'

"Twenty years later — twenty years! — Archbishop Tutu reflected, in 1996, on his role in leading the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, that 'it would be very difficult, as someone who has fought for justice for all those years, to find myself now involved in injustice.' He has also commented that 'despite all the appearances to the contrary,' the collective faith that justice would prevail had survived the darkest hours of the past."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: in the public eye

The front page headline, "Why Goniwe 'had to be killed,'" greeted readers of the Cape Times on Tuesday morning, February 24, 1998. The story, filed from Port Elizabeth, read:

"Police arranged to eliminate Matthew Goniwe, an excellent school teacher and popular figure in Cradock, because of his status as an efficient activist, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission heard today.

"Goniwe and three others were stopped while travelling between Port Elizabeth and Cradock, and were killed in 1985. Former policeman Johan Martin van Zyl (one of seven former policemen applying for amnesty for the murders of Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauli, known as the Cradock Four) told the TRC's amnesty committee the decision was taken to eliminate 'Goniwe and his lieutenants' because they were deemed to be responsible for the situation in the area at the time . . . He said Goniwe had been identified as the most effective activist in the region and it was decided to eliminate him and his closest associates. 'We had to chop off the head of the destabilising forces in the area,' Van Zyl said.

"Mr. George Bizos, SC, for families of the dead men, produced documents that showed Mr. Sam de Beer, the NP government's education minister at the time, had recommended that Goniwe, who had been suspended from his position as a school teacher, be reinstated. Mr. De Beers saw this as the solution to the unrest. 'At the time, you and your group of murderers decided to go ahead and do your own thing and kill Goniwe,' Bizos said.

"Van Zyl denied this and insisted he had received orders from Synman (his superior) which he believed had come from higher levels . . ."
"Van Zyl said plans were made to ambush Goniwe during one of the many trips he made around the Eastern Cape. The car the men were in was stopped and the four occupants were handcuffed and taken to a dark spot near Port Elizabeth. Van Zyl said he took Mkonto in the back of his vehicle with the intention of stabbing him to death. Mkonto had resisted and during the scuffle he shot the activist, first in the body and later in the head.

"He then ordered a Sergeant Faku to stab the dead man and to set the body on fire. Van Zyl said the plan was to make the killing look like an attack by vigilantes or Azapo (Azanian People's Organization) supporters." (Hearings to continue.)[246]

A second story on the inside of the same paper, filed from Pretoria, gave the day's testimony in that city by ten former police and police officials, including former police commissioner Johan van der Merwe. They were seeking amnesty for the 1988 electrical torture killing of activist Stanza Bopape, and subsequent plot to make it look like an escape attempt.

Lieutenant-Colonel Adriaan van Niekerk, who was the senior officer present when Bopape was killed, expressed surprise and puzzlement at Bopape's death. "I could not believe that he had died from the electrical shocks. We only shocked him. We never assaulted him ... We never wanted death, that's all I can tell you." (Hearings to continue.)[247]

In this way, the ongoing work of the TRC is carried out in different jurisdictions, but always before the South African public. There are more than 7,000 applicants for amnesty.[248] Each case is being considered by the TRC in accordance to the governing Act. The founding legislative Act directs that the Amnesty Committee "shall" grant amnesty if it is satisfied that the amnesty application complies with the requirement of this Act, that the deed under consideration was associated with a political objective, and that the applicant has made full disclosure of all relevant facts. However, the Act also gives the TRC the discretion to decline amnesty to an unrepentant perpetrator.[249]

In the direction of justice

It would be a mistake to think that the TRC has been universally accepted, either by Africans or Afrikaners. One important African critic is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party. That party engaged in a bloody debate
with the African National Congress, leaving more than 10,000 dead in Kwa-Zulu Natal the decade preceding the 1994 free election.\footnote{200}

After the election, the two parties managed a fragile peace and Buthelezi joined Mandela's cabinet as Minister of the Interior. On May 12, 1995, he was asked by journalist Kaizer Nyatumba to comment on the new South African government and on the prospects for long-term peace between the rival African parties. Regarding the government, Buthelezi said:

"I think that the fact that we are still together after these months is an achievement, and I do believe that as far as the direction of the country is concerned, we have achieved (something and) if we want to meet the expectations of the people we are in the direction we need to face."\footnote{203}

On the other hand, in reference to the prospects of long-term peace in Natal, Minister Buthelezi was far less enthusiastic. He replied with direct reference to the TRC:

"The whole thing of the Truth Commission is bound to exacerbate the problem of peace as far as I am concerned and even the behaviour of the ANC (in Parliament). That's not how we build peace and reconciliation."\footnote{205}

Probably the most publicized Afrikaner critic of the IRC has been ex-president P. W. Botha, the apartheid-era leader who was ousted in a 1989 cabinet coup by the reformer who eventually freed Nelson Mandela, F. W. de Klerk. In February, 1998, Botha rebuffed a TRC hearing as an alternative to a court trial, indicating he preferred a jail sentence to appearing before the TRC. On February 24, 1998, the George district court held preliminary hearings and set Botha's trial for April 14.

On the first day of the trial, about 100 ANA supporters gathered on the traffic island across from the George court house. They carried banners with messages such as: "Botha's meow no match for Madiba's roar" and "De tier in Afrika is agter die tralies."\footnote{b} They held up the banners and booed Mr. Botha and his companion as they dismounted from their car and entered the building.\footnote{203}

\footnotetext[203]{Mandela's father was a chief of the Madiba clan within the Xhosa people. Originally a term of respectful address due to his class and clan, "Madiba" eventually became Nelson Mandela's popular nickname.}

\footnotetext[205]{Trans: "The tiger in Africa is behind bars."}
Botha continued to rebuff the TRC. He persisted even after evidence was produced purporting to link him directly with documents that ordered activists to be "eliminated" or "neutralized." Botha could be fined and sent to prison for as much as two years if convicted. Nevertheless, he told the press after the first court hearing that he would not back down from his opposition to the TRC, calling it a "circus" and a "witch hunt."[254]

In spite of Botha's persistent refusals, Tutu continued trying to convince him of the advisability of a TRC hearing. Unsuccessful, Tutu told reporters: "Fundamentally for Mr. Botha, it stuck in his gullet to appear before the commission at all." However, Tutu made it clear that he would unilaterally oppose a jail sentence for Botha on the basis of the former president's advanced age of 82, and his poor health condition due to a stroke.[255]

There are also success stories. Joyce Holiday reports on one such case in which the former assailant is now a hero:

"Brian Mitchell is talked about in some circles like a national hero of sorts. As a young police officer, he threw a grenade into a home in the village of Trust Feeds, intended for an ANA activist. But a wake was going on inside the home and 13 women and children were killed. After being granted amnesty and released from jail, Mitchell went back to Trust Feeds and apologized before the whole community. He has committed himself to working for reconciliation and trying to bring resources into Trust Feeds. It seems that's the way it should work."[256]

It is clear that the TRC has been unable to perform perfectly. Nevertheless, it is also clear that it, and the new government which formed it, are progressing in the direction of justice.

Free to be free at last

On the evening of May 2, 1994, after F. W. de Klerk had conceded the presidential election victory to Nelson Mandela, the ANC hosted a victory celebration party at the ballroom of the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg. Mandela was tired from the exhausting election campaign, suffering with the flu and had been bidden by his physicians to stay at home that night. But he reports in his autobiography that "there was nothing that could keep me from that party." At about nine o'clock, he appeared on the podium, congratulated Mr. De Klerk for his fine showing and the ANC for their long, hard struggle. Mrs. Coretta Scott King was on the podium. Mandela writes that he looked directly at the widow of the "great freedom fighter" and opened his remarks with
reference to words that King had immortalized:

"This is one of the most important moments in the life of our country. I stand before you filled with deep pride and joy — pride in the ordinary, humble people of this country. You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own, and now the joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops — Free at last! Free at last!"

Mandela realized that freedom from jail and victory in South Africa's first free election were simply marks of the beginning. As King had reminded Americans that "1963 is not an end but a beginning," Mandela reminded South Africans in 1994 that "the truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free."

Certainly the TRC is one of South Africa's boldest and noblest ventures in the direction of achieving freedom and justice. The major elements in the establishment of this historic commission are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

Mandela: hunger for freedom

The first and least disputable element is Mandela's own hunger for freedom. He writes:

"I was not born with a hunger to be free. I was born free — free in every way I could know. Free to run in the fields near my mother's hut, free to swim in the clear stream that ran through my village, free to roast mealies under the stars and ride the broad backs of slow-moving bulls."

But, as the boy Mandela grew into a young man, he learned to hunger for freedom. "It was only when I began to learn that my boyhood freedom was an illusion, when I discovered as a young man that my freedom had been taken from me, that I began to hunger for it."

Later, as an attorney and ANC leader, he was convicted of "treason" and sentenced to life in prison. In prison, his hunger deepened and he came to a vital, life-changing realization: "Freedom is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me."

Mandela's concept of chains was not limited to the physically imprisoned nor to the Africans:
“It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness... The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.

“When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor.”[262]

Mandela: the Wesley heritage

Another important factor in Mandela's nonviolent, justice-oriented government is the Christian religion. In addition to the pervasive influence of Archbishop Tutu, Mandela's own religious experience is important. When he was a young man, Mandela became a member of the Methodist, or Wesleyan, church through the influence of two amaMfengu brothers, George, and Ben Mbekela.

At that time, Methodist missionaries were working among the amaMfengu, an economically depressed refugee people living in the midst of the established Xhosa tribes. The Mbekela brothers, like many others among the amaMfengu people, were industrious and educated, attributes which had initially attracted Mandela. Later, George was instrumental in helping young Nelson receive an education.[263] In this way, Mandela was placed in the spiritual and intellectual heritage of John and Charles Wesley, founders of the Methodist church and stout-hearted defenders of human freedom and justice.[264]

Gandhi and the new South Africa

Any serious consideration of modern South Africa will also have to take the continuing influence of M. K. Gandhi into consideration. This is a topic deserving fuller treatment, far beyond the scope of the present essay. But the gist of the matter has been stated by Dr. John N. Jonsson in his publication on the subject, Gandhi Alive:

“From the first decade to the last decade of this century, the spirit of Mohandas Gandhi's nonviolent truth-force has come alive in Nelson Mandela's nonviolent negotiations towards a government of National unity in South Africa.”[265]

Ubuntu: the quality of being human

The traditional value, ubuntu, is of great importance in the new South Africa. The interim constitution, under which the 1994 elections were held, contains a unique post-
amble. It is a warning against sacrificing the flourishing of the new country by pursuing strategies of vengeance. The gist of the post-amble is captured in the term *ubuntu*, the traditional African concept implying both “compassion” and “recognition of the humanity of the other.” The post-amble mandates that the *ubuntu* spirit should be maximized in any approach to dealing with the past.[266]

Johannesburg sociolinguist Buntu Mfenyana explains *ubuntu* by separating the root *ntu* from the prefix *ubu*:

“*Ntu* is an ancestor who got human society going. He gave us our way of life as human beings. It is a communal way of life which says that society must be run for the sake of all. This requires cooperation, sharing and charity. There should be no widows or orphans left alone — they all belong to someone. If a man does not have a cow, then give him a cow to milk. There should be no *ohlelekiyo*, or deprived person.

“*Ubu* refers to the abstract. So *ubuntu* is the quality of being human. It is the quality, or behaviour, of *ntu* society, that is sharing, charitableness, cooperation. It is this quality which distinguishes a human creature from an animal or a spirit. When you do something that is not humane then you are being like an animal.”[207]

White settlers in South Africa have been slow to see the true communal values of the native people. Allister Sparks notes that failure on the part of whites, who, “from the beginning saw only those surface manifestations of African culture and the African mind that conflicted with their own concepts of approved social behaviour.” He continues:

“What they failed to see, because they were not disposed to get close enough to do so, was the complexity and subtle texture of traditional African social organization, the restraints on the exercise of chiefly power, the elements of grassroots democracy, the balance between communal, family, and individual rights, and the pervasive spirit of mutual obligation and respect, the spirit of *ubuntu*. ”[269]

It is evidence of the strength of *ubuntu* that it has survived the cataclysmic changes that have occurred since the arrival of Europeans. Sparks states: “The black people of South Africa have undergone a transition more dramatic in its compression of human experience into a short space of time than any other community in history.” He notes that, in spite of the fact that in little more than two centuries the South Africans were “catapulted” from the Iron Age to the Scientific Age, were dispossessed of their traditional lands, and had their families and communities decimated by the social
engineering programs of apartheid, the "imprint of their past is still upon them."[269]

Apartheid wreaked great damage upon the two primary contexts of *ubuntu*, the family and the community. Displacement was followed by forced life in "homelands," virtual schools for crime and human failure. But, this socially weakened situation notwithstanding, *ubuntu* has remained a cultural bulwark.

"Traditional African culture has powerful resources that have enabled black South Africans to survive the ravages of apartheid. The still pervasive spirit of *ubuntu* provides unity in shared adversity."[270]

**Crossing the bitter-almond hedge**

African communalism is not antithetical to Christian theology and ethics. Black theology is noticeably replacing missionary theology in South Africa and in the process is drawing heavily on African traditions. It particularly stresses "the ancient religious concept of *ubuntu*, the unity of humanity and God, and the oneness of the community."[271]

Contact with black theology has in turn had a dramatic impact on certain white South African theologians. For example, in the early 1960s South African churches in South Africa aligned with the World Council of Churches began distancing themselves from Prime Minister Hendrick Frensch Verwoerd's rigid, inhuman, apartheid government. In reaction, the Dutch Reformed Church officially reaffirmed its theological basis for supporting the government policy.

At that time Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé, a rising star in conservative circles, was the moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod. His response to this action by his church was probably the last thing anyone would have ever predicted. He came to the astonishing conclusion that it was not enough simply to be a conscience-stricken member of the privileged class, and crossed the "bitter-almond hedge" to learn with the Africans. Subsequently, he became the "most implacable foe of apartheid that Afrikanerdom has produced, and an important contributor to the theology of liberation." He and a few theologians like him have played pivotal roles in helping white churches to see the evils of apartheid.[272]

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* In 1660 Jan van Riebeeck, leader of the first white settlement in South Africa, planted a bitter almond hedge to keep Khoikhoi cattle herders out. The term is often used to indicate mental, social, political and other barriers separating the races.
In relation to Christian ethics, R. Neville Richardson declares that *ubuntu* could provide a greatly needed corrective to Western self-centered individualism by reminding us of Christian essentials. He asks: "Do we not have here the sounding board for a new resonance in the frail, hollow Christian cry 'love one another'?"[273]

The recent history of South Africa clearly shows that the communal value of *ubuntu* has played a vital role in dealing with that nation’s criminal past of apartheid. I am persuaded that *ubuntu* could similarly provide valuable guidance for America in overcoming that stubborn obstacle to racial justice, slavery’s legacy of alienation and guilt.

Finally, in the process, ubuntu might well find its place alongside *ahimsa, agape* and *satyagraha* in the working philosophy of nonviolence.
CHAPTER IX
CONCLUSION

The rising generation

The ultimate focus of this study is America's unfinished agenda in racial justice. It would therefore be incomplete without an authentic representation from the rising generation, the persons who will bear the burden and the hope of that agenda. For that reason a report entitled "The Civil Rights Movement," by 12-year old Aya Rodríguez/Izumi, has been selected for the conclusion of this essay. This report was written for her sixth-grade Social Studies-Language Arts class at the New Life Academy in Okinawa.

Aya, the daughter of artists José Rodríguez of New York City and Noriko Izumi of Shuri, Okinawa, has a multicultural legacy. It stems from the samurai Ryukyuan and the Japanese peoples through her mother, and from the African, Spanish and Taino peoples through her father. Aya also has personal cross-cultural experience. Because her parents have had ongoing artistic and family involvements in New York City's Harlem and in Okinawa, she has lived and attended school in both places. They now reside in Shuri and Aya will presently enter junior high school at the New Life Academy.

Aya's report

Aya's paper was selected for the following reasons. First, it is a seriously researched report on her subject. It is based on such authoritative sources as Flip Schulke's Martin Luther King, Jr., A Documentary, and internet downloads from King Estate, Atlanta, including "King's Biography" by Clayborn Carson. Also, it is an imaginative document which is both reliably informative about the past and wittily hopeful about what is going to happen next.

The following is a reproduction of Aya's report, exactly as she wrote it:
The Civil Rights Movement
May 11, 1998

Aya Rodriquez/Izumi

"I'm home!" Carie yelled from the living room. She was so excited, it was a three day weekend.

"Your snack is on the kitchen table, I have to go to a meeting, sorry. I'll be home by five o'clock," her mom said as she ran out the door. Carie went into the kitchen, got her snack an flopped on the couch. She picked up the remote and started to channel surf when something caught her eye. It was the news. Carie usually never watched the news. But this time she did. It was about Martin Luther King day.

"So that's why we have a three day weekend," Carie said.

"Hello, and welcome to Springfield evening news, today we have a very special show for you all. We're going to show you how to build a house out of old credit cards."

"Oh, joy," Carie said sarcastically.

"But first we will have an interview with a few very important people, who helped the Civil Rights Movement get along, after these messages from our sponsors."

Well, it was Thursday afternoon and she had nothing better to do, so she continued to watch the program.

"We're back with Springfield evening news, and our first guest. He gave his life to the Civil Rights Movement, here is Martin Luther King, Jr."

A bright light filled the room. When the normal colors appeared, a man was sitting in one of the chairs.

"Hello Mr. King."

"Please, call me Martin."

"O.K. Thank you for joining us all the way from Heaven."

"Oh, my pleasure."

"Martin, tell me something, were you at any time scared of what you did?"

"Sometimes, but I knew that God was with me and how it would change the world."

"Tell me, what kind of things did you do?"

"Well, I led marches. One of them, back in 1963, was the march on Birmingham. I was invited to Birmingham as the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and was invited by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights to..."
engage in a protest for justice in Birmingham. During the march the firemen turned firehoses and police dogs on us. Later that year there was the March on Washington, 250,000 people attended the March." I also gave speeches such as the I Have a Dream speech which I gave during the March on Washington at the Lincoln Memorial. Then in 1962 I met with J.F.K."

"He met J.F.K.," Carie exclaimed.

"Yes, you have also won a Nobel Peace Prize."

"Yes, that was in 1964, December tenth to be exact. I also helped the law about voting that President Johnson signed in 1964 on August 6."

"I also went to jail. I went to jail for the March on Birmingham and for my beliefs."

"He did all that in one lifetime?" Carie said. Carie was obviously spell bound by not the show, but by the man on the show.

"But I didn't do it alone. It took many people to make this change. But everyone can make a change as long as they try and believe in it."

Carie thought, "maybe I can change this rule about homework." She was excited already.

"Martin, at your funeral literally thousands of people showed up to pay their respects, and on your tombstone the words 'free at last, free at last, thank God all mighty, I'm free at last' were inscribed."

"Yes, those are the words from an old slave song."

"And now you have a day of your very own celebrating your birthday. I would say you have led a very successful life."

"Thank you."

"We will be right back after these words from our sponsors."

Carie waited impatiently for the commercials to end and the show to start again.

"We are back. We will have to say good-bye to Martin but our next guest will be here shortly. Good-bye Martin and thank you."

"You are very welcome." And as instantly as he came he disappeared.

"Woah!" Carie stared at the television wide eyed.

"Our next guest contributed a lot to the Civil Rights Movement. Please welcome Rosa Parks. Rosa, may I call you Rosa?"

"Yes, please do."

"Rosa, would you be kind enough to share your story with us?"

"I would be happy to. Well, it was a hot day and I was waiting for the bus after a long hard day of work. My feet were sore by the time the bus came. The bus was
nearly empty so I thought it was no harm if I sat in the front of the bus. (Back then blacks could only sit in the back and had to give up their seat if a white person wanted it.) The bus started to fill up more every stop. In a little while the bus was full. At the next stop a white man got on and told me to move, he didn’t even ask nicely. I didn’t say a word and just kept on sitting in my seat. Our mistreatment was just not right, and I was tired of it. The man told me again, but I did not and would not move. The bus came to a hard stop, then the driver turned around and then started telling me to move too! He said ‘if you don’t give the man your seat I have no other choice but to call the police. Now Move!’ He kept on saying that over and over again, but did I move? No, I did not move. Why? Because I work as hard as any other person and I deserved that seat just as much as the next person. Well, that bus driver stormed out of the bus and ran to the nearest telephone booth. I could not hear him but I could see he was quite angry as he talked to the police. Everyone started to stare at me and whisper to each other. But I just kept my head up high. After a few minutes passed you could hear the sirens and then the policemen came and they took me out of the bus and to the police station. As we drove away from the bus you could see the white man take my seat. Well, I went to jail for a little while but I got out, and with the help of the great Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. may he rest in peace we started the bus boycott which went on for 381 days. Since blacks were 75% of the bus business they would eventually let us sit wherever we want, whenever we want. And it worked, only a few black people rode the busses, and now we can sit anywhere on the bus. But this happened on more than one occasion. I didn’t want to pay my fare and then go around the back door, because many times, even if you did that, you might not get on the bus at all. They’d probably shut the door, drive off, and leave you standing there. I was also the secretary of the NAACP.”

“I’m very happy and thank you. Well, that is all the time we have for these interviews. Thank you Rosa and we’ll be back with credit houses in a moment.”

Carie turned off the television. In a little while her mom came home.

“Hi honey, so what did you do while I was gone?” Her mom asked.

“Oh, watch television.” Carie said.

“Oh, learn anything new?” Carie’s mom asked.

“Boy, was she in for something new!”

The End

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Notes: Introduction

[1]. King, Martin Luther, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? (New York: Bantam, 1968), 43.


[5]. Ibid.
Notes: Chapter I


[7]. Ibid., 8.

[8]. Ibid., 16 - 17.


[10]. Ibid.


[12]. Ibid.


[14]. Ibid., 12.


[16]. Ibid., 83

[17]. Bennett, op. cit., 17.

[18]. Ibid., 29.

[19]. Morehouse (Bulletin, 1997, Morehouse College, 830 Westview Drive, Atlanta, Ga. 30314.)


[21]. Ref. note 19.

- 88 -
[22]. Bennett, op. cit., 24-27.

[23]. Ibid., 25.


[25]. Ibid., 27.


[27]. Bennett, loc. cit.

[28]. Ibid.

[29]. Ansbro, loc. cit.

[30]. King, Where Do We Go From Here?, 82.

[31]. Ibid., 80.

[32]. Ibid., 80 - 81.

[33]. Ibid., 81 - 82.

[34]. Ibid., 82.


[36]. King, Where Do We Go From Here?, 88.
[37]. Ibid.

[38]. Ibid., 84.

[39]. Ibid., 85.

[40]. Ibid. It is noteworthy that Sumain Fernando demonstrates the European version of the same kind of rationalization in *Race and Culture in Society* (New York: Routledge, 1988): "From the very first encounters the Europeans established the principle of their superiority over the black race. They affirmed it by a profound contempt for the inferior race. And soon enough, using their force, they reduced the Africans to slavery, justifying this by the right of the strong, asserting their moral supremacy. The missionary cause had become a racist cause."

[41]. Ibid., 82 - 83.
Notes: Chapter II

[42]. Bennett, 33-39, *passim*.


[47]. *Ibid*.


[49]. *Ibid*.

[50]. *Ibid.*, 48


[53]. *Ibid*.

[54]. Note on the King children: *Newsweek*, (Tokyo edition, April 6, 1998), 38-48: Yolanda has remained single, as have her three younger siblings, and as have the four children of Malcolm X. "It's the heavy burden of the legacy," explains Dexter King. Yolanda is an actress who works with Attalah Shabazz, Malcolm X's daughter. Martin Luther, III is Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Martin Luther King, Jr. organized in 1957 and served as its first president. Bernice King is a minister and Dexter King is Director of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center in Atlanta.

[56]. Ibid., 79

[57]. Ibid., 80.

[58]. Ibid.

[59]. Ibid., 88.


[61]. Ibid., 67.

[62]. Ibid.

[63]. Ibid.
Notes: Chapter III


[69]. Paraphrase of Isaiah 40:4-5.

[70]. Ansbro, *op. cit.*, 166.


[72]. Bennett, *op. cit.*, 37.


[77]. Ansbro, *op. cit.*, 163.


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[81]. Isaiah 1:14-17.

[82]. Amos 5:25; Jeremiah 7:22-23.


[84]. Ansbro, *op. cit.*, 165.


[86]. King, Martin Luther, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), 76.


[89]. Address Given By Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky on April, 19, 1961. Mimeographed copy taken from a tape recording. Original in the SBTS Library, copy in possession of the present writer.

[90]. Bennett, *op. cit.*, 158.

[91]. Schulke, Flip, Martin Luther King, Jr., *A Documentary* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976, Martin Luther King, Jr.,”I Have a Dream”), 218; Isaiah 40:3-5.

of Rabbi Heschel, is Abba Hillel Silver Professor of Jewish Studies at Case Reserve University in Cleveland. That university's library has large holdings on the life and work of Rabbi Abraham Heschel. Also, the Shalom Center (7318 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia 19119) has an extensive collection of publications and study materials, including the Heschel and King relationship.

[93]. King, *Where Do We Go From Here?,* 7-8.

[94]. Heschel, *op. cit.,* 5.


Notes: Chapter IV

[99]. King, *Where Do We Go From Here?*, 42.

[100]. *Ibid*.


[103]. *Ibid*.


[107]. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 32.


[109]. Ansbro, *loc. cit*.

[110]. *Ibid*.

[111]. *Ibid*.

[112]. *Ibid*.

[113]. *Ibid*.

Notes: Chapter V

[115]. King, Why We Can't Wait, 37; Where Do We Go From Here, 43.

[116]. Quoted in Ansbro, op. cit., 3.


[119]. Ibid., 8-12, passim.

[120]. Ibid., 9.

[121]. Ibid.

[122]. Ibid.


[124]. Ibid.

[125]. Ibid., 22-23.

[126]. Ibid.

[127]. Fischer, op. cit., 12.


[129]. Ibid.

[130]. Ibid., 34.


[137]. Ansbro, *op. cit.*, 8.


currently Professor of World Religions and Director of African Studies at Baylor University, Waco, Texas.


[151]. Fischer, *op. cit.*, 35.


[154]. Fischer, *loc. cit.*


[160]. Ibid.
[161]. Ibid., 64.

[162]. Fischer, loc. cit.


[164]. Ibid., 122.

[165]. Fischer, loc. cit.

[166]. Schulke, loc. cit. King wrote in Stride Toward Freedom, 91, that he first encountered Thoreau’s idea of noncooperation with an evil system when he was a student at Morehouse.


[168]. Gandhi, Autobiography, 137.


[170]. Ibid., 658.


[172]. Ibid.

[173]. Fischer, op. cit., 41.

Note on Gandhi’s family: Wife: Kasturbai (he called her Kasturba), married in 1883 when both he and she were 13, died in protective WWII detention at Aga Khan’s palace on February 22, 1944.

Four sons: Halilal, born 1888, converted to Islam; Manilal, born 1892, became a leader of the resistance to Prime Minister Daniel Malan’s persecution of colored persons in South Africa; Ramdas, born 1897, became a businessman; Devadas, born 1900, served as his father’s secretary.
[174]. Ibid., 50.


[176]. Bennett, *op. cit.*, 3.

[177]. Ibid., 4.

[178]. Ibid.

[179]. Ibid.
Notes: Chapter VI

[180]. Schulke, op. cit., 121.

[181]. Ibid., 218.

[182]. Ibid., 219.

[183]. The story of Gandhi's change from factory-made Khadi to Indian homespun Khadi for his dhoti is told in: Gandhi, Autobiography, 493.


[186]. Ibid., 71.

[187]. Ibid., 70.

[188]. Ibid.

[189]. Ibid.

[190]. Ibid., 72.

[191]. Ibid.

[192]. Ibid., 132 - 134, passim.

[193]. Ibid., 136.

[194]. Ibid., 136

[195]. Ibid., 136-140, passim, 206.


[200]. Bennett, *op. cit.*, 74.


[202]. Franklin and Meier, *op. cit.*, 68.


[205]. Franklin and Meier, *op. cit.*, 73, 221 - 30, *passim*.


[207]. Bennett, *op. cit.*, 104.


Notes: Chapter VII


[216]. Ibid.

[217]. Franklin and Meier, op. cit., 290.

[218]. Bennett, op. cit., 207.

[219]. Ibid.

[220]. Ibid.

[221]. Franklin and Meier, loc. cit.

[222]. Bennett, loc. cit.

[223]. King, Where Do We Go From Here?, 95.

[224]. Ibid., 140.

[225]. Ibid., 141

[226]. Ibid., 118.

[227]. Ibid.

[228]. Ibid., 97.

[229]. Newsweek, (Tokyo edition, April 6, 1998), 40, reports: "To his family, King was murdered because he was no longer the King of the March on Washington, simply asking for WHITES ONLY signs to come down. He had grown radical: the King of 1968 was trying to build an interracial coalition to end the war in Vietnam and force major economic reforms... They charge that the government, probably with Lyndon Johnson's knowledge, feared King might topple the 'power structure' and had him..."
assassinated.” King's field lieutenant and march organizer, Hosea Williams, told Newsweek that King “was about to wreck this country and they realized they couldn't stop him, and they killed him.”

[230]. King, Where Do We Go From Here?, 121 - 123.


[234]. Ibid., ix.

[235]. Ibid., 86.

[236]. Miller, op. cit., 331.


[238]. Ibid., 86.

[239]. Rivers, loc. cit.

[240]. Stampp, op. cit., 26: “The Federal Constitution had placed no obstacles in the way of its expansion, for it accepted slavery as a local institution to be protected or prohibited according to the wishes of individual states.”

In addition, it is also noteworthy that Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson were all slave owners.


[242]. Cash, op. cit., 63.
[243]. Asmal, Asmal and Roberts, *op. cit.* (Foreword by President Nelson Mandela).
Notes: Chapter VIII

[244]. Asmal et. al, *op. cit.*, 18


[248]. *Sojourners* (March-April, 1998, filed from Cape Town by Joyce Holiday), 44.


[253]. *Cape Times* (February 24, 1998), 5.


[256]. *Sojourners* (March-April, 1998, filed from Cape Town by Joyce Holiday), 44.


[260]. Ibid.

[261]. Ibid., 751

[262]. Ibid.


[264]. See Randall, *Liberation in Black and White*, 12 -13, on the role of the Wesley brothers in preventing the introduction of slavery into Georgia during the administration of General James Oglethorpe, founder and governor of the colony from 1733 -1743.


[266]. Asmal et. al., *op. cit.*., 21.


[269]. Ibid.

[270]. Ibid., 224.

[271]. Ibid., 285.


[273]. Hulley et. al., *op. cit.*, 140.

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