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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13794
Folder ID Number: 13794-005

Folder Title:
Martin Luther King Proclamation 1/17/92 [OA 7566]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	2	5

(Ferguson/Simon)
January 16, 1992
Draft 4
KING

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: M.L. KING BIRTHDAY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1992
10:00 A.M.**

It is an honor to stand at this glorious "living memorial," here in Martin Luther King's hometown, just steps from his birthplace and from his pulpit, to talk about the promise of his life. We all know of his eloquence; his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" and his "I Have a Dream" speech moved us with their hope and love, and with the abiding faith Dr. King had in the American people. ~~As many of you know, I had the privilege.~~

What you have done, Mrs. King, with this glorious "living memorial," serves to remind us of the courage with which Martin Luther King overcame hatred and mistrust. It is too easy for us, almost a quarter of a century after his death, to forget the loneliness of his struggle. Think of the early days of the civil rights movement, when organizers of the Montgomery bus boycott called him as their leader. In his book "Stride Toward Freedom" he wrote of sitting alone at the kitchen table late one night during that lonely time, and saying aloud: "I've come to the point where I can't face it alone." But almost at once his fear and uncertainty began to melt away; an "inner voice," as he called it, spoke to him. It told him to continue to do what he knew to be right.

And because he could express what he knew with such eloquence and passion, the American people awakened to the

promise of civil rights for all. Today, thanks in large part to Martin Luther King's work, we have a battery of laws dedicated to a colorblind America; we have a renewed commitment from government to enforce the basic rights of its citizens. Perhaps most marvelous of all, we've seen a change in the hearts of many Americans, who set aside old prejudices and stereotypes to embrace the values Dr. King beseeched us to embrace, the values of tolerance and decency and mutual respect.

At the heart of these values, as Dr. King knew, is the family. I am struck, Mrs. King, by how often in our conversations together you have stressed the importance of family life. Certainly Barbara and I feel it in our own lives. Think of the problems that afflict so many American communities today -- homelessness, crime, drugs. Yet these are not so much isolated problems as symptoms of one great problem, the decline of family. Far too many of our children pass through life without goals larger than themselves, without a sense of their own worth or the worth of others, without the values that only the love of a parent or a grandparent can instill.

This problem, this terrible diminution of the importance of family, is not just somebody else's problem; it demands something from each of us. Martin Luther King taught us that each of us is called to serve, no matter your personal circumstances. And each of us can serve. On the last night of his life, before that terrible day in Memphis, Dr. King told a story that I think of often. He told of visiting the Holy Land when he was a young

man, with you, Mrs. King. He happened to travel the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, the same road where the Good Samaritan stopped, as the Bible teaches, to help a stranger. The road was rocky and full of blind curves, and as he traveled Dr. King realized that the reason others failed to stop to help the stranger was that they were afraid. Others had asked themselves, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" But the Good Samaritan asked himself, "If I don't stop to help this man, what will happen to him?"

The joy of personal service is that it is open to all. The other day I met with Magic Johnson in the Oval Office, and I was impressed with the way this man has dedicated himself to others - not only those with HIV but in educating those who are at risk. He's been very honest and forthright about the issue. He's out there right now teaching kids that lifestyle's important. He's admitted he made some terrible mistakes. But now he wants to get the message out. I want to use this bully pulpit of the White House for the same purpose. Anyone who visits AIDS clinics, as Barbara and I have, can't help but be struck by the dedication of the countless doctors, nurses, researchers and volunteers who understand the human face of AIDS. When Barbara holds an AIDS baby in her arms, she's trying to express that same message -- the message of compassion and service.

There are other ways to serve. With her literacy program Barbara has tried to impress upon people the importance of reading to kids, to broaden their horizons and expand their young

minds. It's important to remember that one of the first goals of the civil rights movement was as basic as can be -- quality education for all. We have made enormous progress, thanks in large part to Martin Luther King, in removing the legal barriers that blocked progress for minority Americans. But other kinds of barriers remain. The dream of quality education is one of them. It still remains an unfulfilled promise for too many of our children. And the hope of economic opportunity -- equal access to the ladder of American advancement --

Yes, racism and anti-Semitism and blind hatred still exist in our land. As president, I have made a pledge to root out bigotry wherever we find it. Every day, Mrs. King, you and your colleagues here at the King Center train young people that the way to counter hatred and ignorance is peacefully, with non-violence, compassion, love and service to others. It is the continuation of your husband's work, who taught us the difference one man can make in a country dedicated to the ideals of brotherhood. He saw an America that was like the "welcome table" the spiritual speaks of, where all Americans can eat and never be hungry, drink and never be thirsty. With your continuing commitment and help, we will meet these great challenges and make real the dream of Martin Luther King.

Thank you all, and I now I will sign the Martin Luther King Holiday Proclamation.

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King Family
Morehouse Black Club

(Ferguson/Simon)
January 14, 1992
Draft 3
KING

Gov. Miller Mayor Jackson
Rev. Bernice King

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: M.L. KING BIRTHDAY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1992
10:00 A.M.

intro

- Jesse Hill - chm. bd. King Center
Mrs. King
Sec. Sullivan
Rev. Joseph L. Roberts

It is an honor to stand at this glorious "living memorial,"

here in Martin Luther King's hometown, just steps from his birthplace and from his pulpit, to talk about the promise of his

life. We all know of his eloquence; his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" and his "I Have a Dream" speech seared our souls with their anguish, and with their hope and love. Dr. King

articulated the deeper yearnings of his countrymen better than any American since Lincoln.

24 years

Even so, it is hard for us, almost a quarter of a century after his death, to comprehend fully the hostility that

confronted Martin Luther King during his life, or the courage with which he surmounted hatred and mistrust. We might forget, too, the loneliness of his struggle. Think of the early days of

the civil rights movement, when organizers of the Montgomery bus boycott called him as their leader. In his book "Stride Toward

Freedom" he wrote of sitting alone at the kitchen table late one night during that lonely time, and saying aloud: "I've come to

the point where I can't face it alone." But almost at once his fear and uncertainty began to melt away; an "inner voice," as he

called it, spoke to him. It told him to continue to do what he knew to be right.

see speeches in file

"Parting The Waters" by Taylor Branch

p. 162

And so he did. America is a different country today -- a better country, because of the faith Martin Luther King had in the American people. Dr. King faced a nation disfigured by a kind of homegrown apartheid that twisted the force of law to segregate some Americans from others, depriving them of even the rudiments of common citizenship. Jim Crow was quite simply un-American, an insult to the American creed, and Dr. King knew it.

But he also knew that if he expressed this truth forcefully, in the passionate language of the Bible and the Declaration of Independence, the American people would come around. And sure enough, in time most of those legal barriers he had labored against came tumbling down. Martin Luther King's era was a tumultuous period for his country. To a large extent he was the architect of the best of what was left when the tumult was through. Today we have a battery of laws dedicated to a colorblind America; we have a renewed commitment from government to enforce the basic rights of its citizens. Perhaps most remarkably of all, we've seen a change in the hearts of many Americans, who set aside old prejudices and stereotypes to embrace the values Dr. King beseeched us to embrace, the values of tolerance and decency and mutual respect.

Unfortunately, we can overstate this spiritual change in our national life, as some are prone to do. Racism and bigotry, blind hatred and intolerance still exist in our land. Even Martin Luther King's memory has been perverted in their service.

A recent popular music video intersperses footage of Dr. King's

NYTimes
1-11-92
Public Enemy

nonviolent struggle for equal rights with scenes of paramilitary assaults and the assassination of public officials.

There is no place in America for this kind of vulgar and outrageous exploitation. I salute the work of you, Mrs. King, and of all your colleagues at the King Center in training young people in Dr. King's principles of nonviolence and peaceful change. As president I have dedicated myself and my administration to rooting out discrimination wherever it exists. We will continue to do so. But the struggle for civil rights cannot stop there. Yes, most of the legal barriers that blocked Dr. King and other black Americans for hundreds of years have been swept away. But other intractable barriers remain. Even now, many Americans aren't given a fair chance to make good on their dreams.

In his landmark desegregation decision, Brown versus Board of Education, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote: "The road to progress for the victims of past discrimination is equal and excellent education." Can any of us -- within government or without -- say that we have truly cleared this road to progress? Education forms character, disciplines the mind, and bestows the virtues of citizenship. It provides the child with the skills necessary to gain access to the ladder of economic advancement. Yet this kind of "equal and excellent" education is today beyond the reach of most of our children.

That is why I have made the top-to-bottom transformation of American education the priority of this administration. Yes, it's

a question of economic competitiveness in the global economy, as others have said. But it's something more, too. Martin Luther King believed that civil rights is at bottom about equal opportunity in this, the land of opportunity. That means educational excellence must be an essential goal of all who care about civil rights. As Dr. King himself wrote: "... education is more than ever the passport to decent economic positions."

How do we get there? Here's one way. Last spring, we

launched our comprehensive America 2000 strategy for changing America's schools. This was our first goal: By the year 2000, every American child must start school ready to learn.

Accordingly, in the budget I will submit later this month, I will ask Congress to fully fund Head Start for the first time in the program's history. Fully funded, Head Start will get at disadvantaged children early and bring them up to the educational starting line, right along with advantaged kids who haven't faced some of the same difficulties. By preparing them for the often traumatic transition to elementary school, it will provide them with an equal shot at receiving an excellent education.

There are other ways. We must establish and maintain the highest educational standards. Let our kids know what we expect from them, and you can be sure they won't let us down. This is a task not only for schools but for parents, too. Dr. King spoke often of the need to set high standards and stick to them. "We must constantly stimulate our youth to rise above the stagnant level of mediocrity," he wrote, "and seek to achieve excellence

MLK King
"Where do
we go
from here"
p. 225

Am. 2000
BOOK
p. 9

King
speech
on 50th
ann.
of Urban League

in their various fields of endeavor." Just as important, we must ensure that our schools are places where educational excellence can be achieved. We must liberate every last one of them from the scourge of violence and drugs.

But educational excellence, by itself, isn't enough. Our children must emerge from school into a vibrant and growing economy. Economic growth, the steady expansion of economic opportunity for all our citizens, is no less a civil rights issue than education. It "makes real the promises of democracy." A truly free marketplace -- free of needless government ~~dictates~~ ^{mandates} and high taxes, free of bureaucrats vainly trying to pick winners and losers -- doesn't recognize skin color or gender or ethnic origin. It rewards diligence, initiative, perseverance, good will. And as Dr. King knew, these are qualities not restricted to a few but liberally granted by God to all his children.

There is an unfortunate irony here. The civil rights movement began with the basics -- quality education and economic opportunity. These are the two essential keys to the American dream of strong families and wholesome communities. Yet for all our success in conquering the legal barriers to equal rights -- though more work is needed here as well -- these basic hopes remain unfulfilled. Our schools fail our children. Our economy doesn't provide sufficient opportunity for all our citizens.

This is the unfinished business of civil rights. Our country is not yet the "welcome table" Dr. King dreamed it could be, where all Americans can eat and never be hungry, drink and

I have a
dream
speech
8-28-63

see
lyrics
in file

never be thirsty. But with your continuing commitment and help,
we will meet these great challenges and make real the dream of
Martin Luther King.

*Thank you all, and now I will

sign the Martin Luther King Holiday
proclamation.*



THE KING CENTER

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**** Fax Cover Sheet ****

Date: 1/13/92
To: Bob Simon
Company/Organization: The White House
City/State: _____
Fax #: 202-456-6218 Phone #: _____
From: Steve Klein
Notes: From King's book
Where Do We Go From
Here? Chaos or Community

Number of Pages (including cover): 4

APPENDIX: PROGRAMS AND PROSPECTS

Education

American society has emphasized education more than European society. The purpose is to use education to make a break between the occupation of the parents and those of their children. The schools have been the historic routes of social mobility. But when Negroes and others of the under-class now ask that schools play the same function for them, many within and outside the school system answer that the schools cannot do the job. They would impose on the family the whole task of preparing and leading youngsters into educational advance. And this reluctance to engage with the great issue of our day—the full emancipation and equality of Negroes and the poor—comes at a time when education is more than ever the passport to decent economic positions.

Whatever pathology may exist in Negro families is far exceeded by this social pathology in the school system that refuses to accept a responsibility that no one else can bear and then scapegoats Negro families for failing to do the job. The scattered evidence suggesting that family life is important in educational progress provides only partial support for the rationalizations of educators; for family life explains only a small portion of learning difficulties. The

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quote

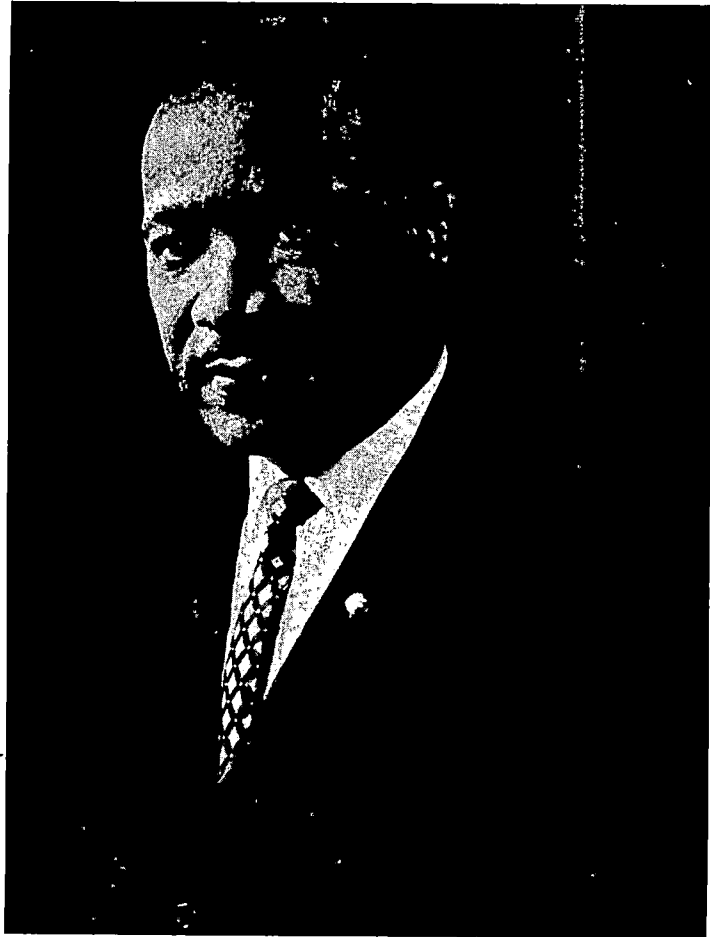
be constructed. Building grants should go to localities—cities and suburbs—which locate schools so as to promote integration. The arbitrary lines of government should not serve to balkanize America into white and black schools and communities.

The location of new school buildings affects the long-term prospects of education. In the short run, schools in ghetto areas must be improved. Authentic efforts to upgrade them must be pursued. But the drive for immediate improvements in segregated schools should not retard progress toward integrated education later. New schools should be planned so as to fit into some aspect of an educational park. Even during this period, while metropolitan districts are being remade by change and growth, partial integration can occur if neighborhood schools participate during part of the school day in joint and meaningful activities. Max Wolff, the father of the educational park idea, has suggested ways of using existing buildings and temporary structures to produce some of the effects of the educational park.

The United States is far from providing each child with as much education as he can use. Our school system still primarily functions as a system of exclusion. For the oldest generation of Negroes the time for effective educational remedies is probably already past; but there is an enormous reservoir of talent among Negro and other poor youth. This society has to develop that talent. The unrealized capacities of many of our youth are an indictment of our society's lack of concern for justice and its proclivity for wasting human resources. As with so much else in this potentially great society, injustice and waste go together and endanger stability.

Employment

Economic expansion cannot alone do the job of improving the employment situation of Negroes. It provides the base for improvement but other things must be constructed upon it, especially if the tragic situation of youth is to be solved. In a booming economy Negro youth are afflicted with unemployment as though in an economic crisis. They are the explosive outsiders of the American expansion.



W4

THE WORDS OF
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SELECTED BY
CORETTA SCOTT KING
"



Newmarket Press
New York

"An individual has not started living until he can rise above the narrow confines of his individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity."

"Every man must decide whether he will walk in the light of creative altruism or the darkness of destructive selfishness. This is the judgment. Life's most persistent and urgent question is, What are you doing for others?"

"Everybody can be great. Because anybody can serve. You don't have to have a college degree to serve. You don't have to make your subject and your verb agree to serve. You don't have to know about Plato and Aristotle to serve. You don't have to know Einstein's theory of relativity to serve. You don't have to know the second theory of thermodynamics in physics to serve. You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love."

"It is one thing to agree that the goal of integration is morally and legally right; it is another thing to commit oneself positively and actively to the ideal of integration—the former is intellectual assent, the latter is actual belief. These are days that demand practices to match professions. This is no day to pay lip service to integration, we must pay *life* service to it."

"Through education we seek to change attitudes; through legislation and court orders we seek to regulate behavior. Through education we seek to change internal feelings (prejudice, hate, etc.); through legislation and court orders we seek to control the external effects of those feelings. Through education we seek to break down the spiritual barriers to integration; through legislation and court orders we seek to break down the physical barriers to integration. One method is not a substitute for the other, but a meaningful and necessary supplement. Anyone who starts out with the conviction that the road to racial justice is only one lane wide will inevitably create a traffic jam and make the journey infinitely longer."

"I often wonder whether or not education is fulfilling its purpose. A great majority of the so-called education people do not think logically and scientifically. Even the press, the classroom, the platform, and the pulpit in many instances do not give us objective and unbiased truths. To save man from the morass of propaganda, in my opinion, is one of the chief aims of education. Education must enable one to sift and weigh evidence, to discern the true from the false, the real from the unreal, and the facts from fiction." ↙

"The function of education, therefore, is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. But education which stops with efficiency may prove the greatest menace to society. The most dangerous criminal may be the man gifted with reason but with no morals.

"We must remember that intelligence is not enough. Intelligence plus character—that is the goal of true education. The complete education gives one not only power of concentration but worthy objectives upon which to concentrate. The broad education will, therefore, transmit to one not only the accumulated knowledge of the race but also the accumulated experience of social living."

"Morals cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. The law cannot make an employer love me, but it can keep him from refusing to hire me because of the color of my skin."

"There comes a time when a moral man can't obey a law which his conscience tells him is unjust. And the important thing is that when he does that, he willingly accepts the penalty—because if he refuses to accept the penalty, then he becomes reckless, and he becomes an anarchist. There were those individuals in every age and generation who were willing to say, 'I will be obedient to a higher law.' It is important to see that there are times when a manmade law is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe."

"There is nothing that expressed massive civil disobedience any more than the Boston Tea Party, and yet we give this to our young people and our students as a part of the great tradition of our nation. So I think we are in good company when we break unjust laws, and I think those who are willing to do it and accept the penalty are those who are part of the saving of the nation."

"Our nettlesome task is to discover how to organize our strength into compelling power so that government cannot elude our demands. We must develop, from strength, a situation in which the government finds it wise and prudent to collaborate with us. It would be the height of naïveté to wait passively until the administration had somehow been infused with such blessings of good will that it implored us for our programs. The first course is grounded in mature realism; the other is childish fantasy."

"The Negro cannot win . . . if he is willing to sell the future of his children for his personal and immediate comfort and safety."

"We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote."

"One of the most basic weapons in the fight for social justice will be the cumulative political power of the Negro. I can foresee the Negro vote becoming consistently the decisive vote in national elections."

"The hope of the world is still in dedicated minorities. The trailblazers in human, academic, scientific, and religious freedom have always been in the minority. That creative minority of whites absolutely committed to civil rights can make it clear to the larger society that vacillation and procrastination on the question of racial justice can no longer be tolerated. It will take such a small committed minority to work unrelentingly to win the uncommitted majority. Such a group may well transform America's greatest dilemma into her most glorious opportunity."

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

"The deep rumbling of discontent that we hear today is the thunder of disinherited masses, rising from dungeons of oppression to the bright hills of freedom, in one majestic chorus the rising masses singing, in the words of our freedom song, 'Ain't gonna let nobody turn us around.' All over the world, like a fever, the freedom movement is spreading in the widest liberation in history. The great masses of people are determined to end the exploitation of their races and land. They are awake and moving toward their goal like a tidal wave. You can hear them rumbling in every village, street, on the docks, in the houses, among the students in the churches and at political meetings.

"These developments should not surprise any student of history. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself. The Bible tells the thrilling story of how Moses stood in Pharaoh's court centuries ago and cried, 'Let my people go.'"

"Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable. Even a superficial look at history reveals that no social advance rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals. Without persistent effort, time itself becomes an ally of the insurgent and primitive forces of irrational emotionalism and social destruction. This is no time for apathy or complacency. This is a time for vigorous and positive action."

ying, "Behold, I make all things

s in this newness and this magni-
we will bring about a new day of
d that day the morning stars will
shout for joy. God bless you.

I See the Promised Land

This was Dr. King's last, and most apocalyptic, sermon. He delivered it, on the eve of his assassination, at [the Bishop Charles] Mason Temple in Memphis, Tennessee, on 3 April 1968. Mason Temple is the headquarters of the Church of God in Christ, the largest African American pentecostal denomination in the United States.

Thank you very kindly, my friends. As I listened to Ralph Abernathy in his eloquent and generous introduction and then thought about myself, I wondered who he was talking about. It's always good to have your closest friend and associate say something good about you. And Ralph is the best friend that I have in the world.

I'm delighted to see each of you here tonight in spite of a storm warning. You reveal that you are determined to go on anyhow. Something is happening in Memphis, something is happening in our world.

As you know, if I were standing at the beginning of time, with the possibility of general and panoramic view of the whole human history up to now, and the Almighty said to me, "Martin Luther King, which age would you like to live in?"—I would take my mental flight by Egypt through, or rather across the Red Sea, through the wilderness on toward the promised land. And in spite of its magnificence, I wouldn't stop there. I would move on by Greece, and take my mind to Mount Olympus. And I would see Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Euripides and Aristophanes assembled around the Parthenon as they discussed the great and eternal issues of reality.

But I wouldn't stop there. I would go on, even to the great heyday of the Roman Empire. And I would see developments around there, through various emperors and leaders. But I wouldn't stop there. I would even come up to the day of the Renaissance, and get a quick picture of all that the Renaissance did for the cultural and esthetic life of man. But I wouldn't stop there. I would even go by the way that the man for whom I'm named had his habitat. And I would watch Martin Luther as he tacked his ninety-five theses on the door at the church in Wittenberg.

But I wouldn't stop there. I would come on up even to 1863, and watch a vacillating president by the name of Abraham Lincoln finally come to the conclusion that he had to sign the Emancipation Proclama-

tion. But I wouldn't stop there. I would even come up to the early thirties, and see a man grappling with the problems of the bankruptcy of his nation. And come with an eloquent cry that we have nothing to fear but fear itself.

But I wouldn't stop there. Strangely enough, I would turn to the Almighty, and say, "If you allow me to live just a few years in the second half of the twentieth century, I will be happy." Now that's a strange statement to make, because the world is all messed up. The nation is sick. Trouble is in the land. Confusion all around. That's a strange statement. But I know, somehow, that only when it is dark enough, can you see the stars. And I see God working in this period of the twentieth century in a way that men, in some strange way, are responding—something is happening in our world. The masses of people are rising up. And wherever they are assembled today, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; Accra, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee—the cry is always the same—"We want to be free."

And another reason that I'm happy to live in this period is that we have been forced to a point where we're going to have to grapple with the problems that men have been trying to grapple with through history, but the demands didn't force them to do it. Survival demands that we grapple with them. Men, for years now, have been talking about war and peace. But now, no longer can they just talk about it. It is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence in this world; it's nonviolence or nonexistence.

That is where we are today. And also in the human rights revolution, if something isn't done, and in a hurry, to bring the colored peoples of the world out of their long years of poverty, their long years of hurt and neglect, the whole world is doomed. Now, I'm just happy that God has allowed me to live in this period, to see what is unfolding. And I'm happy that he's allowed me to be in Memphis.

I can remember, I can remember when Negroes were just going around as Ralph has said, so often, scratching where they didn't itch, and laughing when they were not tickled. But that day is all over. We mean business now, and we are determined to gain our rightful place in God's world.

And that's all this whole thing is about. We aren't engaged in any negative protest and in any negative arguments with anybody. We are saying that we are determined to be men. We are determined to be people. We are saying that we are God's children. And that we don't have to live like we are forced to live.

Now, what does all of this mean in this great period of history? It means that we've got to stay together. We've got to stay together and maintain unity. You know, whenever Pharaoh wanted to prolong the period of slavery in Egypt, he had a favorite, favorite formula for doing it.

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What was that? He kept the slaves fighting among themselves. But whenever the slaves get together, something happens in Pharaoh's court, and he cannot hold the slaves in slavery. When the slaves get together, that's the beginning of getting out of slavery. Now let us maintain unity.

Secondly, let us keep the issues where they are. The issue is injustice. The issue is the refusal of Memphis to be fair and honest in its dealings with its public servants, who happen to be sanitation workers. Now, we've got to keep attention on that. That's always the problem with a little violence. You know what happened the other day, and the press dealt only with the window-breaking. I read the articles. They very seldom got around to mentioning the fact that one thousand, three hundred sanitation workers were on strike, and that Memphis is not being fair to them, and that Mayor Loeb is in dire need of a doctor. They didn't get around to that.

Now we're going to march again, and we've got to march again, in order to put the issue where it is supposed to be. And force everybody to see that there are thirteen hundred of God's children here suffering, sometimes going hungry, going through dark and dreary nights wondering how this thing is going to come out. That's the issue. And we've got to say to the nation: we know it's coming out. For when people get caught up with that which is right and they are willing to sacrifice for it, there is no stopping point short of victory.

We aren't going to let any mace stop us. We are masters in our nonviolent movement in disarming police forces; they don't know what to do. I've seen them so often. I remember in Birmingham, Alabama, when we were in that majestic struggle there we would move out of the 16th Street Baptist Church day after day; by the hundreds we would move out. And Bull Connor would tell them to send the dogs forth and they did come; but we just went before the dogs singing, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me round." Bull Connor next would say, "Turn the fire hoses on." And as I said to you⁴ the other night, Bull Connor didn't know history. He knew a kind of physics that somehow didn't relate to the transphysics that we knew about. And that was the fact that there was a certain kind of fire that no water could put out. And we went before the fire hoses; we had known water. If we were Baptist or some other denomination, we had been immersed. If we were Methodist, and some others, we had been sprinkled, but we knew water.

That couldn't stop us. And we just went on before the dogs and we would look at them; and we'd go on before the water hoses and we would look at it, and we'd just go on singing "Over my head I see freedom in the air." And then we would be thrown in the paddy wagons, and sometimes we were stacked in there like sardines in a can. And they would throw us in, and old Bull would say, "Take them off," and they did; and we would just go in the paddy wagon singing, "We Shall Over-

come." And every now and then we'd get in the jail, and we'd see the jailers looking through the windows being moved by our prayers, and being moved by our words and our songs. And there was a power there which Bull Connor couldn't adjust to; and so we ended up transforming Bull into a steer, and we won our struggle in Birmingham.

Now we've got to go on to Memphis just like that. I call upon you to be with us Monday. Now about injunctions: We have an injunction and we're going into court tomorrow morning to fight this illegal, unconstitutional injunction. All we say to America is, "Be true to what you said on paper." If I lived in China or even Russia, or any totalitarian country, maybe I could understand the denial of certain basic First Amendment privileges, because they hadn't committed themselves to that over there. But somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech. Somewhere I read of the freedom of the press. Somewhere I read that the greatness of America is the right to protest for right. And so just as I say, we aren't going to let any injunction turn us around. We are going on.

We need all of you. And you know what's beautiful to me, is to see all of these ministers of the Gospel. It's a marvelous picture. Who is it that is supposed to articulate the longings and aspirations of the people more than the preacher? Somehow the preacher must be an Amos, and say, "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Somehow, the preacher must say with Jesus, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to deal with the problems of the poor."

And I want to commend the preachers, under the leadership of these noble men: James Lawson, one who has been in this struggle for many years; he's been to jail for struggling; but he's still going on, fighting for the rights of his people. Rev. Ralph Jackson, Billy Kiles; I could just go right on down the list, but time will not permit. But I want to thank them all. And I want you to thank them, because so often, preachers aren't concerned about anything but themselves. And I'm always happy to see a relevant ministry.

It's alright to talk about "long white robes over yonder," in all of its symbolism. But ultimately people want some suits and dresses and shoes to wear down here. It's alright to talk about "streets flowing with milk and honey," but God has commanded us to be concerned about the slums down here, and his children who can't eat three square meals a day. It's alright to talk about the new Jerusalem, but one day, God's preacher must talk about the New York, the new Atlanta, the new Philadelphia, the new Los Angeles, the new Memphis, Tennessee. This is what we have to do.

Now the other thing we'll have to do is this: Always anchor our external direct action with the power of economic withdrawal. Now, we are poor people, individually, we are poor when you compare us with white

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society in America. We are poor. Never stop and forget that collectively, that means all of us together, collectively we are richer than all the nations in the world, with the exception of nine. Did you ever think about that? After you leave the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, West Germany, France, and I could name the others, the Negro collectively is richer than most nations of the world. We have an annual income of more than thirty billion dollars a year, which is more than all of the exports of the United States, and more than the national budget of Canada. Did you know that? That's power right there, if we know how to pool it.

We don't have to argue with anybody. We don't have to curse and go around acting bad with our words. We don't need any bricks and bottles, we don't need any Molotov cocktails, we just need to go around to these stores, and to these massive industries in our country, and say, "God sent us by here, to say to you that you're not treating his children right. And we've come by here to ask you to make the first item on your agenda—fair treatment, where God's children are concerned. Now, if you are not prepared to do that, we do have an agenda that we must follow. And our agenda calls for withdrawing economic support from you."

And so, as a result of this, we are asking you tonight, to go out and tell your neighbors not to buy Coca-Cola in Memphis. Go by and tell them not to buy Sealtest milk. Tell them not to buy—what is the other bread?—Wonder Bread. And what is the other bread company, Jesse? Tell them not to buy Hart's bread. As Jesse Jackson has said, up to now, only the garbage men have been feeling pain; now we must kind of redistribute the pain. We are choosing these companies because they haven't been fair in their hiring policies; and we are choosing them because they can begin the process of saying, they are going to support the needs and the rights of these men who are on strike. And then they can move on downtown and tell Mayor Loeb to do what is right.

But not only that, we've got to strengthen black institutions. I call upon you to take your money out of the banks downtown and deposit your money in Tri-State Bank—we want a "bank-in" movement in Memphis. So go by the savings and loan association. I'm not asking you something that we don't do ourselves at SCLC. Judge Hooks and others will tell you that we have an account here in the savings and loan association from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We're just telling you to follow what we're doing. Put your money there. You have six or seven black insurance companies in Memphis. Take out your insurance there. We want to have an "insurance-in."

Now these are some practical things we can do. We begin the process of building a greater economic base. And at the same time, we are putting pressure where it really hurts. I ask you to follow through here.

Now, let me say as I move to my conclusion that we've got to give our-

selves to this struggle until the end. Nothing would be more tragic than to stop at this point, in Memphis. We've got to see it through. And when we have our march, you need to be there. Be concerned about your brother. You may not be on strike. But either we go up together, or we go down together.

Let us develop a kind of dangerous unselfishness. One day a man came to Jesus; and he wanted to raise some questions about some vital matters in life. At points, he wanted to trick Jesus, and show him that he knew a little more than Jesus knew, and through this, throw him off base. Now that question could have easily ended up in a philosophical and theological debate. But Jesus immediately pulled that question from mid-air, and placed it on a dangerous curve between Jerusalem and Jericho. And he talked about a certain man, who fell among thieves. You remember that a Levite and a priest passed by on the other side. They didn't stop to help him. And finally a man of another race came by. He got down from his beast, decided not to be compassionate by proxy. But with him, administered first aid, and helped the man in need. Jesus ended up saying, this was the good man, this was the great man, because he had the capacity to project the "I" into the "thou," and to be concerned about his brother. Now you know, we use our imagination a great deal to try to determine why the priest and the Levite didn't stop. At times we say they were busy going to church meetings—an ecclesiastical gathering—and they had to get on down to Jerusalem so they wouldn't be late for their meeting. At other times we would speculate that there was a religious law that "One who was engaged in religious ceremonials was not to touch a human body twenty-four hours before the ceremony." And every now and then we begin to wonder whether maybe they were not going down to Jerusalem, or down to Jericho, rather to organize a "Jericho Road Improvement Association." That's a possibility. Maybe they felt that it was better to deal with the problem from the casual root, rather than to get bogged down with an individual effort.

But I'm going to tell you what my imagination tells me. It's possible that these men were afraid. You see, the Jericho road is a dangerous road. I remember when Mrs. King and I were first in Jerusalem. We rented a car and drove from Jerusalem down to Jericho. And as soon as we got on that road, I said to my wife, "I can see why Jesus used this as a setting for his parable." It's a winding, meandering road. It's really conducive for ambushing. You start out in Jerusalem, which is about 1200 miles, or rather 1200 feet above sea level. And by the time you get down to Jericho, fifteen or twenty minutes later, you're about 2200 feet below sea level. That's a dangerous road. In the days of Jesus it came to be known as the "Bloody Pass." And you know, it's possible that the priest and the Levite looked over that man on the ground and wondered if the robbers were still around. Or it's possible that they felt that the man on the ground was merely faking. And he was acting like he had been

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robbed and hurt, in order to seize them over there, lure them there for
 quick and easy seizure. And so the first question that the Levite asked
 was, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" But then the
 Good Samaritan came by. And he reversed the question: "If I do not
 stop to help this man, what will happen to him?"

That's the question before you tonight. Not, "If I stop to help the
 sanitation workers, what will happen to all of the hours that I usually
 spend in my office every day and every week as a pastor?" The question
 is not, "If I stop to help this man in need, what will happen to me?" "If I
 do not stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to them?"
 That's the question.

Let us rise up tonight with a greater readiness. Let us stand with a
 greater determination. And let us move on in these powerful days, these
 days of challenge to make America what it ought to be. We have an op-
 portunity to make America a better nation. And I want to thank God,
 once more, for allowing me to be here with you.

You know, several years ago, I was in New York City autographing the
 first book that I had written. And while sitting there autographing
 books, a demented black woman came up. The only question I heard
 from her was, "Are you Martin Luther King?"

And I was looking down writing, and I said yes. And the next minute I
 felt something beating on my chest. Before I knew it I had been stabbed
 by this demented woman. I was rushed to Harlem Hospital. It was a
 dark Saturday afternoon. And that blade had gone through, and the X-
 rays revealed that the tip of the blade was on the edge of my aorta, the
 main artery. And once that's punctured, you drown in your own
 blood—that's the end of you.

It came out in the *New York Times* the next morning, that if I had
 sneezed, I would have died. Well, about four days later, they allowed
 me, after the operation, after my chest had been opened, and the blade
 had been taken out, to move around in the wheel chair in the hospital.
 They allowed me to read some of the mail that came in, and from all
 over the states, and the world, kind letters came in. I read a few, but one
 of them I will never forget. I had received one from the President and
 the Vice-President. I've forgotten what those telegrams said. I'd re-
 ceived a visit and a letter from the Governor of New York, but I've for-
 gotten what the letter said. But there was another letter that came from
 a little girl, a young girl who was a student at the White Plains High
 School. And I looked at that letter, and I'll never forget it. It said sim-
 ply, "Dear Dr. King: I am a ninth-grade student at the White Plains
 High School." She said, "While it should not matter, I would like to
 mention that I am a white girl. I read in the paper of your misfortune,
 and of your suffering. And I read that if you had sneezed, you would
 have died. And I'm simply writing you to say that I'm so happy that you
 didn't sneeze."

And I want to say tonight, I want to say that I am happy that I didn't sneeze. Because if I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around here in 1960, when students all over the South started sitting-in at lunch counters. And I knew that as they were sitting in, they were really standing up for the best in the American dream. And taking the whole nation back to those great walls of democracy which were dug deep by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around in 1962, when Negroes in Albany, Georgia, decided to straighten their backs up. And whenever men and women straighten their backs up, they are going somewhere, because a man can't ride your back unless it is bent. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been here in 1963, when the black people of Birmingham, Alabama, aroused the conscience of this nation, and brought into being the Civil Rights Bill. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have had a chance later that year, in August, to try to tell American about a dream that I had had. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been down in Selma, Alabama, to see the great movement there. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been in Memphis to see a community rally around those brothers and sisters who are suffering. I'm so happy that I didn't sneeze.

And they were telling me, now it doesn't matter now. It really doesn't matter what happens now. I left Atlanta this morning, and as we got started on the plane, there were six of us, the pilot said over the public address system, "We are sorry for the delay, but we have Dr. Martin Luther King on the plane. And to be sure that all of the bags were checked, and to be sure that nothing would be wrong with the plane, we had to check out everything carefully. And we've had the plane protected and guarded all night."

And then I got into Memphis. And some began to say the threats, or talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick white brothers?

Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people will get to the promised land. And I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

Flip Schulke, ed., *Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Documentary . . . Montgomery to Memphis* (New York and London: Norton, 1976), 222-23. The "Judge Hooks" referred to on page 283 is the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Hooks, then a local justice in Memphis, now executive director of the NAACP.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

(1929 - 1968)

Atlanta, Georgia

Martin Luther King, Jr., won world-wide acclaim for his use of nonviolence as an instrument for social change in America. He was the youngest winner in history of the Nobel Peace Prize (1968). Among the biographies on King are What Manner of Man (1968), by Lerone Bennett, and Davis L. Lewis' Martin Luther King, Jr., A Critical Biography (1978).

[1026] There is nothing more tragic than to find an individual bogged down in the length of life, devoid of breadth.

The Measure of the Man [1959]

[1027] . . . everything that we see is a shadow cast by that which we do not see.

The Measure of the Man [1959]

[1028] Nothing pains some people more than having to think.

Strength to Love [1963]

[1029] A nation or civilization that continues to produce soft-minded men purchases its own spiritual death on the installment plan.

Strength to Love [1963]

[1030] We are not makers of history. We are made by history.

Strength to Love [1963]

[1031] Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill-will.

Letter from a Birmingham Jail [January 16, 1963]

[1032] We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people.

Letter from a Birmingham Jail [January 16, 1963]

[1033] We must use time creatively . . . and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right.

Letter from a Birmingham Jail [January 16, 1963]

[1034] Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever.

Letter from a Birmingham Jail [January 16, 1963]

[1035] War is a poor chisel to carve out tomorrows.

Television documentary [December, 1965]

City/State: Atlanta

Event: _____

Date: _____

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE CONTACT SHEET

Name	Office	Phone Number
Presidential Advance Office		202/456-7565
Presidential Advance Fax Number		202/456-2820
Patty Conrad	WH Advance	202 456-7565
Mel Likens	"	"
Kelley Gannon	"	"
Beth	Army Ground Forces Band	404 752-2717
CPT John Clanton	Army Ground Forces Band	404 752-3963
SSG JOHN THROWER	Color Guard	404 752-3850
CSM Julius Small, Jr. Post CSM		404-752-2460
Sgt F.C.S.O Gary Hammer		404-349-0432
Robert Simon	WH Speechwriting	202-456-7750
Lloyd DAVIS	MLK Jr. Federal Hol. Day Comm.	404-730-3158
ELRAY BOURN	USSS	404/331-6111
LARRY SPERL	USSS / PPD	202-395-4112
George Davis	USSS / A+L.	404/331-6111
Keith Collins	USSS / A+L.	404-331-6111
Bob Steele	WH COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY	202-395-4040
Sgt. Angelo B. Willoughby	Fulton County Sheriff Dept.	404-730-5116
Fred C. Bew	King Center Security	587-24-5637
PATRICK JONES	KING HOLIDAY COMMISSION	404/730-3155
Bernard A. James	King Black Lag. & Sec.	404/584-1956
Lee WAGNER	USSS - ATLANTA	404/331-6111
Alan Minton	King Holiday Commission	404 / 730-3155
Rick Kimberly	VA Advance	404/364-9848

the complete exclusion of negroes from jury service, the constitutional provision . . . would be but a vain and illusory requirement."¹⁵

The same reasoning is applicable to these facts.

Circumstances or chance may well dictate that no persons in a certain class will serve on a particular jury or during some particular period. But it taxes our credulity to say that mere chance resulted in there being no members of this class among the over six thousand jurors called in the past 25 years. The result bespeaks discrimination, whether or not it was a conscious decision on the part of any individual jury commissioner. The judgment of conviction must be reversed.

To say that this decision revives the rejected contention that the Fourteenth Amendment requires proportional representation of all the component ethnic groups of the community on every jury¹⁶ ignores the facts. The petitioner did not seek proportional representation, nor did he claim a right to have persons of Mexican descent sit on the particular juries which he faced.¹⁷ His only claim is the right to be indicted and tried by juries from which all members of his class are not systematically excluded—juries selected from among all qualified persons regardless of national origin or descent. To this much, he is entitled by the Constitution.

Reversed.

¹⁵ 294 U. S., at 598.

¹⁶ See *Akins v. Texas*, 325 U. S. 398, 403; *Cassell v. Texas*, 339 U. S. 282, 286–287.

¹⁷ See *Akins v. Texas*, *supra*, note 16, at 403.

BROWN ET AL. v. BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF TOPEKA ET AL.

NO. 1. APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF KANSAS.*

Argued December 9, 1952.—Reargued December 8, 1953.—
Decided May 17, 1954.

Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment—even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors of white and Negro schools may be equal. Pp. 486–496.

(a) The history of the Fourteenth Amendment is inconclusive as to its intended effect on public education. Pp. 489–490.

(b) The question presented in these cases must be determined, not on the basis of conditions existing when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, but in the light of the full development of public education and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Pp. 492–493.

(c) Where a State has undertaken to provide an opportunity for an education in its public schools, such an opportunity is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. P. 493.

(d) Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal. Pp. 493–494.

(e) The “separate but equal” doctrine adopted in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537, has no place in the field of public education. P. 495.

*Together with No. 2, *Briggs et al. v. Elliott et al.*, on appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina, argued December 9–10, 1952, reargued December 7–8, 1953; No. 4, *Davis et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, et al.*, on appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, argued December 10, 1952, reargued December 7–8, 1953; and No. 10, *Gebhart et al. v. Belton et al.*, on certiorari to the Supreme Court of Delaware, argued December 11, 1952, reargued December 9, 1953.

(f) The cases are restored to the docket for further argument on specified questions relating to the forms of the decrees. Pp. 495-496.

Robert L. Carter argued the cause for appellants in No. 1 on the original argument and on the reargument. *Thurgood Marshall* argued the cause for appellants in No. 2 on the original argument and *Spottswood W. Robinson, III*, for appellants in No. 4 on the original argument, and both argued the causes for appellants in Nos. 2 and 4 on the reargument. *Louis L. Redding* and *Jack Greenberg* argued the cause for respondents in No. 10 on the original argument and *Jack Greenberg* and *Thurgood Marshall* on the reargument.

On the briefs were *Robert L. Carter*, *Thurgood Marshall*, *Spottswood W. Robinson, III*, *Louis L. Redding*, *Jack Greenberg*, *George E. C. Hayes*, *William R. Ming, Jr.*, *Constance Baker Motley*, *James M. Nabrit, Jr.*, *Charles S. Scott*, *Frank D. Reeves*, *Harold R. Boulware* and *Oliver W. Hill* for appellants in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 and respondents in No. 10; *George M. Johnson* for appellants in Nos. 1, 2 and 4; and *Loren Miller* for appellants in Nos. 2 and 4. *Arthur D. Shores* and *A. T. Walden* were on the Statement as to Jurisdiction and a brief opposing a Motion to Dismiss or Affirm in No. 2.

Paul E. Wilson, Assistant Attorney General of Kansas, argued the cause for appellees in No. 1 on the original argument and on the reargument. With him on the briefs was *Harold R. Fatzer*, Attorney General.

John W. Davis argued the cause for appellees in No. 2 on the original argument and for appellees in Nos. 2 and 4 on the reargument. With him on the briefs in No. 2 were *T. C. Callison*, Attorney General of South Carolina, *Robert McC. Figg, Jr.*, *S. E. Rogers*, *William R. Meagher* and *Taggart Whipple*.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., Attorney General of Virginia, and *T. Justin Moore* argued the cause for appellees in No. 4 on the original argument and for appellees in Nos. 2 and 4 on the reargument. On the briefs in No. 4 were *J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.*, Attorney General, and *Henry T. Wickham*, Special Assistant Attorney General, for the State of Virginia, and *T. Justin Moore*, *Archibald G. Robertson*, *John W. Riely* and *T. Justin Moore, Jr.* for the Prince Edward County School Authorities, appellees.

H. Albert Young, Attorney General of Delaware, argued the cause for petitioners in No. 10 on the original argument and on the reargument. With him on the briefs was *Louis J. Finger*, Special Deputy Attorney General.

By special leave of Court, *Assistant Attorney General Rankin* argued the cause for the United States on the reargument, as *amicus curiae*, urging reversal in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 and affirmance in No. 10. With him on the brief were *Attorney General Brownell*, *Philip Elman*, *Leon Ulman*, *William J. Lamont* and *M. Magdalena Schoch*. *James P. McGranery*, then Attorney General, and *Philip Elman* filed a brief for the United States on the original argument, as *amicus curiae*, urging reversal in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 and affirmance in No. 10.

Briefs of *amici curiae* supporting appellants in No. 1 were filed by *Shad Polier*, *Will Maslow* and *Joseph B. Robison* for the American Jewish Congress; by *Edwin J. Lukas*, *Arnold Forster*, *Arthur Garfield Hays*, *Frank E. Karelsen*, *Leonard Haas*, *Saburo Kido* and *Theodore Leskes* for the American Civil Liberties Union et al.; and by *John Ligtenberg* and *Selma M. Borchardt* for the American Federation of Teachers. Briefs of *amici curiae* supporting appellants in No. 1 and respondents in No. 10 were filed by *Arthur J. Goldberg* and *Thomas E. Harris*.

for the Congress of Industrial Organizations and by *Phineas Indritz* for the American Veterans Committee, Inc.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.¹

¹ In the Kansas case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of elementary school age residing in Topeka. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas to enjoin enforcement of a Kansas statute which permits, but does not require, cities of more than 15,000 population to maintain separate school facilities for Negro and white students. Kan. Gen. Stat. § 72-1724 (1949). Pursuant to that authority, the Topeka Board of Education elected to establish segregated elementary schools. Other public schools in the community, however, are operated on a nonsegregated basis. The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U. S. C. §§ 2281 and 2284, found that segregation in public education has a detrimental effect upon Negro children, but denied relief on the ground that the Negro and white schools were substantially equal with respect to buildings, transportation, curricula, and educational qualifications of teachers. 98 F. Supp. 797. The case is here on direct appeal under 28 U. S. C. § 1253.

In the South Carolina case, *Briggs v. Elliott*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in Clarendon County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. S. C. Const., Art. XI, § 7; S. C. Code § 5377 (1942). The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U. S. C. §§ 2281 and 2284, denied the requested relief. The court found that the Negro schools were inferior to the white schools and ordered the defendants to begin immediately to equalize the facilities. But the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admis-

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance,

sion to the white schools during the equalization program. 98 F. Supp. 529. This Court vacated the District Court's judgment and remanded the case for the purpose of obtaining the court's views on a report filed by the defendants concerning the progress made in the equalization program. 342 U. S. 350. On remand, the District Court found that substantial equality had been achieved except for buildings and that the defendants were proceeding to rectify this inequality as well. 103 F. Supp. 920. The case is again here on direct appeal under 28 U. S. C. § 1253.

In the Virginia case, *Davis v. County School Board*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of high school age residing in Prince Edward County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. Va. Const., § 140; Va. Code § 22-221 (1950). The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U. S. C. §§ 2281 and 2284, denied the requested relief. The court found the Negro school inferior in physical plant, curricula, and transportation, and ordered the defendants forthwith to provide substantially equal curricula and transportation and to "proceed with all reasonable diligence and dispatch to remove" the inequality in physical plant. But, as in the South Carolina case, the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. 103 F. Supp. 337. The case is here on direct appeal under 28 U. S. C. § 1253.

In the Delaware case, *Gebhart v. Belton*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in New Castle County. They brought this action in the Delaware Court of Chancery to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. Del. Const., Art. X, § 2; Del. Rev. Code § 2631 (1935). The Chancellor gave judgment for the plaintiffs and ordered their immediate admission to schools previously attended only by white children, on the ground that the Negro schools were inferior with respect to teacher training, pupil-teacher ratio, extracurricular activities, physical plant, and time and distance in-

they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction.² Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.³

involved in travel. 87 A. 2d 862. The Chancellor also found that segregation itself results in an inferior education for Negro children (see note 10, *infra*), but did not rest his decision on that ground. *Id.*, at 865. The Chancellor's decree was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Delaware, which intimated, however, that the defendants might be able to obtain a modification of the decree after equalization of the Negro and white schools had been accomplished. 91 A. 2d 137, 152. The defendants, contending only that the Delaware courts had erred in ordering the immediate admission of the Negro plaintiffs to the white schools, applied to this Court for certiorari. The writ was granted, 344 U. S. 891. The plaintiffs, who were successful below, did not submit a cross-petition.

² 344 U. S. 1, 141, 891.

³ 345 U. S. 972. The Attorney General of the United States participated both Terms as *amicus curiae*.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time.⁴ In the South, the movement toward free common schools, sup-

⁴ For a general study of the development of public education prior to the Amendment, see Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (1953), Pts. I, II; Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (1934 ed.), cc. II-XII. School practices current at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment are described in Butts and Cremin, *supra*, at 269-275; Cubberley, *supra*, at 288-339, 408-431; Knight, *Public Education in the South* (1922), cc. VIII, IX. See also H. Ex. Doc. No. 315, 41st Cong., 2d Sess. (1871). Although the demand for free public schools followed substantially the same pattern in both the North and the South, the development in the South did not begin to gain momentum until about 1850, some twenty years after that in the North. The reasons for the somewhat slower development in the South (*e. g.*, the rural character of the South and the different regional attitudes toward state assistance) are well explained in Cubberley, *supra*, at 408-423. In the country as a whole, but particularly in the South, the War

ported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race.⁵ The doctrine of

virtually stopped all progress in public education. *Id.*, at 427-428. The low status of Negro education in all sections of the country, both before and immediately after the War, is described in Beale, *A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (1941), 112-132, 175-195. Compulsory school attendance laws were not generally adopted until after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, and it was not until 1918 that such laws were in force in all the states. *Cubberley, supra*, at 563-565.

⁵ *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, 67-72 (1873); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, 307-308 (1880):

"It ordains that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. What is this but

"separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson, supra*, involving not education but transportation.⁶ American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education.⁷ In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*, 175 U. S. 528, and *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U. S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged.⁸ In more recent cases, all on the graduate school

declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race,—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored,—exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race."

See also *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313, 318 (1880); *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U. S. 339, 344-345 (1880).

⁶ The doctrine apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 206 (1850), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality. Segregation in Boston public schools was eliminated in 1855. Mass. Acts 1855, c. 256. But elsewhere in the North segregation in public education has persisted in some communities until recent years. It is apparent that such segregation has long been a nationwide problem, not merely one of sectional concern.

⁷ See also *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U. S. 45 (1908).

⁸ In the *Cumming* case, Negro taxpayers sought an injunction requiring the defendant school board to discontinue the operation of a high school for white children until the board resumed operation of a high school for Negro children. Similarly, in the *Gong Lum* case, the plaintiff, a child of Chinese descent, contended only that state authorities had misapplied the doctrine by classifying him with Negro children and requiring him to attend a Negro school.

level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U. S. 337; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, 332 U. S. 631; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U. S. 629; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U. S. 637. In none of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors.⁹ Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout

⁹ In the Kansas case, the court below found substantial equality as to all such factors. 98 F. Supp. 797, 798. In the South Carolina case, the court below found that the defendants were proceeding "promptly and in good faith to comply with the court's decree." 103 F. Supp. 920, 921. In the Virginia case, the court below noted that the equalization program was already "afoot and progressing" (103 F. Supp. 337, 341); since then, we have been advised, in the Virginia Attorney General's brief on reargument, that the program has now been completed. In the Delaware case, the court below similarly noted that the state's equalization program was well under way. 91 A. 2d 137, 149.

the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, *supra*, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession."

Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

“Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [re-tard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.”¹⁰

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority.¹¹ Any lan-

¹⁰ A similar finding was made in the Delaware case: “I conclude from the testimony that in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated.” 87 A. 2d 862, 865.

¹¹ K. B. Clark, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personal-ity Development* (Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950); Witmer and Kotinsky, *Personality in the Making* (1952), c. VI; Deutscher and Chein, *The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion*, 26 J. Psychol. 259 (1948); Chein, *What are the Psychological Effects of*

guage in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹²

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term.¹³ The Attorney General

Segregation Under Conditions of Equal Facilities?, 3 Int. J. Opinion and Attitude Res. 229 (1949); Brameld, *Educational Costs, in Discrimination and National Welfare* (MacIver, ed., 1949), 44–48; Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (1949), 674–681. And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944).

¹² See *Bolling v. Sharpe*, *post*, p. 497, concerning the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

¹³ “4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment

“(a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the

of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as *amici curiae* upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.¹⁴

It is so ordered.

limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

“(b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?”

“5. On the assumption on which questions 4 (a) and (b) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4 (b),

“(a) should this Court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;

“(b) if so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;

“(c) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;

“(d) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases, and if so what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?”

¹⁴ See Rule 42, Revised Rules of this Court (effective July 1, 1954).

BOLLING ET AL. v. SHARPE ET AL.

CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT.

No. 8. Argued December 10–11, 1952.—Reargued December 8–9,
1953.—Decided May 17, 1954.

Racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial to Negro children of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. Pp. 498–500.

(a) Though the Fifth Amendment does not contain an equal protection clause, as does the Fourteenth Amendment which applies only to the States, the concepts of equal protection and due process are not mutually exclusive. P. 499.

(b) Discrimination may be so unjustifiable as to be violative of due process. P. 499.

(c) Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective, and thus it imposes on Negro children of the District of Columbia a burden that constitutes an arbitrary deprivation of their liberty in violation of the Due Process Clause. Pp. 499–500.

(d) In view of this Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, ante, p. 483, that the Constitution prohibits the States from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government. P. 500.

(e) The case is restored to the docket for further argument on specified questions relating to the form of the decree. P. 500.

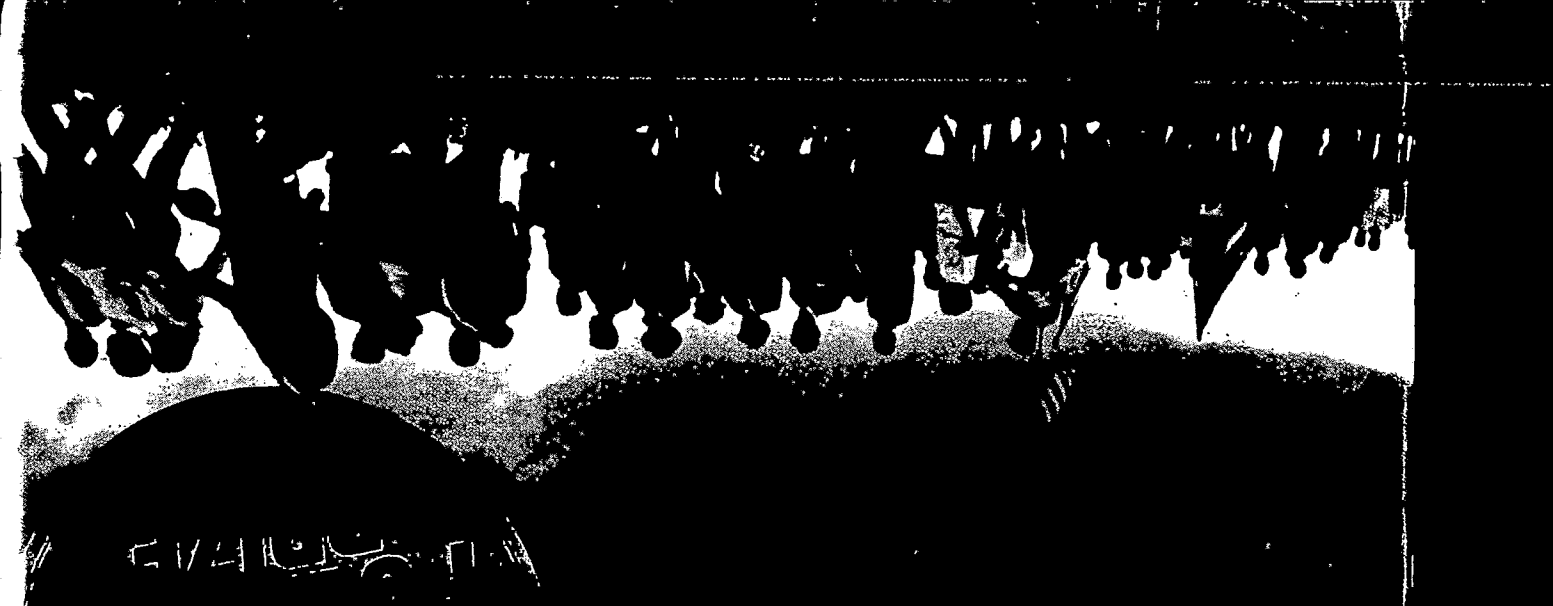
George E. C. Hayes and *James M. Nabrit, Jr.* argued the cause for petitioners on the original argument and on the reargument. With them on the briefs were *George M. Johnson* and *Herbert O. Reid, Jr.* *Charles W. Quick* was also on the brief on the reargument.

Milton D. Korman argued the cause for respondents on the original argument and on the reargument. With him on the briefs were *Vernon E. West*, *Chester H. Gray* and *Lyman J. Umstead*.

very night. Richmond Smiley went off to fetch his little .25-caliber Bar-etta. Bob Williams, another of those who would be a driver for the next few years, was so moved by the night's events that he went back to his studio and worked until morning, arranging what would become his first published choral work, "Lord, I Just Can't Turn Back." His choir at Alabama State performed the composition that week.

King woke up the next morning to a fresh day of pressure. For him, time was fluctuating too rapidly between moments of deep fear and those of high inspiration. Late the next night, his mind was turning over as he lay in bed. Coretta had fallen asleep. The phone rang again. "Listen, nigger," said the caller, "we've taken all we want from you. Before next week you'll be sorry you ever came to Montgomery." King hung up on the angry voice. Hope of sleep receded further. He paced the floor awhile before giving in completely to wakefulness, which drove him to the kitchen to make a pot of coffee. Some of the Negro callers were just curious about his arrest, while others wanted to complain about the car pool. He never knew what to expect. The sensations of the incoming images pressed in upon him—the hatred of the whites, the burdened, offended rectitude of the middle-class Negroes, the raw courage or neediness of the plain folk. He associated the Negro voices with the sea of enraptured black faces he had seen from the pulpit at mass meetings. The pressure of the Negro callers worked against this image, as did the white callers against his memories of Crozer. There was no idea nor imaginable heart large enough to satisfy all of them, or to contain them. The limitless potential of a young King free to think anything, and therefore to be anything, was constricted by realities that paralyzed and defined him. King buried his face in his hands at the kitchen table. He admitted to himself that he was afraid, that he had nothing left, that the people would falter if they looked to him for strength. Then he said as much out loud. He spoke the name of no deity, but his doubts spilled out as a prayer, ending, "I've come to the point where I can't face it alone." As he spoke these words, the fears suddenly began to melt away. He became intensely aware of what he called an "inner voice" telling him to do what he thought was right. Such simplicity worked miracles, bringing a shudder of relief and the courage to face anything. It was for King the first transcendent religious experience of his life. The moment lacked the splendor of a vision or of a voice speaking out loud, as Vernon Johns said they did, but such differences could be ascribed to rhetorical license. For King, the moment awakened and confirmed his belief that the essence of religion was not a grand metaphysical idea but something personal, grounded in experience—something that opened up mysteriously beyond the predicaments of human beings in their frailest and noblest moments

- 149 "feets is tired": The story first appeared publicly in Tom Johnson's profile of Graetz, MA, Jan. 10, 1956, p. 4-A. Also King Jr., *Strength*, p. 125. Part of the quotation later became the title of Raines, *My Soul*, derived from an anecdote described therein on p. 56. It is not clear from any of the earlier sources that King was the preacher to whom Mother Pollard spoke. This is doubtful, as King did not say so himself when telling the story.
- 150 "trade my Southern": MA, Jan. 7, 1956, p. 1.
- 151 Daddy King's sermon: Dexter church program, Jan. 8, 1956, BUK10f10.
- 151 Gray's legal presentation: Yeakey, "Montgomery," pp. 468-70.
- 151 "wear the other down": Minutes of the MIA Executive Board, Jan. 12, 1956, Hazel Gregory Papers, cited in Yeakey, "Montgomery," p. 470.
- 152 anything but a conventional: Hall portrait drawn from Hollis, *Hall*, passim King Jr., *Stride*, p. 176; Reddick, *Crusader*, pp. 163-65; Yeakey, "Montgomery," pp. 444, 489, 590, 595, 614; int. Jo Ann Robinson, Nov. 14, 1983, W. Thomas Johnson, Dec. 29, 1983, and William McDonald, Dec. 29, 1983.
- 152 "who is behind the MIA": Int. W. Thomas Johnson, Dec. 29, 1983.
- 153 nearly \$7,000: MA, Jan. 10, 1956, p. 4-A.
- 153 next Saturday morning: Int. W. Thomas Johnson, Dec. 29, 1983. Also Dexter church program for Jan. 15, 1956, BUK10f10.
- 154 "sitting by": MA, Jan. 18, 1956, p. 1.
- 154 rumor campaign: King Jr., *Stride*, pp. 22-24.
- 154 "tough on us niggers": Int. William McDonald, Dec. 29, 1983.
- 154 protect them from the goon squads: Virginia Durr, CRDPOH.
- 155 like the Durrs: Virginia Durr, A/OH; Durr, *Outside*, pp. 282-84.
- 155 "stays off the buses": Ibid.
- 155 Carl Rowan: King Jr., *Stride*, pp. 124-26. Also Yeakey, "Montgomery," pp. 482-85, and Rowan, *Go South*, pp. 130-32.
- 155 betrayed him behind his back: King Jr., *Stride*, p. 125.
- 156 a Holiness church: Minutes of the MIA Executive Board, Jan. 23, 1956, cited in Yeakey, "Montgomery," p. 484.
- 156 all three names before midnight: Rev. B. F. Mosely, Baptist; Rev. W. K. Kinds, Presbyterian; and Rev. Bishop Rice, Holiness. Ibid.
- 157 "no noticeable increase": MA, Jan. 24, 1956, pp. 1, 2-A.
- 157 "pussyfooted around": Ibid.
- 157 "laughing at white people": Ibid., p. 1.
- 158 "bunions and blisters": Ibid.
- 158 offered his resignation: Minutes of the MIA Executive Board, Jan. 23, 1956, Hazel Gregory Papers, cited in Yeakey, "Montgomery," p. 481.
- 158 "drink my portion": Int. S. S. Seay, Sr., Dec. 20, 1983.
- 158 NAACP lawyers in New York: Gray to Robert L. Carter, Dec. 10, 1955, cited in Yeakey, "Montgomery," p. 502.
- 158 Durr warned Gray: Clifford Durr, CRDPOH.
- 159 ticketed them anyway: King Jr., *Stride*, p. 127. Also int. Rufus Lewis, Richmond Smiley, and Robert Williams.
- 159 seventeen tickets: Int. Jo Ann Robinson, Nov. 14, 1983.
- 159 too dictatorial: Int. Hazel Gregory, Dec. 22, 1983.
- 160 "Get out, King": King Jr., *Stride*, pp. 127-31.
- 161 seven mass meetings: King, "Our Struggle," *Liberation*, April 1956, p. 5.
- 161 corps of drivers: Int. Robert Williams, Elliott Finley, and Richmond Smiley, Jr., Dec. 28, 1983.
- 162 "Listen, nigger": King Jr., *Stride*, p. 134.
- 162 "I've come to the point": Ibid.
- 163 thank Roy Wilkins: King to Wilkins, Jan. 28, 1956, BUK8f14.
- 163 "transferred them stealthily": Int. E. D. Nixon, Dec. 29, 1983, William Beasley, Dec. 20, 1983, and Rufus Lewis, June 8, 1983. Also King Jr., *Stride*, pp. 83-84. Those interviewed are not certain beyond doubt that the emergency transfer into the church occurred that last Sunday in January, but they remember it as shortly after King's first arrest, as early in the boycott, or as about the time of the bombing.
- 164 "Come here, son": King Jr., *Strength*, pp. 125-26.
- 164 raw energy: Ibid.



1954-63
KING YEARS
AMERICAN IN THE
WATERS
THE
PARTING

For Nonviolent Legacy, A Violent Rap Message

By **SETH MYDANS**
Special to The New York Times

PHOENIX, Jan. 10 — Portraying violence against the only state not to honor the nonviolent legacy of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. or civil rights, a rap music video has aroused anger and fascination here.

Depicting the assassination of local politicians, the video, "By the Time I Get to Arizona," by the rap group Public Enemy, has been played repeatedly on news programs here. Discussion of the video has appeared on the front pages and editorial columns of Arizona newspapers and on radio talk shows.

A spokesman for Grant Woods, the Arizona Attorney General, said the state would take no legal action and that the rappers have a right to express their views, no matter how repugnant.

Music as Shock Treatment

The video's debut this week on MTV is the latest instance in which violent words or images in rap music have shocked audiences outside the culture of hip-hop music.

Momentarily, the video has united most Arizonans, who rejected the holiday in a vote last year and remain sharply divided over the issue, which will be on the ballot again in November.

The national holiday, the third Monday in January, will fall on Jan. 20 this year and will be observed in every state except New Hampshire and Arizona. New Hampshire will hold a civil rights holiday, but it is a "floating" day, and the measure creating the holiday does not mention Dr. King.

The Rev. Warren Stewart, a leading black campaigner for adoption of the King holiday, said Public Enemy's violent message "does a disservice to the legacy of Dr. King."

Mr. Stewart's view was echoed by Evan Mecham, the former Governor who canceled a plan for a statewide holiday in 1987 before he was impeached on charges of corruption. "It sounds like someone trying to make money with trash," he said.

A Paramilitary Charge

The video depicts the group's lead singer, Chuck D., leading a paramilitary charge, and ends with an actor portraying an Arizona senator dying from poisoned candy and another portraying an Arizona governor being killed by a car bomb.

These scenes are interspersed with

'Jungle Fever' Brings Threats To Rhode Island Video Stores

PROVIDENCE, R.I., Jan. 10 (AP) — State and Federal investigators are trying to find the source of a letter sent to video stores threatening them with destruction if they stock "Jungle Fever," a Spike Lee movie about an interracial couple.

At least 10 stores in Rhode Island have received copies of the letter this week. The letter, postmarked Providence, says it is from a group called the Rhode Island White Aryan Resistance. It says that if the stores do not cancel their orders of the movie, which is to be released on videotape next week, "our Ku Klux Klan friends will light crosses in front of the video stores."

"We skinheads will, without apology, destroy the stores along with 'Jungle Fever,'" it continues.

The letter is signed "Dennis Holland, president." Checks of Rhode Island motor vehicle records show no one with that name, the police said.

depictions of civil rights marches and re-enactments of the assassination of Dr. King, who was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

The song is part of an album entitled "Apocalypse 91: The Enemy Strikes Black," which is one of five nominees for a Grammy Award for best rap performance by a duo or group. The album was released last November, but its video had its first nationwide showing this week.

Violent rap lyrics most recently drew a shocked reaction in Los Angeles late last year in the song "Death Certificate," by the rapper Ice Cube, which threatens violence against Korean shopkeepers. "Pay respect to the black fist or we'll burn your store right down to a crisp," the song says.

Court Action in Florida

In October 1990, the rap group 2-Live Crew was acquitted of an obscenity charge in a Florida court for music that contained images of violent sexual behavior. But in a separate trial the same month, a video store owner who sold their album was convicted of selling obscene material.

While its video images are strong, the lyrics of the Arizona rap song are vague and generally unremarkable. The strongest lines are:

*Call me the trigger man
Looki-lookin' for the governor.*

Another line goes:

*I'm on the one mission
To get a politician.*

At one point Chuck D. asks:

*What's a smilin' face
When the whole state's racist?*

At a news conference in New York earlier this week Chuck D. defended his composition, saying: "It's a trip into the fantasy world of Public Enemy. You know, the big payback."

It's Chuck D.'s Version

In a telephone interview the group's publicist, Ursula Smith, said: "What Chuck D. was trying to get across was that Martin Luther King did not just die; he was brutally murdered. Public Enemy is saying, 'This is how it looks on, the other foot.'"

She added: "Oliver Stone has his version in 'J.F.K.' Now Chuck D. has added his movie about Martin Luther King. And what his movie is saying is, if Martin Luther King could see himself after his assassination, he would have had a different view."

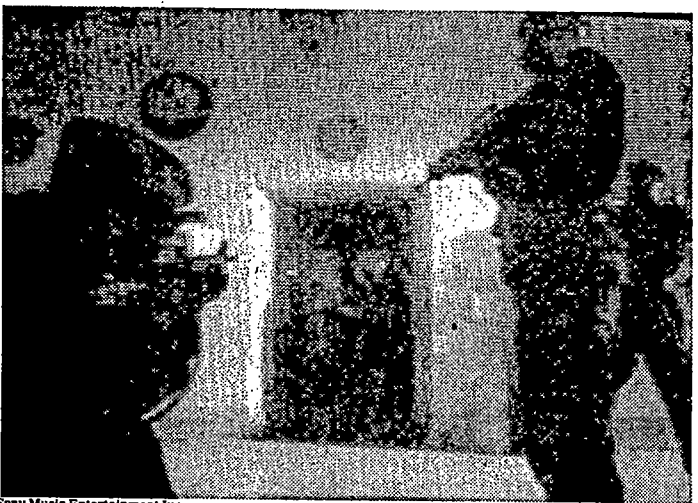
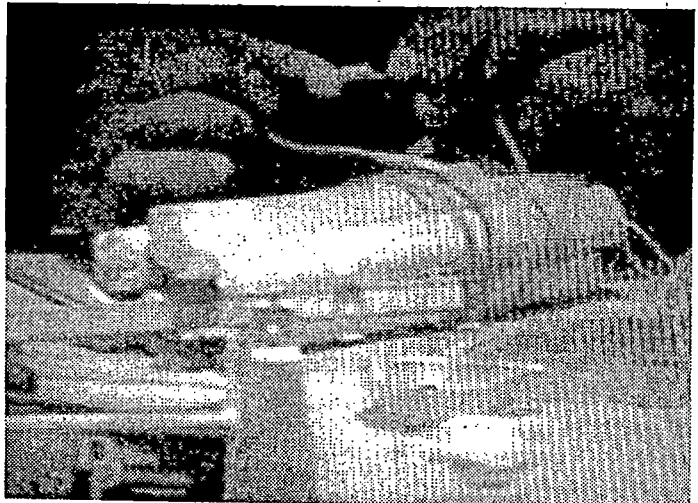
Or, as Chuck D. puts it in his song, referring to today's politicians:

*He try to keep it yesteryear,
The good ol' days,
The same ol' ways
That keep us dyin' —
Yes, you-me-myself, and indeed
What he need is a nosebleed.*

Ms. Smith said that like the director Oliver Stone, Chuck D. was intent on educating audiences that remained largely ignorant of essential moments in history. She said his music is just one part of his "black awareness program" in which he visits high schools to talk about black issues.

Dr. King's widow, Coretta Scott King, said in Atlanta today that she had not seen the video, but added, "We do not subscribe to violence as a way to achieve any social or economic ends; we condemn violence in any form."

Long before Public Enemy's attack, Arizona has felt an economic and politi-



Sony Music Entertainment Inc.

Scenes from the new rap music video "By the Time You Get to Arizona," by the group Public Enemy, which combines violent words or images and has aroused anger and fascination in the state.

cal backlash over its failure to adopt a statewide holiday honoring Dr. King.

The state has lost millions of dollars in canceled conventions, and lost both financially and in prestige last year when the National Football League canceled plans to hold the 1993 Super Bowl in Phoenix.

Moreover, the shock aroused here by Public Enemy's message illustrates the gulf between the harsh world that has nurtured the rappers and the political establishment of this desert state.

Douglas Cole, a spokesman for Gov. Fife Symington, called the video "repugnant" and "extremely misinformed," noting that the Governor favors a King holiday.

And Mayor Paul Johnson of Phoenix, which will honor Dr. King with a city-holiday this month, said, "The violence

in the video is contrary to everything Dr. King lived for and died for."

Mr. Stewart tried to find something positive in the video, saying, "The message is unfortunate, but it put the issue back on the front pages."

But few Arizonans seemed impressed by that notion. John Mathews, a 21-year-old college student, said the video amounted to "the wrong kind of pressure" and might even backfire in its effect on voters.

The Arizona Republic defended the state in an editorial that said: "No matter what view of Dr. King the Arizona public might take, there can be no doubt that his message was always one of peace and nonviolence. However, the message sent by the rappers is one of political bigotry, ignorance and hatred."

Courts Of

WASHINGTON — A fraught with international relations, the Supreme Court will decide whether the government may punish a nation of an extrajurisdictional agent.

The Court will be asked by the Bush Administration to decide whether the Mexican government's drug agent in

Dr. Alvarez, a Mexican bounty hunter, should receive a \$50,000 reward from the United States Drug Enforcement Administration. The drug agent's reward is \$20,000; the other \$30,000 is for the state of Arizona.

The Mexican government objected to the award, claiming that the agent was a diplomat. Dr. Alvarez is participating in the United States' narcotics age. Salazar, a Federal Bureau of Investigation agent, ordered the kidnapping of the agent, returned to Mexico under a treaty between the United States and Mexico.

One Court

The ruling will be the United States' first in the Ninth Circuit. The court applied the same rule to the conviction of the Camarena brothers, Martin and Juan, in the United States.

The Bush Administration's expansive view of federal agents to other countries, and the Court presents a new law and policy. The Court presents a new law and policy. The Court presents a new law and policy. The Court presents a new law and policy.

In 1989, the Supreme Court overturned a California policy, advising the State of California of Investigator's fugitives with a foreign government based on a letter from William P. Barr, Attorney General.

The question brought to this an extradition treaty right not to be

Two P

The Administration's Federal coverage as a defense of an assertion of abduction or brought the court's jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court's question in 1886 and another rivaled from the known as the Keegan case. The Court's decision in neither case involved a foreign country. The Supreme Court's decision in 1886 and another rivaled from the known as the Keegan case. The Court's decision in neither case involved a foreign country.

for justice, it must be faced with the fact that there are four thousand more to be fired. If the oppressors bomb the home of one Negro for his courage, this must be met with the fact that they must be required to bomb the homes of fifty thousand more Negroes. This dynamic unity, this amazing self-respect, this willingness to suffer, and this refusal to hit back will soon cause the oppressor to become ashamed of his own methods. He will be forced to stand before the world and his God splattered with the blood and reeking with the stench of his Negro brother.

There is nothing in all the world greater than freedom. It is worth paying for; it is worth losing a job; it is worth going to jail for. I would rather be a free pauper than a rich slave. I would rather die in abject poverty with my convictions than live in inordinate riches with the lack of self-respect. Once more every Negro must be able to cry out with his forefathers: "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave and go home to my Father and be saved."

If we will join together in doing all of these things we will be able to speed up the coming of the new world—a new world in which men will live together as brothers; as world in which men will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; a world in which men will no longer take necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes; a world in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of all human personality. Then we will be able to sing from the great tradition of our nation:

My Country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died;
Land of the pilgrim's pride;
From every mountain side
Let Freedom ring!

This must become literally true. Freedom must ring from every mountainside. Yes, let it ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado, from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire, from the mighty Alleghenies of Pennsylvania, from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that. Let freedom ring from every mountainside—from every molehill in Mississippi, from Stone Mountain of Georgia, from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee, yes, and from every hill and mountain of Alabama. From every mountainside let freedom ring. When this day finally comes, "The morning stars will sing together and the sons of God will shout for joy."

The Rising Tide of Racial Consciousness

This is an abridged version of a speech that Dr. King gave at the Golden Anniversary Conference of the National Urban League.

What are the factors that have led to this new sense of dignity and self-respect on the part of the Negro? First, we must mention the population shift from rural to urban life. For many years the vast majority of Negroes were isolated on the rural plantation. They had very little contact with the world outside their geographical boundaries. But gradually circumstances made it possible and necessary for them to migrate to new and larger centers—the spread of the automobile, the Great Depression, and the social upheavals of the two world wars. These new contacts led to a broadened outlook. These new levels of communication brought new and different attitudes.

A second factor that has caused the Negroes' new self-consciousness has been rapid educational advance. Over the years there has been a steady decline of crippling illiteracy. At emancipation only five percent of the Negroes were literate; today more than ninety-five percent are literate. Constant streams of Negro students are finishing colleges and universities every year. More than sixteen hundred Negroes have received the highest academic degree bestowed by an American university. These educational advances have naturally broadened his thinking. They have given the Negro not only a larger view of the world, but also a larger view of himself.

A third factor that produced the new sense of pride in the Negro was the gradual improvement of his economic status. While the Negro is still the victim of tragic economic exploitation, significant strides have been made. The annual collective income of the Negro is now approximately eighteen billion dollars, which is more than the national income of Canada and all of the exports of the United States. This augmented purchasing power has been reflected in more adequate housing, improved medical care, and greater educational opportunities. As these changes have taken place they have driven the Negro to change his image of himself.

A fourth factor that brought about the new sense of pride in the Negro was the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. For all men of good will May 17, 1954, came as a joyous day-break to end the long night of enforced segregation. In simple, eloquent, and unequivocal language the court affirmed that "separate but equal" facilities are inherently unequal and that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. This decision brought hope to millions of disinherited Negroes who had formerly dared only to dream of freedom. Like an exit sign that suddenly appeared to one who had walked through a long and desolate corridor, this decision came as a way out of the darkness of segregation. It served to transform the fatigue of despair into the buoyancy of hope. It further enhanced the Negro's sense of dignity.

A fifth factor that has accounted for the new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro has been the awareness that his struggle for freedom is a part of a worldwide struggle. He has watched developments in Asia and Africa with rapt attention. On these vast prodigious continents dwell two-thirds of the world's people. For years they were exploited economically, dominated politically, segregated and humiliated by foreign powers. Thirty years ago there were only three independent countries in the whole of Africa—Liberia, Ethiopia, and South Africa. By 1962, there may be as many as thirty independent nations in Africa. These rapid changes have naturally influenced the thinking of the American Negro. He knows that his struggle for human dignity is not an isolated event. It is a drama being played on the stage of the world with spectators and supporters from every continent.

DETERMINATION AND RESISTANCE

This growing self-respect has inspired the Negro with a new determination to struggle and sacrifice until first-class citizenship becomes a reality. This is at bottom the meaning of what is happening in the South today. Whether it is manifested in nine brave children of Little Rock walking through jeering and hostile mobs, or fifty thousand people of Montgomery, Alabama, substituting tired feet for tired souls and walking the streets of that city for 381 days, or thousands of courageous students electrifying the nation by quietly and nonviolently sitting at lunch counters that have been closed to them because of the color of their skin, the motivation is always the same—the Negro would rather suffer in dignity than accept segregation in humiliation.

This new determination on the part of the Negro has not been welcomed by some segments of the nation's population. In some instances it has collided with tenacious and determined resistance. This resistance has risen at times to ominous proportions. A few states have reacted in open defiance. The legislative halls of the South ring loud with such

words as "interposition" and "nullification." Many public officials are going to the absurd and fanatical extreme of closing the schools rather than to comply with the law of the land. This resistance to the Negroes' aspirations expresses itself in the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the birth of White Citizens Councils.

The resistance to the Negroes' aspirations expresses itself not only in obvious methods of defiance, but in the subtle and skillful method of truth distortion. In an attempt to influence the minds of northern and southern liberals, the segregationists will cleverly disseminate half-truths. Instead of arguing for the validity of segregation and racial inferiority on the basis of the Bible, they set their arguments on cultural and sociological grounds. The Negro is not ready for integration, they say; because of academic and cultural lags on the part of the Negro, the integration of schools will pull the white race down. They are never honest enough to admit that the academic and cultural lags in the Negro community are themselves the result of segregation and discrimination. The best way to solve any problem is to remove the cause. It is both rationally unsound and sociologically untenable to use the tragic effects of segregation as an argument for its continuation.

The great challenge facing the nation today is to solve this pressing problem and bring into full realization the ideals and dreams of our democracy. How we deal with this crucial situation will determine our political health as a nation and our prestige as a leader of the free world. The price that America must pay for the continued oppression of the Negro is the price of its own destruction. The hour is late; the clock of destiny is ticking out. We must act now! It is a trite yet urgently true observation that if America is to remain a first-class nation, it cannot have second-class citizens.

Our primary reason for bringing an end to racial discrimination in America must not be the Communist challenge. Nor must it be merely to appeal to Asian and African peoples. The primary reason for our uprooting racial discrimination from our society is that it is morally wrong. It is a cancerous disease that prevents us from realizing the sublime principles of our Judeo-Christian tradition. Racial discrimination substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship. It relegates persons to the status of things. Whenever racial discrimination exists it is a tragic expression of man's spiritual degeneracy and moral bankruptcy. Therefore, it must be removed not merely because it is diplomatically expedient, but because it is morally compelling.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM

The racial issue that we confront in America is not a sectional but a national problem. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. Therefore, no American can afford to be apathetic about the problem

of racial justice. It is a problem that meets every man at his front door.

There is need for strong and aggressive leadership from the federal government. There is a pressing need for a liberalism in the North that is truly liberal, that firmly believes in integration in its own community as well as in the deep South. There is need for the type of liberal who not only rises up with righteous indignation when a Negro is lynched in Mississippi, but will be equally incensed when a Negro is denied the right to live in his neighborhood, or join his professional association, or secure a top position in his business. This is no day to pay mere lip service to integration; we must pay life service to it.

There are several other agencies and groups that have significant roles to play in this all-important period of our nation's history; the problem of racial injustice is so weighty in detail and broad in extent that it requires the concerted efforts of numerous individuals and institutions to bring about a solution.

THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY

In the final analysis if first-class citizenship is to become a reality for the Negro he must assume the primary responsibility for making it so. The Negro must not be victimized with the delusion of thinking that others should be more concerned than himself about his citizenship rights.

In this period of social change the Negro must work on two fronts. On the one hand we must continue to break down the barrier of segregation. We must resist all forms of racial injustice. This resistance must always be on the highest level of dignity and discipline. It must never degenerate to the crippling level of violence. There is another way—a way as old as the insights of Jesus of Nazareth and as modern as the methods of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a way not for the weak and cowardly but for the strong and courageous. It has been variously called passive resistance, nonviolent resistance, or simply Christian love. It is my great hope that, as the Negro plunges deeper into the quest for freedom, he will plunge deeper into the philosophy of nonviolence. As a race we must work passionately and unrelentingly for first-class citizenship, but we must never use second-class methods to gain it. Our aim must be not to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and understanding. We must never become bitter nor should we succumb to the temptation of using violence in the struggle, for if this happens, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness and our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

I feel that this way of nonviolence is vital because it is the only way to reestablish the broken community. It is the method which seeks to implement the just law by appealing to the conscience of the great decent

majority who through blindness, fear, pride, or irrationality have allowed their consciences to sleep.

The nonviolent resisters can summarize their message in the following simple terms: we will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, and cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but, if our words fail, we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.

I realize that this approach will mean suffering and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. If such is the case the resister must be willing to fill the jail houses of the South. It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive. This is the type of soul force that I am convinced will triumph over the physical force of the oppressor.

This approach to the problem of oppression is not without successful precedent. We have the magnificent example of Gandhi who challenged the might of the British Empire and won independence for his people by using only the weapons of truth, noninjury, courage, and soul force. Today we have the example of thousands of Negro students in the South who have courageously challenged the principalities of segregation. These young students have taken the deep groans and the passionate yearnings of the Negro people and filtered them in their own souls and fashioned them in a creative protest which is an epic known all over our nation. For the last few months they have moved in a uniquely meaningful orbit imparting light and heat to distant satellites. Through their nonviolent direct action they have been able to open hundreds of formerly segregated lunch counters in almost eighty cities. It is no overstatement to characterize these events as historic. Never before in the United States has so large a body of students spread a struggle over so great an area in pursuit of a goal of human dignity and freedom. I am convinced that future historians will have to record this student movement as one of the greatest epics of our heritage.

Let me mention another front on which we must work that is equally significant. The Negro must make a vigorous effort to improve his personal standards. The only answer that we can give to those who through blindness and fear would question our readiness and capability is that our lagging standards exist because of the legacy of slavery and segregation, inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship, and not because of an inherent inferiority. The fact that so many Negroes have made lasting and significant contributions to the cultural life of Amer-

ica in spite of these crippling restrictions is sufficient to refute all of the myths and half-truths disseminated by the segregationist.

Yet we cannot ignore the fact that our standards do often fall short. One of the sure signs of maturity is the ability to rise to the point of self-criticism. We have been affected by our years of economic deprivation and social isolation. Some Negroes have become cynical and disillusioned. Some have so conditioned themselves to the system of segregation that they have lost that creative something called *initiative*. So many have used their oppression as an excuse for mediocrity. Many of us live above our means, spend money on nonessentials and frivolities, and fail to give to serious causes, organizations, and educational institutions that so desperately need funds. Our crime rate is far too high.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION

Therefore there is a pressing need for the Negro to develop a positive program through which these standards can be improved. After we have analyzed the sociological and psychological causes of these problems, we must seek to develop a constructive program to solve them. We must constantly stimulate our youth to rise above the stagnant level of mediocrity and seek to achieve excellence in their various fields of endeavor. Doors are opening now that were not open in the past, and the great challenge facing minority groups is to be ready to enter these doors as they open. No greater tragedy could befall us at this hour but that of allowing new opportunities to emerge without the concomitant preparedness to meet them.

We must make it clear to our young people that this is an age in which they will be forced to compete with people of all races and nationalities. We cannot aim merely to be good Negro teachers, good Negro doctors, or good Negro skilled laborers. We must set out to do a good job irrespective of race. We must seek to do our life's work so well that nobody could do it better. The Negro who seeks to be merely a good Negro, whatever he is, has already flunked his matriculation examination for entrance into the university of integration.

This then must be our present program: nonviolent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, even when this means going to jail; and bold, constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation. The nonviolent struggle, if conducted with the dignity and courage already shown by the sit-in students of the South, will in itself help end the demoralization; but a new frontal assault on the poverty, disease, and ignorance of a people too long deprived of the God-given rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will make the victory more certain.

We must work assiduously and with determined boldness to remove from the body politic this cancerous disease of discrimination which is

preventing our democratic and Christian health from being realized. Then and only then will we be able to bring into full realization the dream of our American democracy—a dream yet unfulfilled. A dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men do not argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character; a dream of a place where all our gifts and resources are held not for ourselves alone but as instruments of service for the rest of humanity; the dream of a country where every man will respect the dignity and worth of all human personality, and men will dare to live together as brothers—that is the dream. Whenever it is fulfilled we will emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glowing daybreak of freedom and justice for all of God's children.

WELCOME TABLE
(Spiritual)

1. I'm gonna sit at the welcome table
I'm gonna sit at the welcome table, one of these days, hallelujah
I'm gonna sit at the welcome table,
Gonna sit at the welcome table, one of these days.

2. I'm gonna eat and never be hungry
I'm gonna eat and never be hungry, one of these days, hallelujah
I'm gonna eat and never be hungry
Gonna eat and never be hungry, one of these days.

3. I'm gonna drink and never be thirsty
I'm gonna drink and never be thirsty, one of these days, hallelujah
I'm gonna drink and never be thirsty
Gonna drink and never be thirsty, one of these days.

4. (first verse repeated)

-- Traditional --

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James H. Spencer

full concert with our Hebraic-Christian traditions, the law of morality and the Constitution of our nation. The absence of justice and progress in Birmingham demands that we make a moral witness to give our community a chance to survive. We demonstrate our faith that we believe that the beloved community can come to Birmingham. We appeal to the

citizenry of Birmingham, Negro and white, to join us in this witness for decency, morality, self-respect and human dignity. Your individual and corporate support can hasten the day of "liberty and justice for all." This is Birmingham's moment of truth in which every citizen can play his part in her larger destiny...

LETTER FROM A BIRMINGHAM JAIL (1963)

In the spring of 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. was hauled off to jail in the aftermath of the Birmingham confrontation with Public Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor and municipal authorities. Beatings, hosings, and the unleashing of vicious dogs could not deter thousands of demonstrating Negroes from risking serious injury, even death, in peaceful parades into the heart of downtown Birmingham. When King was criticized by a group of white clergymen who blamed him for precipitating the violence, he penned a subdued, but passionate letter of reply to his colleagues, smuggling it out on toilet tissue, the margins of newspapers, indeed any scrap of paper available to him. Excerpts of the letter indicate more than just extreme despair and anxiety; they offer eloquent testimony to the flaming moral concern for oppressed humanity which was King's legacy to his fellow Americans.

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say "wait."

But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that "Funtown" is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored," when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs.," when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodyness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion



Martin Luther King, Jr., calmly faces his arraignment in Birmingham Jail, after arrest by "Bull" Connor.

to God's will precipitated the evil act of the Crucifixion?

The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

Before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries, our foreparents labored in this country without wages; they made cotton "king," and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality, they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

A DIGEST OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is subdivided into 11 titles, as follows:

<i>Title I</i>	<i>Voting</i>
<i>Title II</i>	<i>Public accommodations</i>
<i>Title III</i>	<i>Public facilities</i>
<i>Title IV</i>	<i>Public schools</i>
<i>Title V</i>	<i>Civil Rights Commission</i>
<i>Title VI</i>	<i>Federal aid</i>
<i>Title VII</i>	<i>Employment</i>
<i>Title VIII</i>	<i>Statistics</i>
<i>Title IX</i>	<i>Courts</i>
<i>Title X</i>	<i>Conciliatory services</i>
<i>Title XI</i>	<i>Miscellaneous</i>

Title I (voting) prohibits registrars to apply different standards for Negro and white voting applicants, and prevents registrars from disqualifying applicants due to trivial mistakes made on their forms. It also establishes written literacy tests (except for the blind), and provides that an applicant be given a copy of the questions and his answers, should he desire to have it. A sixth-grade education is considered to be a sufficient basis for the presumption of literacy.

Title II (public accommodations) prohibits discrimination in the use of public accommodations—i.e., hotels, motels, restaurants, gasoline stations, and places of amusement whose operations involve inter state commerce. The constitutionality of this title has already been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in two test cases, both of which were decided on December 14, 1964. These are: *Heart of Atlanta v. United States*, and *Katzbach v. McClung* (379 U.S. 802, 803). Title II also enables the Attorney General to bring suit in a federal court against all persons or groups found to be resisting enforcement of its provisions.

Title III (public facilities) is designed to guarantee that Negroes be accorded equal access to, and treatment in, all public-owned and-operated facilities, including parks, stadiums, and swimming pools. As in the case of Title II, this section makes it possible for the Attorney General to bring

suit for its enforcement if private individuals are unable to do so.

Title IV (public schools) authorizes the federal government to provide technical and financial aid to all school districts engaged in the process of desegregation. Once again, the Attorney General is empowered to sue for school desegregation, provided private citizens are not in a position to do so.

Title V (Civil Rights Commission) extends the tenure of the Civil Rights Commission until January 31, 1968.

Title VI (federal aid) guarantees that no person shall be subject to any form of racial discrimination in any program which is receiving federal financial aid. It also empowers federal agencies to take appropriate steps to counteract any such discrimination, particularly by denying federal funds to any state or local agencies which practice discrimination.

Title VII (employment) prohibits discrimination on the part of employers or unions with more than 100 employees or members during the first year from the date the Act takes effect. Four years from that date, the number of employees for both unions and employers is to be reduced to 25. This title also establishes a commission to investigate charges of discrimination in employment or employee organizations and, where necessary, to take appropriate steps in mediating such charges. Where a "pattern or practice" of resistance to the provisions of this title becomes definitely identifiable, the Attorney General is empowered to bring suit before a three-judge federal court.

Title VIII (statistics) directs the Census Bureau to compile voting statistics by race in areas of the country designated by the Civil Rights Commission.

Title IX (courts) allows higher federal courts to prevent lower federal courts from sending a civil rights case back to a state or local court—particularly when such a step by the lower court might compromise the case of an appellant. This reverses a former trend whereby the decision of such a

It is the word *maladjusted*. This word is the ringing cry of modern child psychology. Certainly all of us want to live a well-adjusted life in order to avoid the neurotic personality. But I say to you, there are certain things within our social order to which I am proud to be maladjusted and to which I call upon all men of good will to be maladjusted.

If you will allow the preacher in me to come out now, let me say to you that I never did intend to adjust to the evils of segregation and discrimination. I never did intend to adjust myself to religious bigotry. I never did intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I never did intend to adjust myself to the madness of militarism, and the self-defeating effects of physical violence. And I call upon all men of good will to be maladjusted because it may well be that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of the maladjusted.

So let us be maladjusted, 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." Let us be as maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln, who had the vision to see that this nation could not exist half slave and half free. Let us be maladjusted as Jesus of Nazareth, who could look into the eyes of the men and women of his generation and cry out, "Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Pray for them that spitefully use you."

I believe that it is through such maladjustment that we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice. That will be the day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, 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!"

I Have a Dream

This is perhaps the most well-known and most quoted address Dr. King delivered. He delivered this speech before the Lincoln Memorial on 28 August 1963 as the keynote address of the March on Washington, D.C., for Civil Rights. The television cameras allowed the entire nation to hear and see him plead for justice and freedom. Mrs. Coretta King once commented, "At that moment it seemed as if the Kingdom of God appeared. But it only lasted for a moment."

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Fivescore years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; one hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination; one hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity; one hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land.

So we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the

fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy; now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice; now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood; now is the time to make justice a reality for all God's children. It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality.

Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content, will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful 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 plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a biracial army. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, we

are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. 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.

Go back to Mississippi; go back to Alabama; go back to South Carolina; go back to Georgia; go back to Louisiana; go back to the slums and ghettos of the northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can, and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream 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 content of their character. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls 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 shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight and the glory of the Lord will be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith we will be able to hear out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning—"my country 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty; of thee I sing; land where my fathers died,

National civil
rights leader
1960's inspirer
for freedom
struggle, and his
early defined
advocating in
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views, many
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Typically a
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land of the pilgrim's pride; from every mountain side, let freedom ring"—and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

Eulogy for the Martyred Children

The Reverend Dr. King delivered this sermon at the funeral of the little girls who were killed on 15 September 1963 by a bomb as they attended the Sunday school of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama.

This afternoon we gather in the quiet of this sanctuary to pay our last tribute of respect to these beautiful children of God. They entered the stage of history just a few years ago, and in the brief years that they were privileged to act on this mortal stage, they played their parts exceedingly well. Now the curtain falls; they move through the exit; the drama of their earthly life comes to a close. They are now committed back to that eternity from which they came.

These children—unoffending; innocent and beautiful—were the victims of one of the most vicious, heinous crimes ever perpetrated against humanity.

Yet they died nobly. They are the martyred heroines of a holy crusade for freedom and human dignity. So they have something to say to us in their death. They have something to say to every minister of the gospel who has remained silent behind the safe security of stained-glass windows. They have something to say to every politician who has fed his constituents the stale bread of hatred and the spoiled meat of racism. They have something to say to a federal government that has compromised with the undemocratic practices of southern dixiecrats and the blatant hypocrisy of right-wing northern Republicans. They have something to say to every Negro who passively accepts the evil system of segregation, and stands on the sidelines in the midst of a mighty struggle for justice. They say to each of us, black and white alike, that we must substitute courage for caution. They say to us that we must be concerned not merely about *WHO* murdered them, but about the system, the way of life and the philosophy which *PRODUCED* the murderers. Their death says to us that we must work passionately and unrelentingly to make the American dream a reality.

So they did not die in vain. God still has a way of wringing good out of evil. History has proven over and over again that unmerited suffering is

WELCOME TABLE
(Spiritual)

1. I'm gonna sit at the welcome table
I'm gonna sit at the welcome table, one of these days, hallelujah
I'm gonna sit at the welcome table,
Gonna sit at the welcome table, one of these days.
2. I'm gonna eat and never be hungry
~~I'm gonna eat and never be hungry,~~ one of these days, hallelujah
I'm gonna eat and never be hungry
Gonna eat and never be hungry, one of these days.
3. I'm gonna drink and never be thirsty
I'm gonna drink and never be thirsty, one of these days, hallelujah
I'm gonna drink and never be thirsty
Gonna drink and never be thirsty, one of these days.
4. (first verse repeated)

-- Traditional --

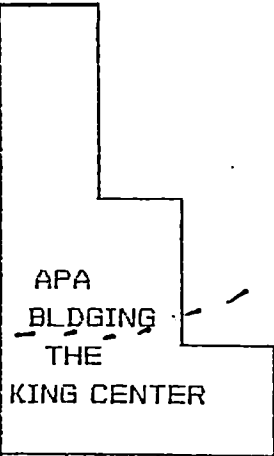
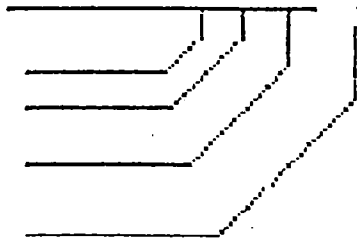
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James H. Spencer

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION CEREMONY LOGISTICS & SECURITY

- 9:30am o Presidential Party(including Mrs. King) arrive in Atlanta and motorcade to the King Center.
- 9:50am o Arrive at APA building of the King Center. Brief walking tour of Exhibition Hall. If we have an early arrival-- A brief continental breakfast will be held in the Boardroom.
- 9:55am o Presidential Party escorted to Freedom Hall Auditorium. Stage guest enter through Screening room for immediate access to stage seats(Movement A of Drawing). Remaining dignitaries escorted to special seating in the Auditorium.
- 10:00am o Proclamation Program begins.
- 11:30am o Program ends. Audience remains seated. Dignitaries seated in the Auditorium are led out. Presidential Party is escorted out for Wreath Laying Ceremony(Movement B). Auditorium guest will remain seated to view wreath laying ceremony via close circuit TV.
- 11:35am o Wreath Laying Ceremony (wreath presented with silent prayer.(5-8 min. including photo opportunity).
- 11:45am o Depart Crypt area(Movement C-1) for rear parking lot to motorcade for departure to Ebenezer for brief greeting for Ebenezer Audience--then re-enter motorcade for departure from site. Option 2(Movement C-2) Depart Crypt westerly down steps to Motorcade and depart site.

Special Notes: Closed circuit TV will broadcast the ceremony into Ebenezer for other invited guest. In addition, the wreath laying ceremony will be closed circuited into the Freedom Hall Auditorium and Ebenezer Baptist Church.

FREEDOM HALL THE KING CENTER

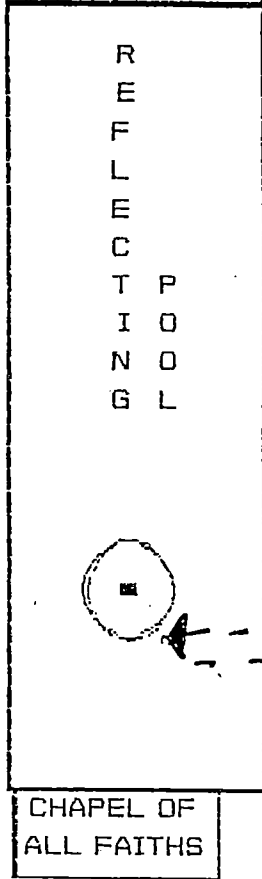


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KING CENTER



Press Pool



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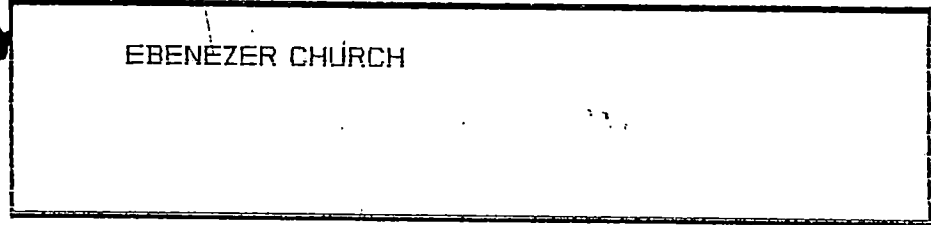
KING
CENTER
PARKING

Motorcade

Report for church

CHURCH PARKING ONLY

C-2



EBENEZER CHURCH

CHURCH
PARKING

Report

The American Dream

Dr. King gave the commencement address at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania on 6 June 1961. This is a transcription of that address.

... Today you bid farewell to the friendly security of this academic environment, a setting that will remain dear to you as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen. As you go out today to enter the clamorous highways of life, I should like to discuss with you some aspects of the American dream. For in a real sense, America is essentially a dream, a dream as yet unfulfilled. It is a dream of a land where men of all races, of all nationalities and of all creeds can live together as brothers. The substance of the dream is expressed in these sublime words, words lifted to cosmic proportions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is the dream.

One of the first things we notice in this dream is an amazing universalism. It does not say some men, but it says all men. It does not say all white men, but it says all men, which includes black men. It does not say all Gentiles, but it says all men, which includes Jews. It does not say all Protestants, but it says all men, which includes Catholics.

And there is another thing we see in this dream that ultimately distinguishes democracy and our form of government from all of the totalitarian regimes that emerge in history. It says that each individual has certain basic rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the state. To discover where they came from it is necessary to move back behind the dim mist of eternity, for they are God-given. Very seldom if ever in the history of the world has a sociopolitical document expressed in such profoundly eloquent and unequivocal language the dignity and the worth of human personality. The American dream reminds us that every man is heir to the legacy of worthiness.

Ever since the Founding Fathers of our nation dreamed this noble dream, America has been something of a schizophrenic personality, tragically divided against herself. On the one hand we have proudly professed the principles of democracy, and on the other hand we have sadly practiced the very antithesis of those principles. Indeed slavery and segregation have been strange paradoxes in a nation founded on the prin-

ciple that all men are created equal. This is what the Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, referred to as the American dilemma.

But the shape of the world today does not permit us the luxury of an anemic democracy. The price America must pay for the continued exploitation of the Negro and other minority groups is the price of its own destruction. The hour is late; the clock of destiny is ticking out. It is trite, but urgently true, that if America is to remain a first-class nation she can no longer have second-class citizens. Now, more than ever before, America is challenged to bring her noble dream into reality, and those who are working to implement the American dream are the true saviors of democracy.

Now may I suggest some of the things we must do if we are to make the American dream a reality. First I think all of us must develop a world perspective if we are to survive. The American dream will not become a reality devoid of the larger dream of a world of brotherhood and peace and good will. The world in which we live is a world of geographical oneness and we are challenged now to make it spiritually one.

Man's scientific genius and technological ingenuity has dwarfed distance and placed time in chains. Jet planes have compressed into minutes distances that once took days and months to cover. It is not common for a preacher to be quoting Bob Hope, but I think he has aptly described this jet age in which we live. If, on taking off on a nonstop flight from Los Angeles to New York City, you develop hiccups, he said, you will hic in Los Angeles and cup in New York City. That is really *moving*. If you take a flight from Tokyo, Japan, on Sunday morning, you will arrive in Seattle, Washington, on the preceding Saturday night. When your friends meet you at the airport and ask you when you left Tokyo, you will have to say, "I left tomorrow." This is the kind of world in which we live. Now this is a bit humorous but I am trying to laugh a basic fact into all of us: the world in which we live has become a single neighborhood.

Through our scientific genius we have made of this world a neighborhood; now through our moral and spiritual development we must make of it a brotherhood. In a real sense, we must all learn to live together as brothers, or we will all perish together as fools. We must come to see that no individual can live alone; no nation can live alone. We must all live together; we must all be concerned about each other.

Some months ago, Mrs. King and I journeyed to that great country in the Far East known as India. I will never forget the experiences that came to us as we moved around that great country, or the opportunity of meeting and talking with the great leaders of India and with people all over in the cities and the villages throughout India. Certainly this was an experience that I will always remember, but there were depressing moments. How can one avoid being depressed when he sees with his own eyes millions of people going to bed hungry at night? How can one

avoid being depressed when he sees with his own eyes millions of people sleeping on the sidewalk at night?

In Calcutta alone, more than a million people sleep on the sidewalks every night; in Bombay, more than six hundred thousand people sleep on the sidewalks every night. They have no beds to sleep in; they have no houses to go into. How can one avoid being depressed when he discovers that of India's four hundred million people, more than 365 million make an annual income of less than sixty dollars a year? Most of these people have never seen a doctor or a dentist.

As I looked at these conditions, I found myself saying that we in America cannot stand idly by and not be concerned. Then something within me cried out, "Oh, no, because the destiny of the United States is tied up with the destiny of India—with the destiny of every other nation." And I remembered that we spend more than a million dollars a day to store surplus food in this country. I said to myself, "I know where we can store that food free of charge—in the wrinkled stomachs of the millions of people who go to bed hungry at night." Maybe we spend too much of our national budget building military bases around the world, rather than bases of genuine concern and understanding.

All this is simply to say that all life is interrelated. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. As long as there is poverty in this world, no man can be totally rich even if he has a billion dollars. As long as diseases are rampant and millions of people cannot expect to live more than twenty or thirty years, no man can be totally healthy, even if he just got a clean bill of health from the finest clinic in America. Strangely enough, I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be. You can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be. This is the way the world is made. I didn't make it that way, but this is the interrelated structure of reality. John Donne caught it a few centuries ago and could cry out, "No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." If we are to realize the American dream we must cultivate this world perspective.

There is another thing quite closely related to this. We must keep our moral and spiritual progress abreast with our scientific and technological advances. This poses another dilemma of modern man. We have allowed our civilization to outdistance our culture. Professor MacIver follows the German sociologist, Alfred Weber, in pointing out the distinction between culture and civilization. Civilization refers to what we use; culture refers to what we are. Civilization is that complex of devices, instrumentalities, mechanisms and techniques by means of which we live. Culture is that realm of ends expressed in art, literature, religion and morals for which at best we live.

The great problem confronting us today is that we have allowed the means by which we live to outdistance the ends for which we live. We have allowed our civilization to outrun our culture, and so we are in danger now of ending up with guided missiles in the hands of misguided men. This is what the poet Thoreau meant when he said, "Improved means to an unimproved end." If we are to survive today and realize the dream of our mission and the dream of the world, we must bridge the gulf and somehow keep the means by which we live abreast with the ends for which we live.

Another thing we must do is to get rid of the notion once and for all that there are superior and inferior races. Now we know that this view still lags around in spite of the fact that many great anthropologists, Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict and Melville Herskovits and others have pointed out and made it clear through scientific evidence that there are no superior races and there are no inferior races. There may be intellectually superior individuals within all races. In spite of all this evidence, however, the view still gets around somehow that there are superior and inferior races. The whole concept of white supremacy rests on this fallacy.

You know, there was a time when some people used to argue the inferiority of the Negro and the colored races generally on the basis of the Bible and religion. They would say the Negro was inferior by nature because of Noah's curse upon the children of Ham. And then another brother had probably read the logic of Aristotle. You know Aristotle brought into being the syllogism which had a major premise and a minor premise and a conclusion, and one brother had probably read Aristotle and he put his argument in the framework of an Aristotelian syllogism. He could say that all men are made in the image of God. This was a major premise. Then came his minor premise: God, as everybody knows, is not a Negro; therefore the Negro is not a man. And that was called logic!

But we don't often hear these arguments today. Segregation is now based on "sociological and cultural" grounds. "The Negro is not culturally ready for integration, and if integration comes into being it will pull the white race back a generation. It will take fifty or seventy-five years to raise these standards." And then we hear that the Negro is a criminal, and there are those who would almost say he is a criminal by nature. But they never point out that these things are environmental and not racial; these problems are problems of urban dislocation. They fail to see that poverty, and disease, and ignorance breed crime whatever the racial group may be. And it is a tortuous logic that views the tragic results of segregation and discrimination as an argument for the continuation of it.

If we are to implement the American dream we must get rid of the notion once and for all that there are superior and inferior races. This means that members of minority groups must make it clear that they can use their resources even under adverse circumstances. We must make full

and constructive use of the freedom we already possess. We must not use our oppression as an excuse for mediocrity and laziness. For history has proven that inner determination can often break through the outer shackles of circumstance. Take the Jews, for example, and the years they have been forced to walk through the long and desolate night of oppression. This did not keep them from rising up to plunge against cloud-filled nights of oppression, new and blazing stars of inspiration. Being a Jew did not keep Einstein from using his genius-packed mind to prove his theory of relativity.

And so, being a Negro does not have to keep any individual from rising up to make a contribution as so many Negroes have done within our own lifetime. Human nature cannot be catalogued, and we need not wait until the day of full emancipation. So from an old clay cabin in Virginia's hills, Booker T. Washington rose up to be one of the nation's great leaders. He lit a torch in Alabama; then darkness fled.

From the red hills of Gordon County, Georgia, from an iron foundry at Chattanooga, Tennessee, from the arms of a mother who could neither read nor write, Roland Hayes rose up to be one of the nation's and the world's greatest singers. He carried his melodious voice to the mansion of the Queen Mother of Spain and the palace of King George V. From the poverty-stricken areas of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Marian Anderson rose up to be the world's greatest contralto, so that Toscanini could say that a voice like this comes only once in a century. Sibelius of Finland could say, "My roof is too low for such a voice."

From humble, crippling circumstances, George Washington Carver rose up and carved for himself an inperishable niche in the annals of science. There was a star in the sky of female leadership. Then came Mary McLeod Bethune to let it shine in her life. There was a star in the diplomatic sky. Then came Ralph Bunche, the grandson of a slave preacher, and allowed it to shine in his life with all of its radiant beauty. There were stars in the athletic sky. Then came Joe Louis with his educated fists, Jesse Owens with his fleet and dashing feet, Jackie Robinson with his powerful bat and calm spirit. All of these people have come to remind us that we need not wait until the day of full emancipation. They have justified the conviction of the poet that:

*Fleecy locks and dark complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim.
Skin may differ but affection
Dwells in black and white the same.
Were I so tall as to reach the pole
Or to grasp the ocean at a span,
I must be measured by my soul,
The mind is standard of the man.*

Finally, if we are to implement the American dream, we must continue to engage in creative protest in order to break down all of those bar-

riers that make it impossible for the dream to be realized. Now I know there are those people who will argue that we must wait on something. They fail to see the necessity for creative protest, but I say to you that I can see no way to break loose from an old order and to move into a new order without standing up and resisting the unjust dogma of the old order.

To do this, we must get rid of two strange illusions that have been held by the so-called moderates in race relations. First is the myth of time advanced by those who say that you must wait on time; if you "just wait and be patient," time will work the situation out. They will say this even about freedom rides.* They will say this about sit-ins: that you're pushing things too fast—cool off—time will work these problems out. Well, evolution may hold in the biological realm, and in that area Darwin was right. But when a Herbert Spencer seeks to apply "evolution" to the whole fabric of society, there is no truth in it.† Even a superficial look at history shows that social progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless effort and the persistent work of dedicated individuals. Without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of irrational emotionalism and social stagnation. And we must get rid of the myth of time.

There is another myth, that bases itself on a species of educational determinism. It leads one to think that you can't solve this problem through legislation; you can't solve this problem through judicial decree; you can't solve this problem through executive orders on the part of the president of the United States. It must be solved by education. Now I agree that education plays a great role, and it must continue to play a great role in changing attitudes, in getting people ready for the new order. And we must also see the importance of legislation.

It is not a question either of education or of legislation. Both legislation and education are required. Now, people will say, "You can't legislate morals." Well, that may be true. Even though morality may not be legislated, behavior can be regulated. And this is very important. We need religion and education to change attitudes and to change the hearts of men. We need legislation and federal action to control behavior. It may be true that the law can't make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important also.

And so we must get rid of these illusions and move on with determina-

*In May, 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality, an interracial direct-action group founded in 1942, sent buses of "Freedom Riders" into the South to test segregation laws and practices in interstate transportation. In Alabama and Mississippi the Freedom Riders were attacked by white racist mobs and arrested, but on September 22, 1961, the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled that passengers on interstate carriers would be seated without regard to race and that such carriers could not use segregated terminals.

†Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was the formulator of "social Darwinism," an effort to apply Darwinism to society; he stressed, among other points, that Anglo-Saxon civilization was a superior development out of previous civilizations and the result of competition.

tion and with zeal to break down the unjust systems we find in our society, so that it will be possible to realize the American dream. As I have said so often, if we seek to break down discrimination, we must use the proper methods. I am convinced more than ever before that, as the powerful, creative way opens, men and women who are eager to break the barriers of oppression and of segregation and discrimination need not fall down to the levels of violence. They need not sink into the quicksands of hatred. Standing on the high ground of noninjury, love and soul force, they can turn this nation upside down and right side up.

I believe, more than ever before, in the power of nonviolent resistance. It has a moral aspect tied to it. It makes it possible for the individual to secure moral ends through moral means. This has been one of the great debates of history. People have felt that it is impossible to achieve moral ends through moral means. And so a Machiavelli could come into being and so force a sort of duality within the moral structure of the universe. Even communism could come into being and say that anything justifies the end of a classless society—lying, deceit, hate, violence—anything. And this is where nonviolent resistance breaks with communism and with all of those systems which argue that the end justifies the means, because we realize that the end is preexistent in the means. In the long run of history, destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends.

The practical aspect of nonviolent resistance is that it exposes the moral defenses of the opponent. Not only that, it somehow arouses his conscience at the same time, and it breaks down his morale. He has no answer for it. If he puts you in jail, that's all right; if he lets you out, that's all right too. If he beats you, you accept that; if he doesn't beat you—fine. And so you go on, leaving him with no answer. But if you use violence, he does have an answer. He has the state militia; he has police brutality.

Nonviolent resistance is one of the most magnificent expressions going on today. We see it in the movement taking place among students in the South and their allies who have been willing to come in from the North and other sections. They have taken our deep groans and passionate yearnings, filtered them in their own souls, and fashioned them into the creative protest, which is an epic known all over our nation. They have moved in a uniquely meaningful orbit, imparting light and heat to a distant satellite. And people say, "Does this bring results?" Well, look at the record.

In less than a year, lunch counters have been integrated in more than 142 cities of the Deep South, and this was done without a single court suit; it was done without spending millions and millions of dollars. We think of the freedom rides, and remember that more than sixty people are now in jail in Jackson, Mississippi. What has this done? These people have been beaten; they have suffered to bring to the attention of this

nation, the indignities and injustices Negro people still confront in interstate travel. It has, therefore, had an educational value. But not only that—signs have come down from bus stations in Montgomery, Alabama. They've never been down before. Not only that—the attorney general of this nation has called on ICC to issue new regulations making it positively clear that segregation in interstate travel is illegal and unconstitutional.

And so this method can bring results. Sometimes it can bring quick results. But even when it doesn't bring immediate results, it is constantly working on the conscience; it is at all times using moral means to bring about moral ends. And so I say we must continue on the way of creative protest. I believe also that this method will help us to enter the new age with the proper attitude.

As I have said in so many instances, it is not enough to struggle for the new society. We must make sure that we make the psychological adjustment required to live in that new society. This is true of white people, and it is true of Negro people. Psychological adjustment will save white people from going into the new age with old vestiges of prejudice and attitudes of white supremacy. It will save the Negro from seeking to substitute one tyranny for another.

I know sometimes we get discouraged and sometimes disappointed with the slow pace of things. At times we begin to talk about racial separation instead of racial integration, feeling that there is no other way out. My only answer is that the problem never will be solved by substituting one tyranny for another. Black supremacy is as dangerous as white supremacy, and God is not interested merely in the freedom of black men and brown men and yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and in the creation of a society where all men can live together as brothers, where every man will respect the dignity and the worth of human personality.

By following this method, we may also be able to teach our world something that it so desperately needs at this hour. In a day when Sputniks and Explorers are dashing through outer space, and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can win a war. The choice is no longer between violence and nonviolence; it is either nonviolence or nonexistence. Unless we find some alternative to war, we will destroy ourselves by the misuse of our own instruments. And so, with all of these attitudes and principles working together, I believe we will be able to make a contribution as men of good will to the ongoing structure of our society and toward the realization of the American dream. And so, as you go out today, I call upon you not to be detached spectators, but involved participants, in this great drama that is taking place in our nation and around the world.

Every academic discipline has its technical nomenclature, and modern psychology has a word that is used, probably, more than any other.

It is the word *maladjusted*. This word is the ringing cry of modern child psychology. Certainly all of us want to live a well-adjusted life in order to avoid the neurotic personality. But I say to you, there are certain things within our social order to which I am proud to be maladjusted and to which I call upon all men of good will to be maladjusted.

If you will allow the preacher in me to come out now, let me say to you that I never did intend to adjust to the evils of segregation and discrimination. I never did intend to adjust myself to religious bigotry. I never did intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I never did intend to adjust myself to the madness of militarism, and the self-defeating effects of physical violence. And I call upon all men of good will to be maladjusted because it may well be that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of the maladjusted.

So let us be maladjusted, 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." Let us be as maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln, who had the vision to see that this nation could not exist half slave and half free. Let us be maladjusted as Jesus of Nazareth, who could look into the eyes of the men and women of his generation and cry out, "Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Pray for them that spitefully use you."

I believe that it is through such maladjustment that we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice. That will be the day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, 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!"

I Have a Dream

This is perhaps the most well-known and most quoted address Dr. King delivered. He delivered this speech before the Lincoln Memorial on 28 August 1963 as the keynote address of the March on Washington, D.C., for Civil Rights. The television cameras allowed the entire nation to hear and see him plead for justice and freedom. Mrs. Coretta King once commented, "At that moment it seemed as if the Kingdom of God appeared. But it only lasted for a moment."

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Fivescore years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; one hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination; one hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity; one hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land.

So we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the

on on the issue of desegregation in schools.

has been a matter of deep concern to people and their parents. The uses of machines at a high level, when electronics, chemistry, and atomic energy are more necessary

must be trained in order to do the job. Ignorance and ill will hurt, but may well be a blessing in disguise.

mechanical and scientific education is more necessary than ever. The world is instantly aware of the situation in Tibet, where once again the news has taken the world by storm. The Prime Minister of India can be in Moscow on the same day as in Washington or Ottawa on the same day. A leader is jailed in Japan. A prince is murdered. Stories are in our newspapers on our television screens, often minutes. The bus protest is on the papers in Stockholm, and as soon as it is printed

in the world, it is silly to talk about the people because of their ignorance. They wear robes or veils, beards, or Swahili, because of their ignorance, or Moslems, or Presbyterians, or rabbis.

the greatest country in the world, which has grown great because of mankind everywhere. It has been built on the guarantee of individual liberty, and we are having a debate on whether we should, regardless of race, shall we have it in our public schools. It has held that they shall have it with the equal protection of the 14th amendment to the Constitution. It has said plainly that all public schools are unsegregated. It is unsegregated to Negro children everywhere in education.

By applying with the Court's advantage of the leeway in planning in good faith, several of the localities have refused to do so. They are defying the Constitution.

It is the plan of adults, not of children, of the leaders of the world, of their lives, or are so, or will not, or is behind them. They are more than Kip-fer know—and don't care—between Vietnam and Ecuador and Ethiopia. Where is Leopoldville? People live in these places? Their religions, their segregationists cry, who have to do with the

world of yesterday, they are segregation and ingrained in the land of the world. It did not matter much to the Governor of the Negro children, or to a Negro man to death. The mail flooded into every part of the world in a volume as to cause to communicate with the Governor of the Wilson case damaged in the eyes of the

world—and the image of America in these delicate and dangerous days must be the concern of every citizen.

It is your concern because this is the world in which you will have to grow up and serve. This is the world in which you will choose a career, marry, rear children, govern and be governed. It is a world in which education will be a tool without which men cannot live and function or know happiness, satisfaction and peace.

For education will give us the knowledge of each other, the mutual respect and dedication to the ideal of liberty and equality which will keep us all free. It has been the fashion to talk in terms of the damage which segregation has done to Negro children, and to forget the corrosive injury it has done to white youngsters. No more revealing or tragic story has come out of the desegregation campaign than that from the small town of Clay, Ky., where a white girl of 14 declared: "I'd rather grow up to be an idiot than to go to a school with a nigger in it." The segregated system made this girl a useless citizen for the world of 1970 by the time she had barely reached her teens.

That is why it is not merely silly to talk about maintaining segregation in public education; it is well-nigh suicidal. It could lose us the struggle for the hearts of men, be it cold or hot.

So you are here to say by your presence and in your resolutions that you want integrated schools for all American children. You have every right to say this to your Government and to all among the citizenry who will listen. No one has a better right, for in so speaking, you are demanding only that the high pronouncements and glorious traditions of this beloved bastion of freedom be vindicated, and that we be about the business of building the kind of world in which your generation can preserve freedom.

STATEMENT OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AT YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 18, 1959

As I stand here and look out upon the thousands of Negro faces, and the thousands of white faces, intermingled like the waters of a river, I see only one face—the face of the future.

Yes; as I gaze upon this great historic assembly, this unprecedented gathering of young people, I cannot help thinking—that a hundred years from now the historians will be calling this not the "beat" generation, but the generation of integration.

The fact that thousands of you came here to Washington and that thousands more signed your petition proves that this generation will not take "No" for an answer—will not take double talk for an answer—will not take gradualism for an answer. It proves that the only answer you will settle for is total desegregation and total equality—now.

I know of no words eloquent enough to express the deep meaning, the great power, and the unconquerable spirit back of this inspiring original, uniquely American march of young people. Nothing like it has ever happened in the history of our Nation. Nothing, that is, except the last youth march. What this march demonstrates to me, above all else, is that you young people, through your own experience, have somehow discovered the central fact of American life—that the extension of democracy for all Americans depends upon complete integration of Negro Americans.

By coming here you have shown yourselves to be highly alert, highly responsible young citizens. And very soon the area of your responsibility will increase, for you will begin to exercise your greatest privilege as an American—the right to vote. Of course, you will have no difficulty exercising this privilege—if you are white.

But I wonder if you can understand what it feels like to be a Negro, living in the South, where, by attempting to exercise this

right, you may be taking your life in your hands.

The denial of the vote not only deprives the Negro of his constitutional rights—but what is even worse—it degrades him as a human being. And yet, even this degradation, which is only one of many humiliations of everyday life, is losing its ability to degrade. For the southern Negro is learning to transform his degradation into resistance. And by so doing he is not only achieving his dignity as a human being, he is helping to advance democracy in the South. This is why my colleagues and I in the Southern Leadership Conference are giving our major attention to the campaign to increase the registration of Negro voters in the South to 3 million. Do you realize what would happen in this country if we were to gain 3 million southern Negro votes? We could change the composition of Congress. We could have a Congress far more responsive to the voters' will. We could have all schools integrated—north and south. A new era would open to all Americans. Thus, the Negro, in his struggle to secure his own rights is destined to enlarge democracy for all people, in both a political and a social sense.

Indeed in your great movement to organize a march for integrated schools you have actually accomplished much more. You have awakened on hundreds of campuses throughout the land a new spirit of social inquiry to the benefit of all Americans.

This is really a noble cause. As June approaches, with its graduation ceremonies and speeches, a thought suggests itself. You will hear much about careers, security, and prosperity. I will leave the discussion of such matters to your deans, your principals, and your valedictorians. But I do have a graduation thought to pass along to you. Whatever career you may choose for yourself—doctor, lawyer, teacher—let me propose an avocation to be pursued along with it. Become a dedicated fighter for civil rights. Make it a central part of your life.

It will make you a better doctor, a better lawyer, a better teacher. It will enrich your spirit as nothing else possibly can. It will give you that rare sense of nobility that can only spring from love and selflessly helping your fellow man. Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for equal rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater Nation of your country, and a finer world to live in.

DOUGLAS TELEGRAM

APRIL 17, 1959.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, 1959 Petition Campaign and Youth March for Integrated Schools, New York, N.Y.

Your support and that of thousands of other sincere believers in equal justice for legislation that will back up the historic desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court is a great encouragement to those of us on the legislative firing line.

The bill, S. 810, which 17 Senators have sponsored will, we believe, give constructive, reasonable, and effective assistance to the efforts to secure compliance with the 14th amendment in America's public schools.

We need to move steadily toward equality of opportunity in education so that all our citizens may enjoy the premise of our basic law, so that the Nation may have the best talents of all its people, and so that the world will have greater confidence in our Nation's leadership for freedom and against Communist tyranny.

Your efforts to awaken the Nation more fully to these vital goals are deeply appreciated. God bless you and keep you.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, New York, N.Y., April

Mr. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President, Brotherhood of Sleep Porters, New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This will edge your letter of March 31, in the youth assembly which will be in Washington, April 18. I sincerely hope it could be possible for me to take part in the program which, I note, will begin but regret to advise that my commitments will make it necessary to be absent from the city on that date.

With all good wishes to you and your associates, I am, as ever, associated with you in this assembly.

Sincerely and fraternally,

GEORGE MEYER

REUTHER TELEGRAM

APRIL

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Youth March for Integrated Schools, New York, N.Y.:

I regret that I cannot be with you on this memorable occasion. Your dramatic appeal to the American people and your call for more action by Congress and the administration in keeping with the historic Supreme Court decisions in the matter of school desegregation. I should be more confident of my capacity to do right by freedom in Europe if there were a greater concern for freedom here in the United States.

There has been no real displacement of either end of Pennsylvania Avenue with civil rights in education all means for dealing with it lie in the form of legislation introduced by Senator DOUGLAS and JAVITS and Congressman CELLER.

The Negro people have been very reasonable and very long-suffering. They have waited since 1819, since 1865, since 1896. They have waited much longer than 1954.

America is strong, yet we are so weak, so indestructible, and so the wear and tear of history that we do not practice here at home, in our life, what we preach so readily to the rest of the world. We had better put our house in order. We had better put our credentials as leader of the free world now struggling to be free.

It is imperative that the American people understand that the question of school integration is a basic to freedom in an area where our trouble is the Communists. The school integration is a national matter of honoring the Constitution of the United States, and the major responsibility for a solution lies at the feet of the men who are now looking for a solution in Pennsylvania. In the crisis of the schools.

Parents are imposing their priorities on their children. Let the voice of the people be heard. Let the children be ahead of their elders. The innocent victims of past wars. Our real solidarity is with the future. Ready to start growing up now to and the awareness that they and we will need in order to meet tomorrow's challenges.

You are helping this youth to find their voice. Our great hope is that you will reach the conscience of the American people.

WALTER P. REUTHER

President, International Union of

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Week Ending Friday, June 7, 1991

**Memorandum on the Use of Wheat
Reserve for Disaster Assistance**
May 31, 1991

Presidential Determination No. 91-38

*Memorandum for the Secretary of
Agriculture*

Subject: Food Security Wheat Reserve
Release

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Food Security Wheat Reserve Act of 1980 (the "Act") (7 U.S.C. 1736f-1), I hereby authorize the release in fiscal year 1991 of up to 300,000 metric tons of wheat from the reserve established under the Act (the "reserve") for use under Title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1691 *et seq.*), to meet relief needs that exist in developing countries of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, which I hereby determine are suffering major disasters. The wheat will be used to provide urgent humanitarian relief to the peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia who are suffering widespread hunger and malnutrition.

This action is taken because wheat needed for relief in these regions cannot be programmed for such purpose in a timely manner under the normal means of obtaining commodities for food assistance due to circumstances of unanticipated and exceptional need.

You are authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register*.

George Bush

Note: The memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 1.

**Remarks at the United States Military
Academy Commencement Ceremony
in West Point, New York**

June 1, 1991

Thank you all very much for that warm welcome back to West Point. Thank you all very, very much. Thank you, General Palmer—Dave Palmer—for that introduction. May I salute our Secretary of the Army, Secretary Stone; our Chief, General Vuono. And might I say at the beginning that this country owes a great vote of thanks to both these general officers who have served their country with sacrifice and distinction. Please express yourselves by showing your appreciation to Carl Vuono and Dave Palmer, two great soldiers.

And may I single out at the outset several other special guests who, along with Secretary Stone and General Vuono, came up with me on Air Force One: Congressman Sonny Montgomery, of Mississippi, a great supporter of a strong military. You guys better cheer, he's a major general also. [Laughter] And then, Congressman Ham Fish, who represents this West Point sister so well in Congress. And also may I single out my trusted national security adviser Brent Scowcroft—the class of '47 at this Academy. Also Congressman Ben Gilman, who represents, as I understand it, the next congressional district over—also a great friend of the Point.

And last, but certainly not least, let me single out a friend of our country, Ambassador Bandar, the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United States. And look, don't hold it against him that he's a fighter pilot. [Laughter] From day one of Desert Shield, all through Desert Storm, Saudi Arabia and the United States stood shoulder-to-shoulder versus aggression. And together we did what was just and right.

Now to the business at hand. A special greeting to the families and to the friends and, most important, to the cadets of the class of 1991. It is an honor—and I mean

that, for both Barbara and me today—it is an honor to be here at this symbol of “duty, honor, country,” and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he said, “In the evening of my memory, I always come back to West Point.” Barbara and I are proud to become honorary members of this Long Grey Line.

You know, it's really something to look out over this outstanding military audience. Now I know how Bob Hope feels. [Laughter] Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I left the goat outside, but I'm glad to be here. [Laughter]

Before my remarks to this graduating class let me just make an announcement that is of interest to all here—to all around the world. The United States and the Soviet Union not many hours ago resolved our differences on the CFE treaty, clearing the way for an important step towards a superpower summit. And I congratulate our Secretary of State, the Foreign Secretary of the Soviet Union Bessmertnykh, and all involved. This is important to world peace, and I'm glad to make this announcement right here at West Point.

You know, we meet this morning not as members of opposing teams but as one people called Americans, Americans who know that—like the memorial at Pearl Harbor, or the chapel at the Air Force Academy, its silhouette reaching toward the sky—this ground right here at West Point reflects our deepest values and principles.

Look around you—the majestic cadet chapel, the four statues in the mess hall, on grounds hallowed by generations of military heroes. Their lessons live as oral history, passed from one decade to another. Militarily and culturally, morally and spiritually, West Point has always been a metaphor for the American character.

The American character inspired generations of immigrants to push back the wilderness, establish settlements, and secure independence. One generation preserved the Union. Another fought “the war to end all wars.” The generation of your parents and grandparents showed that the Iron Curtain could not hold back America's values, America's hopes, America's example.

Today, I want to talk of the American character and how to make ours the great-

est nation. This character has many elements, the foremost of which is our devotion to freedom. The love of liberty drives our national heartbeat. Might I add that that beat is regular, not fibrillating. A central tenet of this devotion—freedom of religion—creates a special place for values, for morals and faiths and causes larger than ourselves.

Next, our character bursts with self-reliance and creativity, two qualities that propel us from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. Indeed, to this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints; the only flag, the Stars and Stripes.

Finally, we define our character through the service we render to others; by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our homes, our families, and communities. We must serve those for whom the American dream still seems an impossible dream.

You at West Point have established an example for the rest of the Nation. Here people measure each other in terms of merit, heart, and will, not creed or sex or color or national origin. Look to your left and look to your right, and what do you see? People divided by race and religion? No. You see your friends and your future. Our Armed Forces have shown what Americans can do when they see themselves not as white and black and red or brown but as one people united in common purpose, pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other—and in the process, getting the job done.

More than three decades ago, the civil rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to this American character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency and respect. Martin Luther King dreamed of an America in which one day our children would—and to quote—“not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” In the Army, just as here at West Point, that “one day” has arrived.

As Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in *Brown versus the Board of Education*, “The road to progress for the victims of past discrimination is equal and excellent education.” In the years since the Army became a

volunteer force, excellent education, the best education. The percentage of minority personnel has nearly doubled. The number of minority personnel has nearly doubled.

And you may recall that at some complaints about minorities in the Army could not be met, the greater around. An man, Colin Powell have nothing at West Point, we are proud of.

Your class black graduate leader, as any place knows, a female leader, a good graduate—you from among the Army and minorities. They sons and daughters have.

And so, our is to achieve today at West Point as Americans, as reach that enmity. We've a lence, vivid pi flashing lights also experience trust—little us across the street ferent color, into the back distrustful str or nationality, or demeaning

Let's not racism and be country of our this President

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Warren wrote in *Education*, "The victims of past dis- excellent educa- Army became a

volunteer force it has featured equal and excellent education. As a result, we have the best educated military in our history. The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled, as has the number of minority noncommissioned officers. The number of minority officers has almost tripled.

And you may recall that at the beginning of the Gulf war—think back now—you may recall that at the beginning of the Gulf war some complained that we have too many minorities in the military. My disagreement could not be more clear. The military is, yes, the greatest equal opportunity employer around. And as our distinguished Chairman, Colin Powell, said at the time, we have nothing to be ashamed of. And at West Point, certainly, you have plenty to be proud of.

Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution, a great leader, as anybody who's been around this place knows, a great athlete. The one thousandth female graduate, also an all-around leader, a good soldier. And then the first graduate—your class—the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Laos. Yet the Army and West Point don't recruit minorities. They recruit soldiers, the finest sons and daughters any country could ever have.

And so, our country's task, America's task, is to achieve nationally what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. To reach that end, we must destroy the racial mistrust that threatens our national well-being as much as violence or drugs or poverty. We've all seen images of racial violence, vivid pictures of fire and destruction, flashing lights and nightsticks. But we've also experienced little episodes of mistrust—little ugly examples—people slipping across the street to avoid someone of a different color, pressing themselves wearily into the back of an elevator. The practice of distrusting strangers because of their race or nationality, the habit of using patronizing or demeaning stereotypes.

Let's not kid ourselves. Regrettably, racism and bigotry still exist in this great country of ours. But let there be no doubt, this President and this administration will

strike at discrimination wherever it exists. Because, you see, prejudice and hate have no place in this country—period. The real question that's facing us is not whether to fight these evils but how.

Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the fifties and sixties deplored intolerance, demanded equality of opportunity and equality under the law. Government's responsibility is to enhance, not redistribute, opportunity to ensure that all people get a fair chance to achieve their dreams. And today, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They'd pit one group against another, encourage people to think of others as competitors, not colleagues. That's not the way to achieve justice and equality here in America. We need to adopt a more unifying moral and noble approach.

I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive, don't browbeat them, appeal to the better angels of their nature. As I see it, this is the concept behind affirmative action. To me, true affirmative action expresses a duty of citizenship—good faith efforts to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit—to reach out and create truly equal opportunity for those who have been left behind, those who have been excluded.

Some think affirmative action should involve a Rubik's Cube of workplace guarantees. And I believe that it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values, affirmative views of themselves, affirmative lives. And that's why our administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans. We've called for a revolution in education with our America 2000 strategy. We've tried to reform the public housing system—turn it into an ownership system—with a program we properly call HOPE, H-O-P-E. And we've proposed enterprise zones, to plant seeds of growth amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. And we've offered tough anti-crime legislation because no American is free if imprisoned by the fear of crime. And we have advocated community opportunity areas, to shift power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home,

raise the family. God bless the strength of the American family. We've got to do more to help strengthen it.

These policies give power back to the people, and they move us toward achieving the goal of equal opportunity. They do not—cannot—ensure equal success.

In that spirit, consider our civil rights package. Our administration's S. 1991 civil rights bill would forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others. And it will not force employers to choose between using quotas or the risk of costly litigation.

I know there's another so-called civil rights bill out there, but it's a quota bill, regardless of how its authors dress it up. You can't put a sign on a pig and say it's a horse. It invites people to litigate, not cooperate. And this is no way in our country to promote harmony.

And so, let us cast off now the politics of division. Let's build a society in which people respect each other, work with—not against—each other, and strive to illuminate the American character.

Tomorrow, our able Secretary of HHS—Health and Human Services—my colleague in our Cabinet, Dr. Lou Sullivan, will address the high school in his hometown of Blakely, Georgia. What's unusual is that this distinguished doctor now, then was not permitted to attend that school when he was young. It would not admit black kids. He overcame the burdens of prejudice to become an eloquent advocate of good education and sound values. And Lou has forgiven, but he and we can never forget the terrible things that racism and prejudice can do to a land.

Here at West Point you have shown the essence of the American character—opportunity based on merit. And now, let us build a "we," not a "me," generation by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world.

You know, many of the service men and women who performed brilliantly during Operation Desert Shield and then, subsequently, Desert Storm have become what we call Points of Light at home. They've returned to their own communities and urged young people to follow their lead, to

work hard, to stay in school, to stay away from drugs. And so, let's thank those who have taken this message back to the schools and communities across our land. And let's vow to do more. And I'd like to encourage all of you—respected in your communities now—to become Points of Light. Visit a school or a recreation center or a place of worship, and share some of your lives and your experiences. I ask communities to invite these wonderful men and women to speak at the schools and other forums.

You in this class of 1991 can show that the story of the Good Samaritan is more than just an object lesson, for, you see, it's part of the American character.

Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." America's magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Our challenge now is to heal the wounds and the scars at home and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not factiousness and suspicion.

And so, let us honor the true grandeur of America—the dignity of the individual. You here at West Point, you all lead the way.

May God bless the class of 1991 as you go on with your service to the greatest country on the face of the Earth. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in Michie Stadium. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gen. Dave R. Palmer, Superintendent of the Academy; entertainer Bob Hope; and Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

Exchange With Reporters on Soviet-United States Relations

June 1, 1991

The President. Well, good news on CFE. We're very pleased, of course. The agreement was achieved under the original limits, which is good—[inaudible]—under

the original line. It's a very good thing for a very good for agreement, of course, but I think we need—others will. And others were the lead role heretofore were.

So, we have. We're still going. When I asked—about it. that and he said difference." Now he wants to on problem—partic be overly easy we're going for course, will be meeting that I it's a good day that was taken.

And in a sense [inaudible]—an the meeting re- cy, and some Crocker and I Baker—in bring together. That happened and the arms contr of Lisbon also.

When I saw [inaudible]—we the importance nent of Africa good day.

Q. Does this whether or not the London ecc

The President

Q. Would you summit before that close?

The President and John Sunu: scheduling pro- cerned, as soon details out of better. And I wants that. Of set, so it would after. I don't th

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passed by the United Nations Security Council.

Regrettably, the noon deadline passed without the agreement of the Government of Iraq to meet demands of United Nations Security Council Resolution 660, as set forth in the specific terms spelled out by the coalition to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait. To the contrary, what we have seen is a redoubling of Saddam Hussein's efforts to destroy completely Kuwait and its people.

I have, therefore, directed General Norman Schwarzkopf, in conjunction with coalition forces, to use all forces available, including ground forces, to eject the Iraqi army from Kuwait. Once again, this was a decision made only after extensive consultations within our coalition partnership.

The liberation of Kuwait has now entered a final phase. I have complete confidence in the ability of the coalition forces swiftly and decisively to accomplish their mission.

Tonight, as this coalition of countries seeks to do that which is right and just, I ask only that all of you stop what you are doing and say a prayer for all the coalition forces, and especially for our men and women in uniform who this very moment are risking their lives for their country and for all of us.

May God bless and protect each and every one of them. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his address, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.

Remarks on the Observance of National Afro-American (Black) History Month February 25, 1991

Thank you very much. It is a great, great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome you all to the White House. It's good to see so many friends here today, including so

many members of our administration: our Vice President, of course; and Lou Sullivan; Jack Kemp; Lynn Martin; of course, the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs, General Powell; Connie Newman; Art Fletcher; and so many more. I salute our red-coated special guests. You bring honor to this place, and we're delighted to have you here.

I know that the issue on all of our minds is the war in the Gulf. And I'm glad to report, after consultation a few minutes ago with Chairman Powell, General Powell, that the news is good. Coalition air and ground forces are advancing on their objectives. Enemy prisoners are surrendering in large numbers—large numbers. And thus far, thank God, U.S. and coalition casualties are few.

The liberation of Kuwait is on course and on schedule. We have the initiative. We intend to keep it. We must guard against euphoria; there are battles yet to come and casualties to be borne. But make no mistake, we will prevail. Kuwait will soon be free, and America's men and women in uniform will return home to the thanks and respect of a grateful nation.

This was a war thrust upon us, not a war that we sought. But naked aggression, such as we have seen, must be resisted if it is not to become a pattern. Our success in the Gulf will bring with it not just a new opportunity for peace and stability in a critical part of the world but a chance to build a new world order based upon the principles of collective security and the rule of law.

But today, we're here to celebrate the proud spectrum of black achievement. For we recognize that black history, this rich tale of roots and purpose and pride, is really everyone's history.

And something else, too—you know, in the midst of war we find ourselves thinking about heroes. Well, this is the time to especially think of black heroes. Those who, by their fierce conviction, showed no race has a monopoly on idealism or excellence. And we must tell stories of black successes to every child in our country because we need heroes. We need them as much as we need our dreams. And black Americans have always provided both.

A few nights ago, General Tony McPeak, the Chief of Staff of our Air Force, and an

old friend many of you know, Ben Payton, president of the Tuskegee University, and Judge Souter of the Supreme Court and I, the four of us—men's night out on the town—[laughter]—went over to Ford's Theatre to see a play called the "Black Eagles." And for those who aren't aware of that, it's a play about the Tuskegee Airmen of World War II, who were led by the legendary General Benjamin Davis. An incredible story of men who took their places among a very special group of heroes—black Americans who have fought for this country for over 200 years.

And they never received the credit—they never received the credit that they deserve for their devoted patriotism, for their vision, and their sacrifices. And America owes a long-overdue tribute to these men and women who, long before they had rights, believed in what was right.

For two centuries, black soldiers have established a record of pride in the face of incredible obstacles. For not only did they risk their lives fighting for freedom for their own and for other countries, but they did it at the same time that they were being denied their own God-given freedoms at home. And think about how much they must have loved this country, how they believed in its dreams. It's an astounding devotion. It's in a league by itself.

And you can feel that love of country just as strongly out there in the Gulf today. And yes, we've made great progress in righting the wrongs of the past, but tragically, racism and bigotry, illiteracy and poverty still exist. And America, of course, is not without its problems, and black Americans serving in the Gulf understand that. And yet, they've chosen to serve because they fundamentally believe in this country. And when these Gulf heroes come home, they'll continue to fight injustice by fighting discrimination and despair with the same commitment. And we will stand with them.

So, to those who question the proportion of blacks in the armed services today, my answer is simple. The military of the United States is the greatest equal opportunity employer around. Every soldier, sailor, airman, postguardsman, and marine have enlisted because they want to be a part of the American armed services—because they know it is a place of openness and true

meritocracy, and because they know that every service man and woman receives equal training and the finest training, and equal treatment every step of the way, with education funding and technical skills which will open up unlimited futures. If anyone thinks that the military is not the place for equal opportunity and advancement, then talk to General Waller, Lieutenant General Calvin Waller, our deputy commander in chief of the Central Command; or Colonel Hopper, deputy commander of the 63d Airlift Wing; or Air Force Colonel Leonard Randolph from Langley—Langley Air Force Base.

Or listen to the man sitting over my right shoulder here, who answers those who criticize the proportion of blacks by challenging all of America. Here's what General Powell—his answer challenged the rest of this country to create the same paths of opportunity which we have in the military.

Look at those brave men and women putting their lives on the line for us. And you don't see colors or creed. All you see are Americans—good, brave, dedicated Americans—Americans who volunteered, each and every single one of them, who put their devotion to country first; Americans with dignity and pride, calling America back to her better self; Americans serving as equals, measured only by their abilities. America's heroes—the real thing. Thank God we have them, every single one.

Today we thank God for those who went before. For our new heroes are a part of a long tradition. The airmen in "Black Eagles" talk about it, for they made their own very special mark in the rollcall of generations who battled not only their country's enemy but also their countrymen's prejudice. In the play these brave warriors explain they were "paving the way, paving the way."

And it was more than two centuries ago that the first black patriots started to pave the way of freedom road. In 1774, slaves sent a plea to the royal Governor of Massachusetts, saying: "We have in common with all other men a natural right to our freedoms without being deprived of them by our fellow men."

Seems like these sentiments might have inspired the words that Thomas Jefferson

wrote 2 years later: "That all men are created equal and that they are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

What these men sent was a message from the heart to those who would follow: Stand up for freedom; cry out for freedom; risk all for freedom.

And that's what blacks have done in every war in this nation's history. And they've done it with heroes like Crispus Attucks, the first American to die for the cause of his country's liberty; with heroes like the 5,000 blacks who fought in the Revolutionary War, loyal, courageous men who will at long last be honored with a memorial out here on the Mall thanks to the Patriot Foundation, which I hope we'll all support.

Freedom road led nearly a quarter million newly freed slaves into the Civil War. Heroes emerged, like the men of Fort Wagner charge, so powerfully reenacted in the movie "Glory." The black regiment lost half its men—imagine that, half its men—but won the dignity and respect that it rightfully deserved.

Freedom road took black heroes up San Juan Hill with Teddy Roosevelt. And by the way, Colin Powell has a painting of them in his office. He says he likes to look up from his desk, see them, and remember the contributions of those who went before and, he says, reflect on what he must do to help those yet to come.

Black heroes also paved freedom road on the French fields and Rhine River of World War I. But when their sons joined up 25 years later, they found there was much work left to do. And I heard a shocking story that took place right here in America in 1943, in the middle of World War II. Black soldiers stopped and tried to eat at a restaurant. Inside German prisoners—German prisoners of war—were being served a meal, but the restaurant refused to admit the black soldiers.

By the end of the war, American black soldiers had paved a victorious path, paved it in bravery and in blood. And they won battles and medals. And they won respect as men and acceptance as Americans. And

at long last they won the integration of the Armed Forces.

These generations of heroes risked their lives so that their grandchildren could realize a dream: the dream of having the freedom to choose to serve their country, the dream that America would be a place where the only limits on a man would be the limits of his own vision, the dream of a nation where none would be called the first black, but rather, simply, the best. For, as Booker T. Washington said: "No greater injury can be done to any youth than to let him feel that because he belongs to this or that race he will be advanced regardless of his own merit or efforts."

But let's face it, the dream is not yet fully realized, and there is today too much crime and too much crack and too much despair. And yet, there is also today too much faith and too much pride and too much human dignity to give up or to give in.

And that's why we urgently need to turn to the tradition of black heroes today, to inspire a new generation to believe in itself and in the future. Homegrown heroes like Frederick Douglass, who fought for dignity; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who fought for the rights of millions; Jackie Robinson, who fought just to do what he did best. Like Ralph Bunche, who won the Nobel Prize; Gwendolyn Brooks, who won the Pulitzer; Jesse Owens, who won Olympic medals and the respect of the world. Humanitarians and leaders from George Washington Carver to Rosa Parks to the late Mickey Leland. Pioneers like Dr. Charles Drew and astronaut Ron McNair. And of course, the man who has brought inspiration, strength, and true spirit of heroism to the world's current struggle for humanity—the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs. [Applause] Exactly the way we all feel.

But they're not the only ones. It is up to each of us. Together, we must write a new chapter in the history of civil rights, a chapter that says: Opportunity must replace despair. For opportunity means education, equipping kids with the tools they need to compete in a new century. It means freedom from drugs. Opportunity means jobs,

the dignity of work. It means owning your own home, and being safe in it. Opportunity means social programs to keep families together, and health care to keep them strong. And, above all, opportunity means we must treasure and defend the value of every human life. For as Langston Hughes wrote, "There's a dream in this land with its back against the wall; to save the dream for one, it must be saved for all."

This is an ideal place for us to commit ourselves to writing that chapter. For in this very room, 27 years ago, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law, a long overdue payment on a promissory note of equality signed two centuries before. But as long as discrimination, born of ignorance and inhumanity, still exists, our work is not yet finished. And as long as the Four Horsemen of the American night—illiteracy, inequality, indigence, and fear—threaten any of us, our work is not yet finished.

And so, we must as a nation pledge that never again will the individual be degraded and devalued—that we will remember the Black Eagles, who soared from bigotry on Earth to equality in the skies.

And I am committed to civil rights and opportunity for every person in this great country. And I will simply say to all of you: I salute you. I thank you for coming here to share this very special day with all of America. And at this special time in our history, may God bless those who are serving us halfway around the world. May they be treated with respect and the dignity that they deserve when they come back home having freed another country.

Thank you all and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; Secretary of Labor Lynn M. Martin; Constance Berry Newman, Director of the Office of Personnel Management; and Arthur A. Fletcher, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights.

**Executive Order 12752—
Implementation of the Agricultural
Trade Development and Assistance Act
of 1954, as Amended, and the Food for
Progress Act of 1985, as Amended
February 25, 1991**

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended by Public Law 101-624 ("Agricultural Trade Development Act"), the Food for Progress Act of 1985, as amended by Public Law 101-624 ("Food for Progress Act"), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment of Programs.
There is hereby established:

(a) a program under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development Act to provide for the sale of agricultural commodities to developing countries. Such program shall be implemented by the Secretary of Agriculture (hereafter referred to as the "Secretary").

(b) a program under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development Act to provide for the donation of agricultural commodities to foreign countries. Such program shall be implemented by the Administrator of the Agency for International Development (hereafter referred to as the "Administrator").

(c) a program under title III of the Agricultural Trade Development Act to provide for the donation of agricultural commodities to least developed countries. Such program shall be implemented by the Administrator.

Sec. 2. International Negotiations and Accounting for Foreign Currencies. (a) The Secretary with respect to title I, and the Administrator with respect to titles II and III of the Agricultural Trade Development Act, shall negotiate and execute agreements under the Agricultural Trade Development Act in accord with section 112b of title I of the United States Code and applicable regulations and procedures of the Department of State.

(b)(1) Foreign currencies that accrue to

pete in the global economy; and, finally, making all of our schools safe, disciplined, and drug free. Achieving these goals will require the sustained cooperation of parents, educators, public officials, and the community at large.

While the Federal Government can and will serve as a catalyst for excellence, pointing the way forward and helping schools to meet higher standards, success will require the concerted efforts of parents, educators, and local government leaders. Because competition breeds quality, we can begin by expanding choice and accountability in education. Parents have primary responsibility for the education of their children, and they should have a genuine say in what, where, and how their children learn. Teachers should be able to enjoy greater flexibility in the classroom, and local school systems should act to utilize the talent and experience of persons who want to teach but are prohibited by cumbersome regulations. However, since the best measure of our schools is not how many resources we put into them but what outcomes are achieved, we must hold ourselves accountable for results, verifying what works and what does not.

We must also work together to ensure that our children dwell in an environment that is conducive to learning. Such an environment includes schools that are safe, disciplined, and drug free. However, because what goes on in school is only part of a child's educational experience, we must also maintain in our homes and neighborhoods an atmosphere that encourages learning and rewards diligent effort. Parents are their children's first and most influential teachers, and they can help to make ours a more literate Nation by reading to and with their little ones; by taking an active interest in their youngsters' homework and academic progress; and by demonstrating through example the joys of lifelong learning.

Local libraries and museums, business and civic groups, and members of the media can assist parents by offering high-quality educational programs and activities designed to ignite the natural curiosity of children. Indeed, by sparking the imaginations of our students, by ensuring that our schools tend the light of learning with

utmost care and expertise, we can build a brighter future for all Americans.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 197, has designated the week of April 15 through April 21, 1991, as "National Education First Week" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of April 15 through April 21, 1991, as National Education First Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:27 a.m., April 19, 1991]

Address to the Nation on National Education Strategy

April 18, 1991

Thank you all for joining us here in the White House today. Let me thank the Speaker for being with us, and the Majority Leader; other distinguished Members, committee heads and ranking members, and very important education committees here with us today. I want to salute the Governors, the educators, the business and the labor leaders, and especially want to single out the National Teachers of the Year. I believe we have 10 of the previous 11 Teachers of the Year with us here today, and that's most appropriate and most fitting.

But together, all of us, we will underscore the importance of a challenge destined to define the America that we'll know in the next century.

For those of you close to my age, the 21st century has always been a kind of shorthand for the distant future—the place we

put our most far-off hopes and dreams. And today, that 21st century is racing towards us—and anyone who wonders what the century will look like can find the answer in America's classrooms.

Nothing better defines what we are and what we will become than the education of our children. To quote the landmark case *Brown versus Board of Education*, "It is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education."

Education has always meant opportunity. Today, education determines not just which students will succeed but also which nations will thrive in a world united in pursuit of freedom in enterprise. Think about the changes transforming our world: the collapse of communism and the cold war, the advent and acceleration of the Information Age. Down through history, we've defined resources as soil and stones, land and the riches buried beneath. No more. Our greatest national resource lies within ourselves—our intelligence, ingenuity—the capacity of the human mind.

Nations that nurture ideas will move forward in years to come. Nations that stick to stale old notions and ideologies will falter and fail. So I'm here today to say America will move forward. The time for all the reports and rankings, for all the studies and the surveys about what's wrong in our schools is past. If we want to keep America competitive in the coming century, we must stop convening panels to report on ourselves. We must stop convening panels that report the obvious. And we must accept responsibility for educating everyone among us, regardless of background or disability.

If we want America to remain a leader, a force for good in the world, we must lead the way in educational innovation. And if we want to combat crime and drug abuse, if we want to create hope and opportunity in the bleak corners of this country where there is now nothing but defeat and despair, we must dispel the darkness with the enlightenment that a sound and well-rounded education provides.

Think about every problem, every challenge we face. The solution to each starts with education. For the sake of the future of our children, and of the Nation's, we

must transform America's schools. The days of the status quo are over.

Across this country, people have started to transform the American school. They know that the time for talk is over. Their slogan is: Don't dither, just do it. Let's push the reform effort forward. Use each experiment, each advance to build for the next American century—new schools for a new world.

As a first step in this strategy, we must challenge not only the methods and the means that we've used in the past but also the yardsticks that we've used to measure our progress. Let's stop trying to measure progress in terms of money spent. We spend 33 percent more per pupil in 1991 than we did in 1981—33 percent more in real, constant dollars—and I don't think there's a person anywhere who would say—anywhere in the country—who would say that we've seen a 33-percent improvement in our schools' performance.

Dollar bills don't educate students. Education depends on committed communities, determined to be places where learning will flourish; committed teachers, free from the noneducational burdens; committed parents, determined to support excellence; committed students, excited about school and learning. To those who want to see real improvement in American education, I say: There will be no renaissance without revolution.

We who would be revolutionaries must accept responsibilities for our schools. For too long, we've adopted a no-fault approach to education. Someone else is always to blame. And while we point fingers out there, trying to assign blame, the students suffer. There's no place for a no-fault attitude in our schools. It's time we held our schools—and ourselves—accountable for results.

Until now, we've treated education like a manufacturing process, assuming that if the gauges seemed right—if we had good pay scales, the right pupil-teacher ratios—good students would just pop out of our schools. It's time to turn things around—to focus on students, to set standards for our schools—and let teachers and principals figure out how best to meet them.

We've made a good beginning by setting the Nation's sights on six ambitious national education goals—and setting for our target the year 2000. Our goals have been forged in partnership with the Nation's Governors, several of whom are with us here today in the East Room. And those who have taken a leadership are well-known to everyone in this room. And for those who need a refresher course—there may be a quiz later on—let me list those goals right now.

By 2000, we've got to, first, ensure that every child starts school ready to learn; second one, raise the high school graduation rate to 90 percent; the third one, ensure that each American student leaving the 4th, 8th, and 12th grades can demonstrate competence in core subjects; four, make our students first in the world in math and science achievements; fifth, ensure that every American adult is literate and has the skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; and sixth, liberate every American school from drugs and violence so that schools encourage learning.

Our strategy to meet these noble national goals is founded in common sense and common values. It's ambitious—and yet, with hard work, it's within our reach. And I can outline our strategy in one paragraph, and here it is: For today's students, we must make existing schools better and more accountable. For tomorrow's students, the next generation, we must create a new generation of American schools. For all of us, for the adults who think our school days are over, we've got to become a nation of students—recognize learning is a lifelong process. Finally, outside our schools we must cultivate communities where learning can happen. That's our strategy.

People who want Washington to solve our educational problems are missing the point. We can lend appropriate help through such programs as Head Start. But what happens here in Washington won't matter half as much as what happens in each school, each local community, and yes, in each home. Still, the Federal Government will serve as a catalyst for change in several important ways.

Working closely with the Governors, we will define new world-class standards for schools, teachers, and students in the five

core subjects: math and science, English, history and geography. We will develop voluntary—let me repeat it—we will develop voluntary national tests for 4th, 8th, and 12th graders in the five core subjects. These American Achievement Tests will tell parents and educators, politicians, and employers just how well our schools are doing. I'm determined to have the first of these tests for fourth graders in place by the time that school starts in September of 1993. And for high school seniors, let's add another incentive—a distinction sure to attract attention of colleges and companies in every community across the country—a Presidential Citation to students who excel on the 12th-grade test.

We can encourage educational excellence by encouraging parental choice. The concept of choice draws its fundamental strength from the principle at the very heart of the democratic idea. Every adult American has the right to vote, the right to decide where to work, where to live. It's time parents were free to choose the schools that their children attend. This approach will create the competitive climate that stimulates excellence in our private and parochial schools as well.

But the centerpiece of our national education strategy is not a program, it's not a test. It's a new challenge: To reinvent American education—to design new American schools for the year 2000 and beyond. The idea is simple but powerful: Put America's special genius for invention to work for America's schools. I will challenge communities to become what we will call America 2000 communities. Governors will honor communities with this designation if the communities embrace the national education goals, create local strategies for reaching these goals, devise report cards for measuring progress, and agree to encourage and support one of the new generation of America's schools.

We must also foster educational innovation. I'm delighted to announce today that America's business leaders, under the chairmanship of Paul O'Neill, will create the New American Schools Development Corporation—a private sector research and development fund of at least \$150 million to generate innovation in education.

This fund offers an open-end challenge to the dreamers and the doers eager to reinvent, eager to reinvigorate our schools. With the results of this R&D in hand, I will urge Congress to provide \$1 million in startup funds for each of the 535 New American Schools—at least one in every congressional district—and have them up and running by 1996.

The New American Schools must be more than rooms full of children seated at computers. If we mean to prepare our children for life, classrooms also must cultivate values and good character—give real meaning to right and wrong.

We ask only two things of these architects of our New American Schools: that their students meet the new national standards for the five core subjects, and that outside of the costs of the initial research and development, the schools operate on a budget comparable to conventional schools. The architects of the New American Schools should break the mold. Build for the next century. Reinvent—literally start from scratch and reinvent the American school. No question should be off limits, no answers automatically assumed. We're not after one single solution for every school. We're interested in finding every way to make schools better.

There's a special place in inventing the New American School for the corporate community, for business and labor. And I invite you to work with us not simply to transform our schools but to transform every American adult into a student.

Fortunately, we have a secret weapon in America's system of colleges and universities—the finest in the entire world. The corporate community can take the lead by creating a voluntary private system of world-class standards for the workplace. Employers should set up skill centers where workers can seek advice and learn new skills. But most importantly, every company and every labor union must bring the worker into the classroom and bring the classroom into the workplace.

We'll encourage every Federal agency to do the same. And to prove no one's ever too old to learn, Lamar, with his indefatigable determination and leadership, has convinced me to become a student again myself. Starting next week, I'll begin study-

ing. And I want to know how to operate a computer. [Laughter] Very candidly—I don't expect this new tutorial to teach me how to set the clock on the VCR or anything complicated. [Laughter] But I want to be computer literate, and I'm not. There's a lot of kids, thank God, that are. And I want to learn, and I will.

The workplace isn't the only place we must improve opportunities for education. Across this nation, we must cultivate communities where children can learn—communities where the school is more than a refuge, more than a solitary island of calm amid chaos. Where the school is the living center of a community where people care—people care for each other and their futures—not just in the school but in the neighborhood, not just in the classroom but in the home.

Our challenge amounts to nothing less than a revolution in American education—a battle for our future. And now, I ask all Americans to be Points of Light in the crusade that counts the most: the crusade to prepare our children and ourselves for the exciting future that looms ahead.

What I've spoken about this afternoon are the broad strokes of this national education strategy: accountable schools for today, a new generation of schools for tomorrow, a nation of students committed to a lifetime of learning, and communities where all our children can learn.

There are four people here today who symbolize each element of this strategy and point the way forward for our reforms. Esteban Pagan—Steve—an award-winning eighth-grade student in science and history at East Harlem Tech, a choice school. Steve? Right here, I think. Stand up, now.

Mike Hopkins, lead teacher in the Saturn School in St. Paul, Minnesota, where teachers have already helped reinvent the American school. Mike, where are you? Right here, sir. Thank you.

David Kelley, a high-tech troubleshooter at the Michelin Tire plant in Greenville, South Carolina. David has spent the equivalent of 1 full year of his 4 years at Michelin back at his college expanding his skills. David? There he is.

Finally, Michelle Moore, of Missouri, a single mother active in Missouri's Parents as

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Teachers program. She wants her year-old son, Alston, to arrive for his first day of school ready to learn. Michelle?

So, to sum it up, for these four people and for all the others like them, the revolution in American education has already begun. Now I ask all Americans to be Points of Light in the crusade that counts the most: the crusade to prepare our children and ourselves for the exciting future that looms ahead. At any moment in every mind, the miracle of learning beckons us all. Between now and the year 2000, there is not one moment or one miracle to waste.

Thank you all. Thank you for your interest, for your dedication. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

White House Fact Sheet on the President's Education Strategy April 18, 1991

The President today outlined his strategy to move the Nation toward achieving the national education goals and educational excellence for all Americans. The President believes we must restructure and revitalize America's education system by the year 2000. Emphasizing that this effort is a national challenge, the President asked all Americans to take part in "the crusade that counts most—the crusade to prepare our children and ourselves for the exciting future that looms ahead."

America 2000 builds on four related themes:

- Creating better and more accountable schools for today's students,
- Creating a new generation of American schools for tomorrow's students,
- Transforming America into a nation of students, and
- Making our communities places where learning will happen.

I. Creating Better and More Accountable Schools for Today's Students

The President called on all Americans to help create better and more accountable

schools based on world class standards and the principle of accountability. He encouraged all elements of our communities—families, businesses, unions, places of worship, neighborhood organizations, and other voluntary associations—to work together with our schools to help the Nation achieve educational excellence.

A. World Class Standards in Five Core Subjects

The President believes the time has come to establish world class standards for what our children should know and be able to do in five core subjects: English, mathematics, science, history, and geography.

- Through the National Education Goals Panel, and working with interested parties throughout the Nation, the President and the Governors will develop a timetable for establishing national standards in these five subjects, and in September 1991, and each year thereafter, the panel will report to the Nation on progress toward the national education goals.
- The standards are intended to lift the entire education system and improve the learning achievement of all students. The President and the Governors oppose a national curriculum or federalizing our education system.

B. A System of Voluntary National Examinations

Through the efforts of the National Education Goals Panel, a system of voluntary examinations will be developed and made available for all fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade students in the five core subjects.

- These American Achievement Tests will challenge all students to strive to meet the world class standards and ensure that, when they leave school, students are prepared for further study and the workforce. The tests will measure higher order skills (i.e., they will not be strictly multiple choice tests).
- The President, working with the Nation's Governors, will seek congressional authorization for State-level national assessment of educational progress assessments and for optional use of these

assessments at district and school levels.

- Students who distinguish themselves on the American Achievement Tests will receive a Presidential Citation for Educational Excellence in recognition of their outstanding achievement.
- The President will seek authorization for Presidential Achievement Scholarships to reward academic excellence among low income students pursuing postsecondary education opportunities. These financial awards will be based on superior high school and college performance.

C. Schools as the Site of Reform

The administration will help strengthen the capacity of elementary and secondary schools to improve results and to innovate by increasing flexibility in decisionmaking at the State, district, and school levels and encouraging report cards on performance.

- In addition to an annual National Report Card, the President will encourage schools, school districts, and States to issue regular report cards on their education performance. These report cards will measure results and progress toward achieving the national education goals.
- As part of his America 2000 Excellence in Education Act of 1991, the President will again seek legislation that will allow greater flexibility in the use of Federal resources for education in exchange for enhanced accountability for results.
- To stimulate reform in mathematics and science education, the America 2000 Excellence in Education Act of 1991 will include \$40 million for new grants to school districts that show significant gains in student achievement. Awards will be used for continued improvements in these vital subjects.
- The America 2000 Excellence in Education Act of 1991 also will seek funds for a Merit Schools Program for States to award individual schools that demonstrate significant progress toward the national education goals. States may "bank" funds over several years to

create even more incentives for successful schools.

D. Providing and Promoting School Choice

The President believes that educational choice for parents and students is critical to improving our schools.

- The President will promote State and local choice programs as part of his America 2000 Excellence in Education Act of 1991.
- A \$200 million Education Certificate Program Support Fund will provide incentive grants to local school districts with qualified education certificate programs that enhance parental choice.
- National school choice demonstration projects will be supported through a \$30 million initiative.
- The administration also will seek ways to ensure that Federal education programs are more supportive of choice.

E. Teachers and Principals

America's teachers and principals are on the front lines of transforming our schools. As part of his America 2000 Excellence in Education Act of 1991, the President will propose several initiatives to promote outstanding leadership in our schools.

- Presidential Awards for Excellence in Education will recognize and reward outstanding teachers across America.
- The President will encourage States and communities to provide alternative routes of certification through one-time grants to States to support implementation of alternative certification.
- In order to improve the training of school principals and other school leaders, the President will propose establishing Governors' academies in every State with Federal seed money to enhance principal training through instructional and mentoring programs.
- The President will seek to establish Governors' academies for America's teachers with Federal seed money to offer advanced instruction focusing on the five core academic disciplines.

The President also encouraged States to consider differential pay and financial and other awards for those who excel in teach-

ing, teach core subjects, teach in challenging settings, and serve as mentors for new teachers.

II. Creating a New Generation of American Schools for Tomorrow's Students

The President today challenged the best minds in America to design—and help communities create—the best schools in the world.

A. Research and Development

A series of research and development teams, funded by contributions from the business community, will help design a new generation of American schools.

- America's business leaders will establish and mobilize private resources for the New American Schools Development Corporation, a new non-profit organization that will award contracts in 1992 to between three and seven research and development teams. These teams may consist of corporations, universities, think tanks, school innovators, and others. The teams' products will be available to the American people.
- The mission of these teams is to help communities create schools that will reach the national education goals, including world class standards in the five core subjects for all students, as monitored by the American Achievement Tests and similar measures.
- The President will ask his Education Policy Advisory Committee, as well as the Department of Education, to examine the work of these research and development teams and to report on their progress.

B. New American Schools

The President will ask Congress to provide \$550 million in one-time start-up funds to create at least 535 New American Schools that "break the mold" of existing school designs.

- These funds will provide up to \$1 million for each New American School to underwrite special staff training, instructional materials, or other support the school needs. The goal is to have at least one New American School operat-

ing in each congressional district by September 1996.

- Once the schools are launched, the operating costs of the New American Schools will be no more than those of conventional schools.
- The President also will ask Congress for start-up funds to help design state-of-the-art technology appropriate for New American Schools.
- A New American School does not necessarily mean new bricks-and-mortar. Nor does a New American School have to rely on technology; the quality of learning is what matters.

C. America 2000 Communities

The President called on every community in the country to do four things:

- Adopt the six national education goals,
- Establish a community-wide strategy for achieving the goals,
- Develop a report card for measuring its progress, and
- Demonstrate its readiness to create and support a New American School.

Communities that accept this challenge will be designated, by the Governors of their States, as "America 2000 Communities."

- Governors, in conjunction with the Secretary of Education, will review community-developed plans with the assistance of a distinguished advisory panel and will determine which America 2000 communities in each State will receive Federal financial support in starting New American Schools.
- The Governors and the Secretary will ensure that many such schools serve communities with high concentrations of children at risk.

D. Leadership at All Levels

Transforming American education and creating a new generation of American schools will require the commitment of America's leaders at all levels.

- The President welcomes the commitment by American business to contribute \$150-\$200 million to support the research and development effort.

- The President asked the Nation's Governors to lead the New American Schools effort in their States.
- The President challenged State legislatures to: support the creation and operation of New American Schools; embrace the world class standards and adopt the American Achievement Tests; and work toward school, district, and State-level report cards.
- The President encouraged civic leaders to help organize community plans all across the country to seek designation as an America 2000 community, and to help plan and operate New American Schools. Business can encourage local schools to use the world class standards and American Achievement Tests, and encourage schools to issue report cards on their performance.
- The President called on educators to accept new roles and to take risks. Teachers, principals, and other educators are asked to work to develop a consensus on the world class standards and to determine what it would take to create a New American School in each community.

E. Families and Children Devoted to Learning

The President called on parents to urge use of world class standards, American Achievement Tests, and report cards by local schools. Parents must play a key role in creating New American Schools in their own communities and must work with children in the home to improve children's performance in school.

III. Transforming America into "A Nation of Students"

The President believes that learning is a life-long challenge. Approximately 85 percent of America's workers for the year 2000 are already in the workforce. Improving schools for today's and tomorrow's students is not sufficient to ensure a competitive America in the year 2000. The President called on Americans to move from "A Nation at Risk" to "A Nation of Students"

by continuing to enhance the knowledge and skills of all Americans.

A. Strengthening the Nation's Education Effort for Yesterday's Students, Today's Workers

To advance the goal of improving literacy for all Americans:

- The President will push for greater accountability and choice in the Adult Education Act and will advance these twin principles in new adult literacy activities proposed under the new American 2000 Excellence in Education Act of 1991.
- The Department of Education will provide regular timely, and reliable information by expanding the national adult literacy survey and collecting information about literacy efforts on a regular basis.

B. Establishing Standards for Job Skills and Knowledge

The President urged business and labor cooperatively to develop—and then to use—world class standards and core proficiencies for each industry. Federal resources will be sought to provide start-up assistance for this effort.

C. Creating Business and Community Skill Clinics

Today's workers will be assisted through skill clinics—one-stop service centers located in businesses and communities across America where adults can get job skill diagnosis and referral services.

- The administration will urge businesses to make skill clinics available to their employees and encourage America 2000 communities to establish community skill clinics.
- Federal departments and agencies will be encouraged to establish such skill clinics and, working with the Office of Personnel Management, will be encouraged to undertake activities to upgrade their employees' skills.

D. Enhancing Job Training Opportunities

The Domestic Policy Council Job Training 2000 Working Group will review current Federal job training efforts and identi-

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fy successful ways of motivating and enabling individuals to receive the comprehensive services, education, and skills necessary to achieve economic independence.

E. Mobilizing A "Nation of Students"

The President will work to transform "A Nation at Risk" into "A Nation of Students."

- The President called on the Secretary of Education and the Secretary of Labor to convene business and labor leaders, education and training experts, and Federal, State, and local government officials at a national conference on the education of adult Americans to launch a national effort to transform adult America into a "Nation of Students."

IV. Making our Communities Places Where Learning Will Happen

The President called on communities to adopt the six national education goals as their own, set a community strategy to meet them, produce a report card to measure results, and agree to create and support a New American School.

The President believes that it is essential to reaffirm such enduring values as personal responsibility, individual action, and other core principles that must underpin life in a democratic society. The aim of the America 2000 community campaign is to make our communities places where learning will happen.

A. Greater Parental Involvement

The President urged parents to become more involved in their children's education and in the work of the New American Schools.

- Parents and teachers should encourage children to study more, learn more, and strive to meet higher academic standards.
- The President encouraged parents to read aloud daily to their children, especially their younger children.

B. Enhanced Program Effectiveness for Children and Communities

The President is committed to making government work better to improve programs for America's children and communities.

- Working through the Domestic Policy Council Economic Empowerment Task Force and with the Nation's Governors and other officials, the administration will undertake better coordination of existing Federal programs with corresponding State and local activities.
- As part of this effort, existing program eligibility requirements will be reviewed in order to streamline them and reduce Federal red tape. Wherever possible, States will be afforded maximum flexibility to design and implement integrated State, local, and Federal programming.

Message to the Congress Reporting on Environmental Quality

April 18, 1991

To the Congress of the United States:

Of all the great social and technological changes of the 20th century, none may be more crucial to our well-being and that of future generations than the change that has occurred in the way we view our environment. Ours was the first generation to see the many colors of Earth from the vastness of space, and to recognize that our decisions will determine whether the next generation lives in a polluted world of lowered expectations or in a world that sustains humanity and a wondrous diversity of life.

Given these high stakes, I am pleased to report that 1990 was a landmark year in the Nation's efforts to enhance environmental quality.

- We enacted the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, providing the United States with the world's most advanced, comprehensive, and market-oriented laws to address air pollution, including acid precipitation, urban air quality, toxic air pollutants, and global ozone layer depletion.
- We adopted an international agreement and enacted laws to phase out chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and other substances that deplete the Earth's ozone layer, which protects us from the harmful effects of solar radiation.

HISTORY/PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The Wings of Hope Anti-Drug program originated in Atlanta, Georgia, April 18, 1989. Seven (7) inner city churches were asked by the SCLC National Director and Founder of "Wings of Hope," to develop within their congregations drug prevention committees (The churches selected were near or in drug infested areas). Once these committees were established the SCLC would coordinate drug prevention training for these committees. Subsequent to the training, we asked these DPC's (Drug Prevention Committees) to perform several tasks:

- (1) Educate the church on Drug Prevention techniques and strategies (also, to set up or expand N.A. and A.A. groups).
- (2) Educate the surrounding community via., drug prevention workshops and seminars.
- (3) Develop with their congregations a family support group in preparation for adopting families in drug infested areas.

In Atlanta, Georgia The Wings of Hope participants (including SCLC) have adopted families in drug infested areas. The SCLC believes that if the church and other community based groups can become an extended family for these at-risk families, the overall result will be a reduction in demand for drugs and safer neighborhoods. In addition to training and adopting, the SCLC is also helping communities develop anti-drug coalitions to work with law enforcement officials and community anti-crime groups, to create effective neighborhood watch programs with a focus on developing drug free zones.

"By the Grace of God" the SCLC Wings of Hope Anti-Drug Program has had remarkable success in the last year and a half. Two of our program coordinators in Cleveland, Ohio, Reverend Tony Minor and Reverend Charles Matthews were selected by President Bush's Drug Czar William Bennett, as two of the top twenty people in the country doing community based anti-drug work. (They were chosen from the SCLC Wings of Hope Program operating in Cleveland, Ohio.) The Secretary of HUD, Mr. Jack Kemp, along with the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Louis Sullivan, has publically endorsed the SCLC Wings of Hope Anti-Drug Program. In addition to endorsements at the federal level, we also have support from Academy Award Winner Louis Gossett, Jr. Mr. Gossett has agreed to be the Master of Ceremonies for a national telethon to raise funds for our drug program (this could become an annual event). I have also met with Hamilton Cloud, who is the Executive Producer of the N.A.A.C.P. Image Awards and Tony Secretary, who directs the Bill Cosby Show, concerning the telethon. Both said they would be willing to work with Lou Gossett and SCLC to do a major fund raising telethon for our drug program. I also met with some executives from Turner Broadcasting Station who expressed interest in TBS hosting the telethon. We have the key ingredients in pulling together a historical fund raiser for the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference could have a significant impact in the war on drugs.

Program Features

The SCLC Wings of Hope Anti-Drug Program is divided into three phases:

Phase I: Church\community groups develop within their congregations and agencies Drug Prevention Committees. The SCLC will coordinate substance abuse training for those committees on such topics as:

- (1) Addiction
- (2) Drug Prevention Education
- (3) Street Drugs
- (4) Recovery and Aftercare for Addicts
- (5) AIDS Education
- (6) How to Set Up N.A. and A.A. Groups
- (7) Family Intervention Techniques

The tasks of these committees, once they have completed training, is to:

- A. Educate the church\agency on the topics covered in the training,
- B. Educate the surrounding community on the topics covered in the training, and
- C. Develop within their congregations or community agency/group, a family support group to prepare for Phase II (Family and Youth Adoption).

Phase II: In this phase we ask those churches and community groups that participated in Phase I to adopt families in drug infested areas of the city. Like Phase I, SCLC will coordinate training for the Family Support Groups on topics that relate to at-risk families and adoption. Adoption includes:

- (1) GED Training Coordination
- (2) Job Training Coordination

- (3) Parenting Education
- (4) Counseling:
 - a) life goals
 - b) therapy
 - c) spiritual
- (5) Cultural Enrichment Activities, Visits to:
 - a) African American Museums
 - b) African American/European Plays
 - c) King Center Historical Tour
 - d) Southern Christian Leadership Conference History; Civil Rights; Activities/Direct Action
 - e) African American Educational Facilities
- (6) Mentor and Role Model Development:
 - a) youth empowerment (SCLC has a youth development nonviolence manual)
- (7) Family Nights:
 - a) entertainment
 - b) family enrichment seminars
 - c) effective parenting

Phase III: Community organizing to develop community based anti-drug coalitions. In this phase SCLC will assist in organizing communities to develop neighborhood coalitions to:

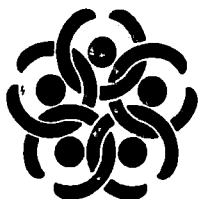
- (1) Develop Neighborhood Watch Programs
- (2) Develop Community Activities for Drug Prevention Awareness and Education:
 - a) anti-drug marches
 - b) anti-drug fairs
 - c) anti-drug rallies
- (3) Develop Community Based Theatrical Groups (Youth and Adult) to Put On Anti-Drug Plays and Rap Contests

The SCLC believes that once all three phases have been implemented, with a focus on churches and community groups adopting families (becoming an extended family for families living in drug infested areas), the overall result will be a reduction in demand for drugs and safer, more productive neighborhoods. We also believe that this approach will reduce gang related behavior.

The national office of SCLC has adopted three (3) families in Atlanta who live in public housing. We have succeeded in getting the mothers into parenting education classes and in GED training. Once they complete their GED training we will work with the "Opportunity Industrialization Center (OIC)" to get them into a job training program so that they will have the opportunity to find gainful employment and become self-sufficient. In addition, the mothers have been taken to the King Center as part of our cultural enrichment activities. We believe that there is a relationship to ones self-esteem and knowledge of ones culture. Visits to African American cultural centers will help promote positive self-worth in these mothers and their children.

We are asking each chapter and all churches to commit to doing, at

a minimum, what the national office is already doing with our adopted families. Effective drug prevention begins with family empowerment and helping to create constructive opportunities so that the whole family will have an incentive to say no to drugs. The SCLC Wings of Hope Anti-Drug Program focuses on the development of the family as a primary program feature.



THE KING CENTER



Mrs. Coretta Scott King

Founding President and Chief Executive Officer
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
and
Chairperson MLK Jr. Federal Holiday Commission

&

Mr. Jesse Hill, Jr.

Chairman of the Board
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.

cordially invite you to be present for the signing of the Presidential Proclamation
honoring the Seventh Federal Holiday and Sixty-Third Birthday Anniversary in
Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.
by the

**President of the United States
George Bush**



U.S. or Presidential
Seal

on Friday, January 17, 1992
from 10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.
Ebenezer Baptist Church

Please R.S.V.P. by close of business on Tuesday, January 14, 1992
to Patrick Jones, 730-3158 (King Federal Holiday Commission)
Invitation admits one and is nontransferable.
All persons must be present by 9:15 a.m. and will be seated by 9:30 a.m.

consultant and trainer, Mr. Wardell Jones. The Morehouse School of Medicine, Cork Institute on Black Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, Dr. Don Watson has assisted in the training. The Black Family Project Inc. (Amelia Tucker Show) at Atlanta University provides our family training. The Atlanta West Intake and Treatment Center provides one of our key trainers, Mr. Larry Lewis. The other agencies involved are: Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services, Big Brothers and Big Sisters of Metropolitan Atlanta, Atlanta Housing Authority, YES Atlanta, Summerhill Neighborhood Association, Oakhurst Presbyterian Church, Red Dog Unit, The FBI, Parents Against Crack, United States Treasury Department, Coalesce Drug Treatment Center, Brothers Against Drugs (BAD), Antioch Baptist Church, Anchor Recovery Team (Dr. Juanetta Kelly), Charter Peachford Hospital (Dr. Tommie Richardson).

GOAL

Through our SCLC Anti-Drug Program, three things will happen:

- 1) Reduction in demand of drugs in targeted areas.

- 2) The development of "community cohesiveness for drug prevention, via family adoption.
- 3) Reduction in crime and drug related homicides.

CHALLENGES

The challenge is for you to help make a difference in the war on drugs. Please get involved in your community by participating in the SCLC "Wings Of Hope Anti-Drug" program. There is no obligation or cost. All we need is your time. (However, we do accept donations.)

"With God's Help And Your Participation, We Can Win The War On Drugs"

For more information, call (404)
522-1420

National Project Director:
Rev. Richard Dalton

Address:
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

SCLC

Wings Of Hope **Anti-Drug Program**



Dr. Joseph Lowery
President SCLC

*"Churches and Communities
Working Together To
Produce Drug Free
Neighborhoods"*



"Keeping The Dream Alive"

HISTORY

Several years ago, Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, President of the SCLC, recognized the need for churches and communities to become more involved in the War on Drugs. In April of 1989, in response to Dr. Lowery's concern, the SCLC developed an anti-drug program called "Wings Of Hope". The program is designed to create coalitions and partnerships between churches and community groups to address the drug problem in local neighborhoods. Since the inception of our Wings Of Hope initiative, which began in Atlanta, Georgia, the program has been implemented in twelve (12) different cities throughout the United States (with little or no funding). Our SCLC chapters have been excellent in their leadership to get Wings Of Hope mobilized in these twelve (12) cities. The cities are: Los Angeles, Kansas City, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Atlanta, Montgomery, Anniston, Birmingham, Mobile, Orlando, and Miami. We will be expanding our program to other cities over the next few years.

In October of 1990, President Bush selected the SCLC Wings Of Hope Anti-Drug Program as the 284th

point of light for the nation. Former drug Czar William Bennett also picked the SCLC Anti-Drug Program as one of the top fifteen (15) community based anti-drug initiatives (Washington Post article, November 1989) in the country.

PROGRAM FEATURES

The SCLC Wings Of Hope Anti-Drug Program is divided into four (4) phases:

Phase I: Coalition building Phase. SCLC develops partnerships between churches and community groups in the targeted areas of the city to work together to address the drug problem.

Phase II: SCLC request that churches and community groups develop "Drug Prevention Committees" or substance abuse committees. SCLC along with local drug treatment centers will provide substance abuse training for these committees over a four (4) month period. The committees have the task of educating their communities and churches.

Phase III: SCLC begins to mobilize churches and community groups to be trained for family and youth

adoption. During this phase the entire community is requested to become the "extended family" for youth and families at risk, with a focus on drug prevention. SCLC has adopted five (5) families in a public housing unit in Atlanta (Herndon Homes).

Phase IV: SCLC trains churches and community groups in "how" to organize entire neighborhoods for drug prevention strategies. The model used for this phase is from the "Fairlawn Coalition" located in Southeast Washington, D.C. As a result of effective community organizing the Fairlawn Coalition reclaimed their community from drug dealers. This coalition was selected as one of the best grassroots anti-drug initiatives in the country (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University).

PARTNERSHIP AGENCIES

The training for our program takes place at Southside Community School (in Atlanta, Georgia) under the leadership of Mr. Willie Fussell, Community School Director. The Fulton County Alcohol and Drug Treatment Center, also located in Atlanta, Georgia, provides our national

S.C.L.C. Wings of Hope Anti-Drug Program: Training Components and Overview Outline

I. WORKING TITLE: Christians and Substance Use and Abuse: The First Steps

II. PURPOSE: This training will help adults explore, understand, and respond as Christians and concerned members of the community to issues related to substance (alcohol and other drugs) use and abuse. The training seminars will do this by helping persons consider and act in terms of:

- A. One's personal decisions regarding use and abuse.
- B. Identifying and intervening in problem situations.
- C. Responding to and supporting persons seeking recovery.
- D. Responding to and supporting persons whose lives are and/or have been affected by an alcoholic or addicted family member.
- E. The ways substance abuse issues influence and affect the community and society in varied and complex ways.

III. AUDIENCE

- A. **Primary Audience:** Adults who want to make informed Christian and community responses and decisions in regard to some area of substance abuse. This includes:
 - 1. Persons who are making personal choices and decisions related to use and abuse of alcohol and other drugs.
 - 2. Persons who are concerned about a family member's abuse of alcohol or other drugs.
 - 3. Persons who want to make the church a supportive and redemptive community for persons whose lives have been and/or are touched by substance abuse (either personally or by a family member).
 - 4. Persons who want to consider the complex social and economic issues related to substance use and abuse within our world.
- B. **Secondary Audience:** Pastors and others who are being trained to lead others in similar training.

IV. SETTINGS

- A. **Primary:** Southside Comprehensive School
- B. **Secondary:** Special adult study groups (including adult groups involved in a congregation-wide study) and adult Sunday school classes.
- C. **Third:** Initial study by pastors in district (or sub-district) gatherings as part of denominational emphasis.
- D. **Fourth:** Community Leaders and Activists

V. CONTENT

A. Focus: The focus of the training/education will be on the necessity to make informed decisions in regard to substance use and abuse issues and to take appropriate actions in regard to such issues; that focus will recognize that persons are dealing with life and death matters for which such stereotyped Christian/community responses as "being nice" or being judgmental are inadequate or destructive.

B. Additional Content

1. Define basic terms such as *addictive behavior, addiction, addict, alcoholic, alcoholism, enable, co-dependency, and intervention.*
2. Provide help for adults in making decisions about drug and alcohol use and abuse from religious, medical, social, and cultural perspectives.
3. Affirm the sanctity of the human body as created by God.
4. Consider scientific and medical information regarding effects of substance abuse upon one's body and upon one's children.
5. Exploration of dynamics of alcoholism and addiction (medical, physiological, psychological, hereditary, social dynamics, and so forth).
6. Exploration of destructive and unproductive responses to alcoholics and addicts (enabling, "being nice," co-dependency, judgmental accusations, denial, and so forth).
7. Consideration of esteem and communication issues.
8. Consideration of constructive responses to alcoholics and addicts (honesty, acceptance, confrontation, intervention, allowing persons to face consequences of their actions, caring, and so forth).
9. Consideration of tensions in dealing with substance abuse issues (e.g. tough love vs. sweet love, and so forth).
10. Consideration of addiction as sin or as illness (medical evidence, consequences of respective viewpoints).
11. Consideration of redemptive communities: what the church can learn from AA (and similar groups) and what they can learn from the church.
12. Consideration of legal issues (DWI, permitting use of alcohol by minors, use of illegal drugs, and so forth).
13. Consideration of social and economic implications of substance use and abuse for various groups and strata in society (ethnic labels and stereotypes, access to rehabilitation, discrimination in arrests, contributions of alcoholic beverage companies to minority education, targeting of minorities in advertising campaigns, advertising aimed at teenagers and college students, campus strategies and so forth).
14. Information about general health issues, including AIDS.
15. Information about rehabilitation agencies and support groups (AA, CA, NA, Al-Anon, and so forth).
16. Consideration of congregation's involvement in support (Twelve Step Sunday School classes, meeting space for AA, skill training in supporting recovering persons, and so forth).

17. Identifying sources for further information and support.
 18. Recognition that this training is only a beginning; decisions, recovery, support, and resolution of theological issues and tensions are lifelong processes.
- C. **Boundaries:** (1) The training will be delivered from the perspective that it can provide only the initial step for addressing issues and problems of substance abuse; the training will suggest directions and sources for further information and support. (2) The training will recognize there are no easy answers to complex issues involving varied and interrelated factors. (3) At the same time the training will recognize the problems and destructive nature of inaction. (4) The training will recognize the church's destructive responses—sometimes real and sometimes imagined—to problems of substance abuse. (5) The training will assume and present a perspective of hope and an affirmation of the goodness of life as God created and intended it to be.

VI. TEACHING STRATEGIES

- A. Group building activities that will establish a climate for honest interaction, sharing and acceptance.
- B. Information-sharing through such methods as reading, lecture, video, resource persons, and research by class members.
- C. Resource persons, interviews, and panels that can bring perspectives of physicians, treatment center counselors, recovering addicts/alcoholics, and other persons who deal with substance abuse.
- D. Study of biblical passages that deal with the "big picture" (not prooftexts) of human worth (created by God), human relationships, care of the body, concern for one's neighbor, discipline, witness, and so forth.
- E. Role play and simulation related to identifying with the plight of other persons (both substance abusers and those related to them) and to decision-making situations.

VII. DISTINCTIVENESS FOR MARKETING AND INTERPRETATION

- A. An undated resource for adults.
- B. Related to denominational emphasis, programming, and resources for children and youth.
- C. Potential for addressing substance abuse at several levels; prevention, intervention, recovery, support, and social concern.
- D. As an overview study, this resource could stimulate interest and ideas for additional resources (for example, a *Doorways* study for spouses of alcoholics and other addicts).

NOTE: Information derived from a conference on Pan-Methodist Response to Substance Abuse, Nashville, Tennessee, October, 1990.

A New Civil Rights Agenda

By WILLIAM J. BENNETT

We are in the midst of a sea-change in "civil rights."

The most obvious evidence is the degree to which the current civil rights movement is on the defensive. The House Labor Committee's Democrats renamed the "Civil Rights Act of 1991" the "Civil Rights and Women's Equity in Employment Act of 1991." (Can the "Civil Rights, Women's Equity in Employment and Pro-Environment Act of 1991" be far behind?) Key supporters of last year's civil rights legislation are backing away from this year's version. The willingness of Congress and the White House to voice opposition to the current civil rights bill is growing.

A public opinion study last month commissioned by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (a coalition of liberal groups) found strong support for the principles of equal opportunity, efforts to expand opportunity for the disadvantaged, reward for merit and hard work, and fairness in the workplace. It also found (to the dismay of the groups commissioning the study) a widespread view that civil rights organizations are *not* committed to those same principles. According to Celinda Lake, one of the authors of the study, "the civil rights organizations and proponents of civil rights were no longer seen as . . . addressing generalized discrimination, valuing work and being for opportunity."

Ugly Charges

Of course the leaders of the civil rights movement will be the last to acknowledge the fundamental changes that are occurring; as guardians of the old order, they have the most to lose. And on the surface, some things will probably not change. Opponents of the 1991 civil rights bill can expect to be on the receiving end of ugly charges of (at best) "insensitivity" and (at worst) harboring racist sentiments. "Progressive" politicians, columnists and many within the media will line up behind supporters of the civil rights legislation. But all to no avail, I suspect. It is becoming increasingly clear that the current civil rights agenda, and its propagators, is rapidly losing its moral and political force.

The civil rights leaders hitched their agenda on the quotas bandwagon. The legislation being promoted by the civil rights leadership and liberal Democrats is (like last year's legislation) a de facto quota bill. Opponents know it. Businesses know it. And so, undoubtedly, do many of the bill's supporters. But most Americans deeply believe in the principle of equality; they are necessarily opposed, therefore, to quotas and reverse discrimination. In an attempt to square their "civil rights

agenda" with political reality, supporters of the civil rights legislation have therefore apparently adopted a two-track strategy.

First, doublespeak. Deny that the civil rights bill is a quota bill. Talk instead about things like "disparate impact" suits, minority "set asides," "time lines," "race norming" job tests, and the like. Second, try to preempt any serious debate on the effects of quotas and reverse discrimination. If a public official is against quotas and invites a public debate about them, accuse him of "naked exploitation," "race-baiting tactics," and "visceral appeals to racial fears." Fortunately, the two-track strategy seems to be failing.

A second reason that the current civil rights agenda is in trouble is the growing disparity between the most pressing problems facing black America (dissolution of the family, births to unwed mothers, black-on-black violence, low academic achievement, the number of young black men dropping out of the economy), and the nar-

John DiIulio Jr. of Princeton argues that the underclass problem is mainly a crime problem. "Those closest to the problem," Mr. DiIulio wrote in the summer 1989 issue of the Public Interest, "understand that improving the response of criminal-justice agencies is the sine qua non of progress on other fronts," such as schools, jobs and delivery of social services. The vast majority of inner-city residents are decent, law-abiding individuals. They suffer disproportionately from predatory criminals. A civilized, humane civil rights agenda must include a more effective criminal justice system. That means (among other things) tougher laws, more cops, more courts, more prosecutors, and more jails and prisons.

When drug dealers roam the streets of upper-middle-class Chevy Chase, Md., the residents call 911. When the same people roam the streets of inner-city Anacostia, some liberals argue we should investigate the "root causes" of drug use and violence.

Most Americans deeply believe in the principle of equality; they are necessarily opposed, therefore, to quotas and reverse discrimination.

row, divisive agenda being pushed by the civil rights leadership. What was once a gap has become a gulf. Washington Post columnist William Raspberry (a supporter of the Civil Rights Act of 1991) conceded as much when he recently wrote that the Civil Rights Act of '91 "won't do a blessed thing" for the most serious problems affecting black Americans. "Worse," he said, "it threatens to divide America along racial lines."

A third reason is that during the past 25 years, the animating spirit of the civil rights movement changed. The vision of a *color-blind* society has been replaced by the vision of a *color-conscious* society. Martin Luther King's dream was moored to American principles, and the most basic promise of American life—equality. It judged individuals by, in King's own words, "the content of character," and not "the color of their skin." And it sought to bring Americans together by reminding us that we are one people. The current civil rights agenda undercuts the principle of equality; it judges individuals on the color of their skin, not the content of their character; and it has the effect of prying Americans apart.

The old civil rights agenda is beginning to crumble at the core. What should replace it? Let me suggest four things.

1) Reclaim control of inner-city streets.

Hold the root cause seminar later. Call the cops. What's at stake here is the fundamental promise of government to the citizens: the equal protection of law.

2) *Better schools.* The strongest case for overhauling the current education system is the lousy education the underclass are receiving. The underclass are least able to afford a bad education, since a good education is still the best way out of poverty. A 1986 Rand Corporation study of the economic progress of blacks since 1940 stated, "the safest and surest route to permanent black economic mobility lies in additional education in a good school." I believe that quality education is the central civil rights challenge facing us today. And the best way to improve American education is to support a reform agenda based on parental choice, accountability, merit pay, alternative certification and a solid core curriculum.

Far too many disadvantaged, minority students are not being provided a challenging curriculum. They are victims of unwarranted pessimism. New aspirations and (hence) a subtle form of discrimination. It's time we do away once and for all with Jim Crow math and back-of-the-bus science. Poor minority students deserve the same kind of education that upper-class white kids get.

3) Promote "empowerment" and eco-

nomie opportunity. Despite Democratic opposition, the Bush administration should vigorously promote (both legislatively and rhetorically) an "empowerment" agenda that stresses market-oriented solutions, choice, decentralization and accountability. In particular it should throw its full support behind Jack Kemp's agenda of tenant ownership of public housing, investment in low-income housing, tax incentives to businesses located in "urban enterprise zones," community reinvestment and the like. We need to tear down the economic barriers that keep the underclass in poverty.

4) *Affirm individual responsibility.* It is by now common knowledge that the most serious problems plaguing the black underclass have to do with a breakdown of the family. Too many young black children are being raised without the presence of good men in their lives. How do you begin to reverse this fact? By moving ahead on several fronts, including crafting economic and social policies that support the two-parent family; fashioning public policies that reward right behavior and penalize wrong behavior; using all the means at our disposal—in our public, private and social spheres, through law and moral suasion—to condemn irresponsible acts (for example, out-of-wedlock births); putting young men in the presence of positive male role models; and insisting that people in responsible positions affirm the right things (honoring commitments, individual responsibility, hard work, community norms, and virtue, to name only a few). Some of the solutions involve government action. Many do not. And while none of these things are alone sufficient to the task, each is necessary.

A Better Way

In the past, Republicans have relegated themselves to the sidelines in terms of shaping the civil rights agenda. It is time that we became players and go on the offense. The party of Lincoln should speak in confident, unapologetic terms about the errors of the current civil rights movement. At the same time, we have a responsibility to point to a better way, to call attention to what works, and to advance a new, positive civil rights agenda that improves the lives and the lot of all those who are deserving, but have been left behind. If in the process we gain politically, fine. But above all we should do so because it is right.

Mr. Bennett, a former secretary of education and director of national drug control policy, is a fellow at the Hudson Institute and an editor of National Review.

AFB - KC

Dean Kleckner
Gov. Ashcroft
6000 teleprompter

Sen.?
show video of Russia
visit before POTUS

2 giant video screens on either side

MLK - Atlanta 1/17

proc. signing

Living the Dream Pledge

"In honor of MLK Jr.'s life & work,
I pledge to do everything that I can
to make Am. and the world a place
where equality & justice, freedom &
peace will grow & flourish.

I, George Bush, commit myself to
living the dream by

loving, not hating
showing understanding, not anger
making peace, not war.

"We shall overcome" sung on Berlin Wall



Living the Dream

You can make a difference

Fall 1991

Newsletter of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission



North Dakota Governor George A. Sinner signs into law the Martin Luther King, Jr. bill setting the third Monday in January as a paid holiday for state employees. North Dakota was the 48th state to establish a King Holiday. The signing took place March 28, 1991, in the Great Hall of the State Capitol in the midst of holiday supporters. Supporters are (left-to-right) State Representative Roxanne Jensen, Rev. Edward Johnson, Sr., Sheryl Kulas, Senator Ray Holmberg, Sue Boyd, Audrey J. Henderson-Nocho (Chairperson of the North Dakota King Holiday Commission), Rev. Lionel Muthiah, Antiquia Henderson-Nocho's and Tom Disselhorst.

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Commission Charter

The purposes of the Commission are:

- To coordinate efforts with Americans of diverse backgrounds and with private organizations in the observance of the holiday;
- To encourage appropriate ceremonies and activities throughout the United States relating to the holiday (now by legislative history and Presidential statements to include the international community and individual governments as requested by them for assistance); and
- To provide advice and assistance to Federal, State, and local governments and to private organizations with respect to the observance of the holiday.

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THE KING HOLIDAY

In 1963, when Martin delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech before that mighty gathering at the Lincoln memorial, he spoke to the hearts of the many African-Americans who had struggled for years for their rights as American citizens. But he also spoke to the hearts of all his countrymen — black, white, red and brown — who held dear the promises of American's founding fathers.

Indeed, Martin's vision was solidly founded on the principles revealed in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. His words were a key that opened the dungeon of bigotry and racial hatred, freeing the spirits of equality, justice and brotherly love that were too long dormant in American's soul.

The truth of his words and his dedication solidified a coalition of races and creeds the world had never seen ... and has never seen since. For though the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday was born as a day to celebrate peace, nonviolence and racial equality and unity, much remains to be done to bring the ideal to reality.

While people abroad recognize the universality of Martin's message, far too many in his own country mistakenly think of the day commemorating his legacy and contributions as an "African-American holiday."

But just as the Declaration of Independence states, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," so Martin said, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere... We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny."

And as President George Bush said last year, " ... We must continue working to promote racial unity and equal opportunity in the United States. This is our solemn duty — and it is the greatest honor we can give to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." Today we are not only heirs to the legacy of Dr. King, but are its executors as well. We are responsible for guarding it as well as investing it for the spiritual prosperity of our children.

We are, therefore, very grateful to those of you who have stood with us in the past, and those who will stand with us in the future in the work of establishing the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday as a testament to the life and principles of this great American.

Let us march forward to make January 20, 1992, and every Holiday thereafter, a day of Remembrance, Celebration and Action and one to be celebrated for generations to come by freedom-loving peoples of all races, faiths and nations. God bless you.

Coretta Scott King,
Chairperson

"I HAVE A DREAM" YOUTH ASSEMBLY LARGEST EVER

More than 400 participants from major national youth organizations came to Philadelphia in August for the Commission's fourth annual "I Have a Dream" Youth Assembly. The multicultural/ethnic 3-day event attracted students from 28 states and the District of Columbia. It is a project of the Commission's National Youth Committee and this year was hosted by Penn. State's Cooperative Extension Service.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, in her welcome message to the 9-18 age group, said the Assembly "... represents the Federal Commission's belief that, after all the public ceremonies, parades and concerts, the best way for young people to honor Dr. King's life is through the service to others, and through personal example, to make this a better nation and a better world."

Messages of support were received from President Bush and Pennsylvania Governor Robert P. Casey, who wrote: "...this assembly gives you, the leaders of tomorrow, the opportunity to establish new friendships, develop greater appreciation for the philosophy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and build bridges of mutual respect and understanding."

This year's theme was "Peace Through Empowerment" and emphasized the importance of young people's ability to improve the quality of their lives by applying nonviolent moral concept and values in their daily lives.

Rev. Derek King, son of Dr. King's brother, A. D. King, gave the keynote address. The Assembly had workshops, student-led panels, education on the principles of nonviolence, a talent show, a block party, ice cream social and a closing ceremony, "Tribute To America," at the site of the Liberty Bell.

Dr. Myron Johnsrud, Administrator of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Extension Service; Lee Hoopfer, Deputy Administrator, 4H and Youth Development; Alma Hobbs, Assistant Administrator, 4H and Youth Development; and Joel Soobitsky, National 4H Program Director, provided valuable assistance and leadership to the Commission's Youth Committee. Mrs. Flossie Thurston, on loan to the Commission from Lincoln University (OK), served as Coordinator.

See Insert of Message from President Bush to Youth Assembly.



Proud student displays talent show award received at the Youth Assembly. Students expressed their vision of "The Dream" through song, dance, skits, music, etc. One student recited the entire "I Have A Dream" speech from memory.



Youth pose in front Independence Hall after participating in the Assembly's closing ceremony, "Tribute To America."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1991

I am delighted to send warm greetings to all those who are gathered in Philadelphia for the 1991 National "I Have A Dream" Youth Assembly Convention.

Prior to signing the Emancipation Proclamation, President Abraham Lincoln said, "Let us have faith that makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it." Since then, Americans have come a long way in dismantling legal and attitudinal barriers to racial equality in the United States. However, more work remains to be done. Martin Luther King, Jr., dared to the end to "stir the social conscience" of our Nation, and his courage and conviction remain an inspiration to all those who are seeking to promote equal opportunity and racial harmony in America.

Our greatest hope for realizing Dr. King's dream lies in our young people. That is why the "I Have A Dream" Youth Assembly is so important. I commend each participant for setting an example for other youngsters by working hard in school, by helping others, and by staying away from drugs and gangs. I also commend the members of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission for the guidance and inspiration that you give to these special young people. Through your work, each of you is helping to uphold our Nation's promise as a land of liberty and opportunity for all.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for a productive conference and for every future success. God Bless you.

PRESIDENT BUSH SUPPORTS COMMISSION'S INCREASED FUNDING LEGISLATION

In a letter dated June 2, 1991, addressed to Lloyd Davis, the Commission's Executive Director, President George Bush commended the Commission for its work in "promoting understanding, compassion, and patriotism."

The President went on to state his support of efforts by Congressmen Tom Sawyer, Ralph Regula, Alan Wheat, Gary Franks and more than 52 other cosponsors in the U.S. House of Representatives to increase Commission funding in fiscal year 1992 from \$300,000 to \$500,000 and in 1993 to \$700,000.

Senators Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and Orrin Hatch (R-UT) have introduced companion Senate legislation. They were joined by Senators Adams, Akaka, Bradley, Harkin, Heflin, Hollings, Kennedy, Lautenberg, Leahy, McCain, Metzenbaum, Mikulski, Pressler, Pryor, Sarbanes, Shelby, and Simon.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Commission Chairperson, gave budget hearing testimony on the Commission request before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Sub-Committee on Census and Population on September 17, 1991.

The pending legislation (H.R. 2215 and S. 1505) would also remove the GS-13 staffing limitation and raise the ceiling on Commission hires from 5 persons to 8, as well as increase the number of Commissioners-at-large from 23 to 30.

Arnie Zaler, President of Softie, Inc., (Phoenix, Arizona), was instrumental in securing the initial sponsorship of the companion legislation by Senator Dennis DeConcini.

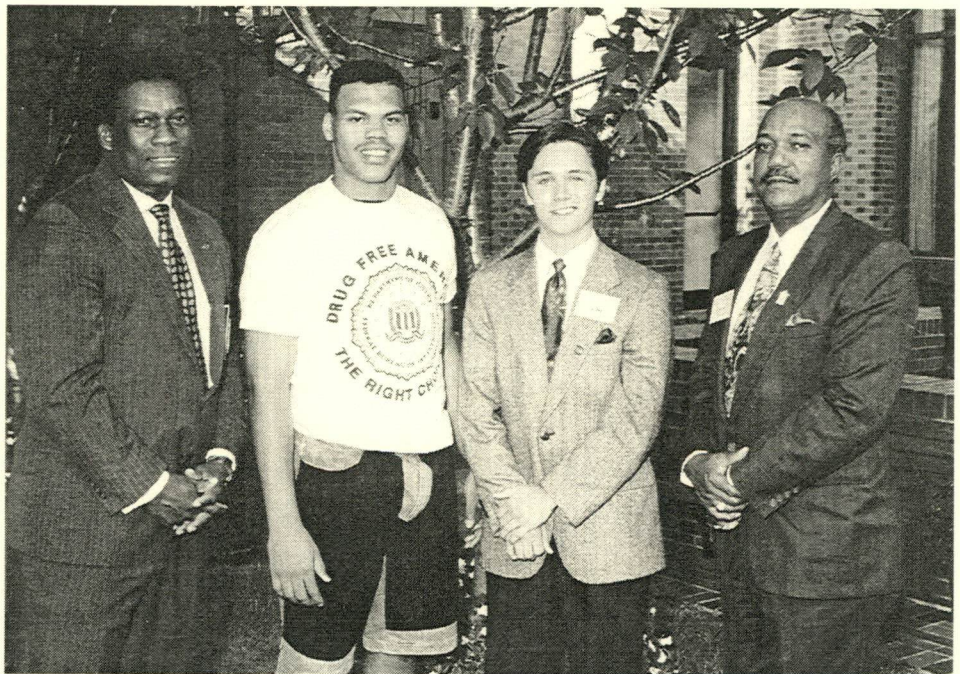
Also, Harold Sims, a member of the New Jersey King State Holiday Commission, assisted in securing the endorsement of New Jersey Senators Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg and Mr. Jerry Dunfey, President of New England Circle, assisted with Senator Patrick Leahy.

The legislation is presently scheduled for committee action in both the House and Senate this month and will be a supplemental appropriation for federal fiscal year 1992 (Oct. 1, 1991 - Sep. 30, 1992). Please call or write your representative or senator urging passage of this critical bill.

LAW ENFORCEMENT INVITED TO TEACHER'S CONFERENCE

The American Federation of Teachers invited Edison Horne, the Commission's Director of Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Programs, to be a panelist at its Civil and Human Rights Conference to be held in Washington, DC, Oct. 25-27. The theme of the conference is "Equal Access to the Future: Closing the Gap."

Horne, a senior FBI Special Agent on loan to the Commission, will serve as a panelist on a workshop entitled "Violence Prevention: Models for Intervention." While with the Commission, he has developed and conducted several very successful youth-oriented programs entitled "Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence." Symposiums have been held in Atlanta, Santa Fe, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Washington, DC, and are scheduled for other cities around the country. (For more information, see "Commission Initiates Major Youth Against Violence Programs" article on next page.



FBI Senior Special Agent, Edison Horne, the Commission's Director of Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Program, (far right) is seen posing with (l-r) Frank Pickens, FBI Drug Reduction Coordinator, Eric Robertson and John Hart, both students participating in the Philadelphia Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Symposium in August. Robertson is seen wearing one of the T-shirts given out to all students attending the symposium.

COMMISSION INITIATES MAJOR YOUTH AGAINST VIOLENCE PROGRAMS

The Commission has developed a major program intended to help youth deal with the problems of crime, drugs, suicide, low self-esteem, gangs, and violence in families, schools, and communities. With the support of Judge William S. Sessions, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a full time senior FBI agent has been assigned to the Commission to develop and promote the Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Symposiums. The symposium program was developed around the King Holiday theme of "Remember, Celebrate, Act."

The "Remember" element is learning about and understanding the significance of the life and work of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the U.S. Civil Rights Movement which he led. The "Celebrate" element is taking pride in cultural heritage and the legacy left by Dr. King's life example. The "Act" element, which the Commission feels is the most important, encourages youth to take on projects that will further the unfinished work of Dr. King. Working together, all three elements complement each other and are designed to bring young people to a more positive system of values, problem solving, and nonviolent action initiatives to improve their lives and make meaningful contributions to the community.

The symposiums bring together youth, parents, educators, administrators, law enforcement personnel, community leaders in a grass roots dialogue and active planning. Follow up activities and surveys are incorporated in the structure of the symposiums to measure the effectiveness of individual symposiums and refine and promote future symposiums.

The symposiums are designed as "pump priming" programs intended to be developed, maintained, and controlled at the local community level.

The Committee sponsored its inaugural Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Symposium on Wednesday, January 16, 1991, at the Henry Grady High School in Atlanta, Georgia. A member of the student body had recently been killed as a result of a robbery.

Sponsored in cooperation with The King Center, the Symposium was entitled "Together...We Can Make A Difference." The program featured representatives of the various Law Enforcement organizations, student leaders, faculty and school administrators, parents and members of



John Hart, one of the students attending the Philadelphia Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Symposium, uses the flip chart to make a point.

the staff of the Federal Holiday Commission. The entire student body, which is racially and ethnically diverse, participated.

The Symposium emphasized Dr. King's nonviolent teachings and helped students, teachers and parents to develop a more positive perception of law enforcement officials as public servants, allies and friends. It began a process whereby students of different social, economic and ethnic backgrounds could pursue common goals and objectives to resist violence and embrace nonviolence; achieve a better understanding and appreciation of the problems, issues and situations that challenge youth today; and convey a sense of empowerment, i.e. that they can make a difference in their own lives and those with whom they come in contact.

Committee members included: former U.S. Attorney Robert L. Barr, Jr. (Chair); William M. Baker, Assistant Director, CID, FBI, Washington, D.C.; William L. Hinshaw, II, Special Agent in Charge of the FBI Atlanta; Major Julius Derico, Atlanta Police Department; Captain Charles Alphin, St. Louis Police Department; Chief Eldrin Bell, Atlanta Police Department; and John H. Guillory, President, Brass Street Group, Inc.

Members of the Committee believe that Dr. King's philosophy of nonviolence represents an extremely positive value in our society; namely the notion that citizens of all races, backgrounds and ages can accomplish more through the peaceful interchange of ideals and through peacefully working together to

solve common problems, than through violence and independent action. The belief is that Law Enforcement in America also represents important positive societal goals; protection of lives and property against those who would take them away, so that every person can realize his or her potential free from outside harm.

Traditionally, these two forces - law enforcement and others working to accomplish Dr. King's dream - have worked separate and apart. For the first time during the 1991 King birthday anniversary and holiday observance, the Committee undertook an explicit program designed to focus attention on the fact that Dr. King's dream and work is consistent with principles and goals of good law enforcement.

The Committee intends to expand its membership and to explore other program initiatives including:

"Youth At Risk" prevention programs.

"Youth Against Violence Clubs."

Law Enforcement *"Adopt a School Programs"* in support of youth against violence program.

Scholarships for youth to attend the King Center's annual Youth Workshop on Nonviolence.

Public forums, town meetings or assembly programs where law enforcement personnel can interact and dialogue with students, teachers and parents on nonviolent initiatives to counter various forms of violence in a variety of situations.

OAKLAND SITE OF COMMISSION'S 1991 EDUCATION CONFERENCE

"SEEDS OF NONVIOLENCE: PLANTING THE PRINCIPLES OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR." is the theme of the Education Committee's first regional conference, to be held October 10-13, 1991, in Oakland, California.

One of the primary goals of the conference is the continuation of the infusion of Dr. King's principles of nonviolence into the learning environment of the nation's youth. The King Center has recently published a 400-page "Infusion Model" developed specifically for educators to use in this area (for details, see article entitled "Teaching Model Published," page 12).

The Education Committee determined to hold regional conferences in order to build a stronger base of interest and support for future national conferences.

Chairs of the Education Committee are Sister Catherine McNamee, CSJ., President of the National

Catholic Education Association, Keith Geiger, President of the National Education Association and Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers.

The conference registration fee of \$180 for preregistration and \$225.00 for on site registration, includes site visits, meals and a reception. For additional information contact Dr. Colden Murchinson, National Education Committee Coordinator at (202) 708-1005.

The Conference is being sponsored by the Federal Holiday Commission, the Marin County Human Rights Resource Center, The California State Department of Education and the newly established California State Martin Luther King, Jr. Commission.

Organizational members of the Commission's National Education Committee are: National Education Association, American Federation of

Teachers, National Catholic Education Association, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, American Association of School Administrators, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Council for American Private Education, Council of Chief State School Officers, Montgomery (MD) County Schools, National Council of Social Studies, National Catholic Education Association, National Parent Teachers Association, National School Boards Association, U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Energy.

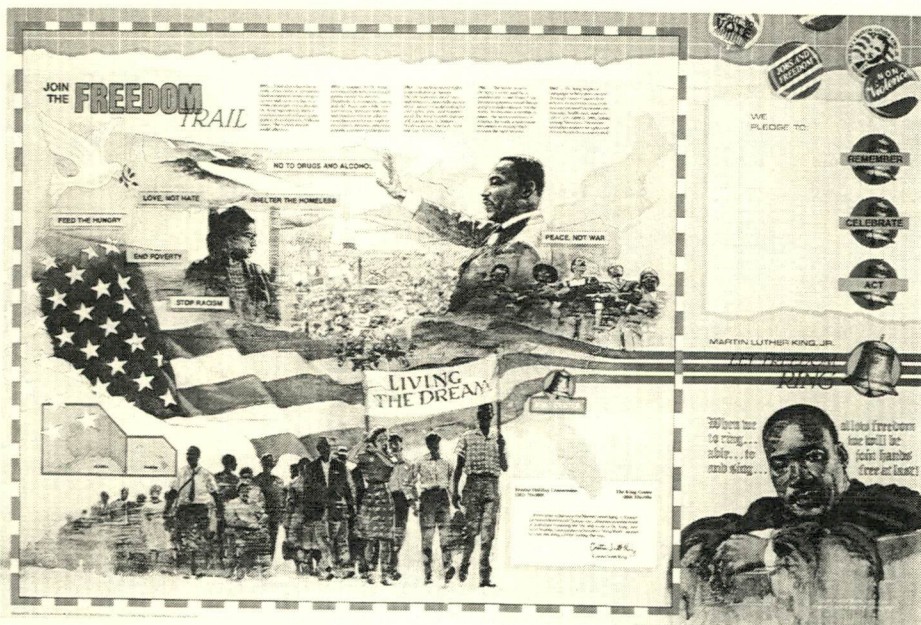
COMMISSIONERS AND HONORARY DIRECTORS APPOINTED

The Commissioners, at the Commission's Quarterly Meeting of June 18, 1991, voted to reelect all current Commissioners-at-large and Honorary Directors to another one-year term of office (through June 20, 1992).

Newly elected Connecticut Congressman Gary Franks was selected to be a Commissioner by the Congressional Republican leadership. The Federal legislation creating the Commission stipulates that the House and Senate minority and majority leaders are to appoint a member to the Commission.

The Legislation has similar provisions for the Office of the President. President Bush recently appointed the following Commissioners: Judge William Sessions, FBI Director and Bob Martinez, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. The President reappointed Commissioners Jack Kemp, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and Constance Newman, Director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

In a separate action, the Commissioners selected Commissioner Alan Wheat to serve as the Commission Secretary and to reappoint Leonard Burchman to serve as the Treasurer.



The Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday commission has contracted for the printing of The Freedom Trail Poster Map and The Freedom Trail Brochure. One side of the Poster Map is shown above. For detailed description of these publications, please go to page 14 and for ordering, see the back cover.

NATIONAL PLANNING AND INFORMATION CONFERENCE DEDICATED TO LEE ATWATER

The Commission's recent 1991 National Planning & Information Conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico was considered "excellent" by many of the meeting's 200 participants in evaluations they later sent in.

Participants were especially impressed with the caliber of speakers, many of whom were well-known personalities from the Civil Rights Movement, including Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Rev. Dr. Otis Moss, Dr. Aaron Henry and Dr. Bernard Lafayette.

Bernard M. Perez, Deputy Assistant Director of the FBI, Paul Coverdell, Director of the U.S. Peace Corps and Dr. Clayborne Carson, Editor of the MLK, Jr. Papers Project were among the many experts, scholars, researchers and leaders who made significant contributions.

Distinguished panelists and moderators included Ambassador Paul Hare, Ambassador Michael Pistor, and the Honorable Lalit Mansingh, Deputy Chief of Missions, Embassy of India.

The Most Reverend Robert F. Sanchez, D.D., Catholic Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, headed a distinguished group of clergy from all major religious faith groups.

Representatives from private industry, labor organizations, small businesses, gubernatorial and mayoral offices, state and local King Holiday commissions, foreign governments, religious and civic organizations, were in attendance.

The Conference was dedicated to Lee Atwater, a King Federal Holiday Commissioner at the time of his death. Atwater was instrumental in the passage of legislation which in 1989 extended the Commission through April 1994 and provided it with its first Federal funding of \$300,000.

More than 300 persons attended the Conference Recognition Dinner honoring State Senator Harriet "Liz" Byrd of Wyoming, Dr. Donniss Thompson of Hawaii, and Audrey Henderson-Nocho of North Dakota, for the leadership in securing passage of legislation establishing King Holidays in their respective states.

Mrs. Alice King, First Lady of the State of New Mexico, provided the "Welcome," Rev. Joseph Watkins, Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison-The White House, spoke extemporaneously.

Mrs. King was presented with a surprise birthday cake and was serenaded with

birthday songs in both English and Spanish, very much to the delight of Santa Fe Mayor Sam Pick.

A New Mexico Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence Symposium preceded the opening of the Conference. Spon-

sored by the Commission's Law Enforcement Involvement Committee, law enforcement personnel from across the state joined with students, parents, educators and school administrators in the first such program in the State.



Outstanding Conference logistical support and assistance was provided by staff of the U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management, New Mexico State office. Mrs. King presents Larry Woodard, the Director, with a framed photo of Dr. King with citation of appreciation. Lalit Mansingh, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of India, is seen applauding the presentation.

'92 National Planning Conference Site Chosen

The 1992 National Planning and Information Conference is scheduled for May 31st - June 4th in Canton, Ohio. The Conference site was selected after the Commission received assurance of full backing and cooperation from Ohio Governor George Voinovich, Canton Mayor Sam Purses and the Canton/Stark County Convention & Visitors Bureau.

The Conference will focus on preparation for three significant 1993 anniversaries; the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Federal Holiday honoring Dr. King, the 25th anniversary of Dr. King's assassination and the 30th anniversary of the 1963 "I Have A Dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial.

The Conference will include meetings of the Commission's Executive Committee, National Committees and State and Lo-

cal Holiday Commissions, a Symposium on Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence, a special workshop entitled "Native American Forum on Unity and Justice" as well as other workshops on subjects relating to the three anniversaries.

Special Events will include the "Making of the King Holiday" Honors Banquet, a Commission's Appreciation Reception at the Football Hall of Fame, and tours of Canton's cultural, recreational and historic attractions.

Mrs. Doris Jones, the Commission's Director of Special Events, will serve as Conference Coordinator and can be reached in Atlanta at (404) 730-3155. Additional information on program content, hotels and registration will be forthcoming.

STATE HOLIDAY AND COMMISSION UPDATE

Governor George A. Skinner of North Dakota signed legislation on March 28, 1991 at the State Capitol in Bismarck making the King Federal Holiday a paid state holiday. As in other states, Native Americans played a key role in securing passage of the legislation. (See cover photo.)

Montana Governor Stan Stephens and Texas Governor Ann Richards recently signed similar legislation.

Forty eight states now recognize the King Federal Holiday as a state paid holiday. Two states, Arizona and New Hampshire, still do not have King Federal Holiday companion state legislation. However, Governor Fife Symington of Arizona, has been congratulated by Mrs. Coretta Scott King for supporting a 1992 public referendum on the state having an official King Holiday.

"Victory Together," a pro-holiday coalition of citizens, is being led by Dr. Warren H. Stewart, Sr., Pastor of

the First Institutional Baptist Church. The broad based coalition is optimistic about passage of the November 2, 1992, referendum endorsing an Arizona State Holiday.

The passage of an Arizona State King Holiday has been endorsed by both of its U.S. Senators, Dennis DeConcini and John McCain, as well as U.S. Congressman Jim Kolbe, former U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater and President Ronald Reagan.

Of the 48 states with official holidays, 34 presently have King State Holiday Commissions. Two states, New York and New Jersey, have established and funded permanent Commissions. Also, both states have permanent Institutes on Nonviolence to teach Kingian nonviolence as a means of resolving conflicts and promoting self-esteem, high achievement and racial and cultural unity.

The District of Columbia and 3 U.S. territories also have King Holiday

Commissions to promote local celebrations, ceremonies, and commemorations.

A number of newly elected Governors are establishing or reactivating MLK Jr. State Holiday Commissions. They are California Governor Pete Wilson, Illinois Governor Jim Edgar, New Mexico Governor Bruce King, Texas Governor Ann Richards, Florida Governor Lawton Chiles, Georgia Governor Zell Miller, Virginia Governor Doug Wilder, American Samoa Governor Peter T. Coleman, Indiana Governor Evan Bayh, Massachusetts Governor William F. Weld, Utah Governor Norman H. Bangerter, and Wyoming Governor Michael J. Sullivan.

The Commission's new Director of Programs, Patrick Jones, will be working with 60 key cities to establish city King Holiday Commissions or Committees.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMISSION AWARDS SOUGHT

AS PART OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE KING HOLIDAY, THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. FEDERAL HOLIDAY COMMISSION SEEKS TO RECOGNIZE AND HONOR INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNMENTS WHO HAVE MADE MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CREATION, PROMOTION, AND SUSTENANCE OF THE ESSENCE OF THE FEDERAL HOLIDAY IN HONOR OF DR. KING. NOMINATIONS FOR AWARDS TO BE GIVEN AT THE ANNUAL RECOGNITION & AWARDS LUNCHEON TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 13, 1992 IN WASHINGTON, D.C., SHOULD BE POSTMARKED BY DECEMBER 1, 1991.

"MAKING OF THE KING HOLIDAY" SELECTION CRITERIA

- Enlistment of Public Support For The King Holiday
- Development and/or Passage of King Holiday Legislation
- Establishment of King Holiday Commission or Committee
- Creation of Heritage Action Service Projects
- Significant In-Kind or Financial Contribution To King Commission

CHAIRS NAMED FOR '92 INTERNATIONAL BREAKFAST COMMITTEE

Mrs. Coretta Scott King recently announced the names of the Co-Chairs for the Commission's 1992 International Interfaith Prayer Breakfast. They are: Mrs. James Baker (wife of the Secretary of State); and the three Co-chairs of the Commission's Religious Involvement Committee - Rev. Calvin Morris, Howard University; Rev. Joseph Watkins, former member of The White House staff; and Mrs. Carole Miller.

The breakfast will be held on the Federal Holiday (Monday, January 20) in Washington, DC.

Last year, 600 persons attended the breakfast held at the Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel. The theme of the multi-cultural, multi-racial, bipartisan event was "Unity In Diversity: The Dream In Action."

The featured speaker was Reverend Will Campbell, noted civil rights activist, author and preacher. Prayers were offered by the Reverend Jesse Jackson and Piet Koornhof, former



Miss America, Majorie J. Vincent, a special guest of last year's International Interfaith Prayer Breakfast, playing the piano.

Ambassador to the U.S. from South Africa.

The breakfast attracts dignitaries from the Washington Diplomatic

Corps, national faith groups, the Congress, federal, state and city governments, and private industry and corporations.

COMMITTEE UPDATE

Several committees now have new leadership. Claiborne Houghton will chair the Military Involvement Committee, John Guillory the Law Enforcement Committee and Carole Miller, Reverend Calvin Morris and Reverend Joseph Watkins (former White House staff member), the Religious Involvement Committee. Fred Buckles, Jr. and Pat Locke have been appointed Co-chairs of the Native American Involvement Committee.

Ambassador Paul Hare, who has recently retired from the Foreign Service, is succeeded as Chairman of the International Involvement Committee by Michael Schneider, Deputy Associate Director of Programs for the United States Information Agency.

The State Department, represented by John Gravely, will continue its active support of the International Involvement Committee. Other members of the Committee include representatives from the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development.

The Committee on Civil and Human Rights held a planning meeting at

the U.S. Capitol on June 18. Reverend Benjamin Hooks serves as Committee Chairman and has appointed John Johnson, his Executive Assistant, as liaison. James Karantonis, Coordinator of the Freedom Trail Poster Map and Holiday Guide Program, is also working with the Committee.

In August, the Committee met again to discuss and develop the structure for National and Community forums to provide better race and cultural relations among citizens. The Committee hopes to have a national forum in the spring, sponsored in conjunction with George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL COMMITTEES HOLD PLANNING RETREAT

National Committee Chairpersons held their first planning retreat May 20 - 21 in a Washington, DC area conference center. The Commission has 16 standing committees that seek to involve various segments of society in promoting the holiday, e.g. - education, libraries, law enforcement, youth, sports, business, religious communities, labor, federal/state/county/city gov., etc. There is also an international involvement dimension to the Holiday.

Issues addressed included a review of the Commission's legislation, bylaws of the tax exempt Corporation,

Commission structure and staffing, work programs for 1991, 1992, and 1993, budgets, and recommended program initiatives.

Discussions also covered the role of the Federal Commission in relation to state and local King Holiday Commissions, the Commission's expectations of the Committees, the status of H.R. 2215 (legislation introduced by US Congressman Tom Sawyer to secure additional Federal funding for the Commission) and the need for an Executive Committee to conduct Commission business between formal meetings of the full Commission (Board of Directors).

COMMISSION SEEKS LOAN EXECUTIVES AND STAFF

The Commission has staff openings for loan personnel from the public and private sectors of the nation's workforce. Clerical and administrative positions are available in both the Washington, DC and Atlanta offices.

Positions vacancies are for general administration, national committee coordinators and specific fields related to the promotion of intangibles (advertising, marketing, fund raising, grant writing, etc.). More information may be obtained by calling the Executive Assistant to the Executive Director, Alan Minton or the Operations Director, Al Boutin, at (404) 730-3155.

Congress authorized the Commission to solicit assistance from private industry and federal, state, county, city governments in fulfilling its year-round responsibilities. Heads of Federal Departments and Agencies are authorized by the enabling legislation to loan staff to the Commission.

The Commission, also a nonprofit corporation with IRS 501-C-3 status, does not have the funds to hire individuals and requests that inquiries be limited to the donation of services, personnel or money.

CATHOLICS DEVELOP '92 KING HOLIDAY CELEBRATION PACKET

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in September announced the publication of its annual celebration packet for use in dioceses, parishes, schools and religious orders throughout the U.S. in commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the packet are liturgies for Sunday and the Holiday, which include homilies, scriptural commentary and prayers in English, Chinese, Vietnamese and Spanish along with a list of musical selections, a bible celebration, and dialogue for small group discussions.

Additionally, of special interest to multiracial/multicultural parishes are the household prayer services written especially for Native Americans, Hispanics and Vietnamese.

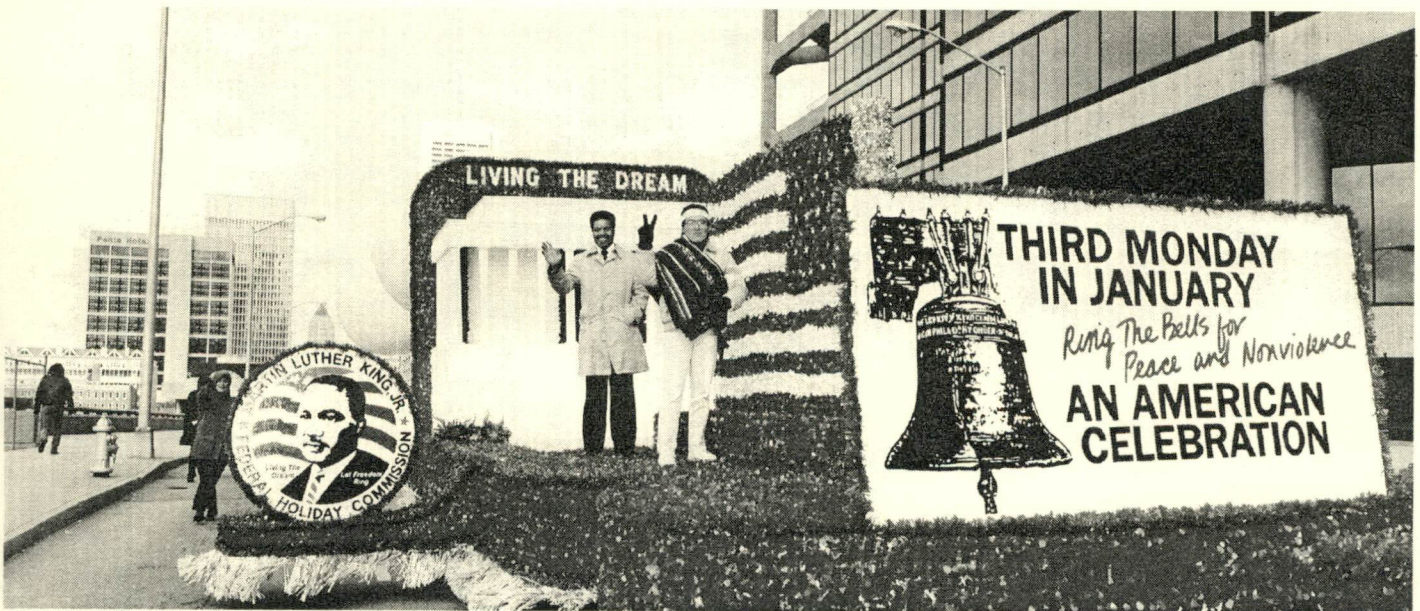
A special Prayer of Reconciliation for past injustices, written by Bishop Charles Chaput, Diocese of Rapid City (SD), is a new addition.

Copies may be ordered from the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 3033 Fourth St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20017-1102. Total cost for the packet is \$9.50 per copy which includes postage & handling.

KING PARADE TO BE NATIONAL LIVE BROADCAST

The Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday Parade of Celebration will be televised live from Atlanta at 1:05 EST, Saturday, January 18, 1991. As last year, Superstation TBS will broadcast the telecast - please check your local listing for channel. Bands, marching units, and nationally known celebrities from around the country will be featured.

Argonne Productions, a national producer of parades, including the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Parade, will be producing the official King Holiday parade. Applications for participation in the multicultural/ethnic parade may be obtained by writing: The Parade Office, 1601 W. Peachtree St., NE, Atlanta, GA 30309 or by calling (404) 897-7385.



Last year's Federal Holiday Commission's float depicting the Lincoln Memorial where Dr. King delivered his famous "I Have A Dream" speech in 1963. The King Commission theme for 1992 remains: "Living The Dream: Let Freedom Ring - For Peace & Nonviolence." The King Center's 1992 theme is: "Where Do We Go From Here? Nonviolence, A Blueprint For Life."

N.Y. KING INSTITUTE AND COMMISSION GET NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

In late August, Virgil L. Hodges was named the Executive Director of both the New York Martin Luther King, Jr. Institute for Nonviolence and the New York Martin Luther King, Jr. Commission.

Commission Chairman Harry Belafonte said, "I am extremely pleased to see these organizations come under the expert guidance of Virgil Hodges."

Edward R. Hammock, chairman of the Institute's Board of Directors said Hodges "brings with him a sincere commitment and concern for

the issues that the Institute will be addressing now and in the years to come."

The boards of the two organizations made the move to a single directorship in order to economize and because they recognized their complementary missions.

The Commission was formed in 1985 to coordinate statewide celebrations of Dr. King's birthday. The Institute was formed in 1988 to further the principles and methods of nonviolent social change as practiced and taught by Dr. King.

NETWORKING IS ESSENTIAL!

Are you aware of the contacts and organizations that support the King Holiday within your state, or perhaps a neighboring one? If you would like to obtain information on Commission contacts arranged by state or U.S. territory, contact Patrick Jones, Director of Programs, at 404/730-3155.

KING CENTER UPDATE

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc. (The King Center) has recently appointed Dr. Ronald L. Quincy as its Executive Director. Dr. Quincy was formerly the Associate Vice President and Assistant to the President of Harvard University.

Dr. Quincy is charged with the responsibility of developing significant programs focusing on international conflict resolution. Pledges of \$500,000 each received from British Petroleum America and The Coca-Cola Company will facilitate this long standing goal of The King Center.

The new initiative will advance a primary goal of The King Center to be an agent of reconciliation in bringing together individuals and leaders of groups, institutions and nations in nonviolent conflict resolution.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King remains The King Center's Founding President and Chief Executive

Officer and Mrs. Christine King Farris assumes the position as Vice Chairperson of the Board of Directors while continuing to serve as Treasurer.

* * *

The King Center sponsored its 16th Annual Summer Workshop on Nonviolence in Atlanta, July 21-25, 1991. Representatives from across the United States and six nations, including South Africa, participated.

The Center concurrently sponsored its 3rd annual Youth Workshop on Nonviolence with more than 400 youth attending.

Both groups participated in intensive study workshops, Kingian nonviolence principles and problem solving techniques applicable to daily living.

Ms. Liliane K. Baxter served as Coordinator of the Annual Workshops and Mrs. Christine King Farris served as the Advisor.

TEACHING MODEL PUBLISHED

The long-awaited "Infusion Model For Teaching Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Nonviolent Principles in Schools," has been published and is available for use in the nation's schools.

Developed by The King Center under a grant from the U.S. Department of Education, the model draws upon the life and teachings of Dr. King and is designed to address three major areas: Unit I - "The Life of Dr. King," Unit II - "The Civil Rights Movement and Dr. King," and Unit III - "The Theory and Application of the Principles of Nonviolence."

Each unit is subdivided for use at specific grade levels, K-3, 4-5, 6-8, and 9-12, and each subdivision is written for the respective levels of understanding.

Each unit specifies objectives by grade level, necessary teacher preparation and strategies with corresponding student activities, suggested resources and methods of evaluation.

A section for teacher's comments and recommended changes is included in the model.

The model was tested extensively in 22 school systems throughout the country with some 30 teachers offering feedback.

Mrs. Christine King Farris, Associate Professor of Education at Spelman College, served as Editor and Project Manager for the Infusion Model Project. Mrs. Farris is also the Vice Chair and Treasurer of The King Center.

The Infusion Model is available from The King Center, 449 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, GA 30312. Telephone (404) 526-8921.

The cost of the 440 page publication is \$49.95 plus tax.

KING WEEK '92

(Tentative Schedule of Events)

***The Martin Luther King, Jr. Seventh National Holiday
and
The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. 63rd Birthday Anniversary***

All events in Atlanta, GA unless otherwise indicated.

Friday, January 10, 1992

Press Briefing on National King Week

Sunday, January 12

Interfaith Youth Fellowship Hour
Sixteenth Annual Interfaith Service

Monday, January 13

Presidential Proclamation - Washington, D.C.
Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission Recognition & Awards
Luncheon - The White House (Tentative)
Diplomatic Reception, The State Department - Washington, D.C.
Selma to Atlanta Sub-40 Relay (departure from Selma, AL)

Tuesday, January 14

Federal Employee and Agency Tribute to Dr. King - Washington, D.C. and the 10 Federal Regional Centers
Children & Youth Activities
Legislative (GA) Public Hearing
Reception Recognizing Elected Officials
Service of Rededication to Peace

Wednesday, January 15

Martin Luther King, Jr. Teach-In-Day - Atlanta and across the nation.
Children and Youth Activities
Selma to Atlanta Sub-40 Relay (arrival at The King Center, Atlanta)
Hungry Club Forum - Butler St. YMCA

Thursday, January 16

Sixth Annual National College and University Student Conference
Community Service Awards and Recognition Rally and Reception

Friday, January 17

National College and University Student Conference
Georgia State Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday Commission Tribute
Annual Labor/Management/Government Social Responsibility Seminar
Performance by the Northside School of the Performing Arts

Saturday, January 18

Seventh Annual Labor/Management/Government Social Responsibility Awards Breakfast
National Martin Luther King, Jr. Official Parade of Celebration
National College and University Student Conference continues
Annual "Salute To Greatness" Dinner and Reception All Peoples Gala

Sunday, January 19

Martin Luther King, Jr. Prayer Day Around the World
Martin Luther King, Jr. World Prayer and Multicultural Day Program
National College and University Conference concludes
Annual Assembly "State of the Dream" Address
President's Appreciation Reception
"Celebration '92" Entertainment Tribute

Monday, January 20

Seventh National Holiday in Honor of The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
National Bell Ringing Ceremony, Philadelphia (Liberty Bell), the 50 State Capitols and around the world.
Twenty-third Annual Ecumenical Service
International Interfaith Prayer Breakfast
National March of Celebration
Third Annual Birthday Bash

EVENTS TO BE SCHEDULED:

Foreign Press Conference (DC), Reception at the U.S. Mission (NY), American Indian Forum on Unity and Justice.

1992 KING HOLIDAY MATERIALS

THE COMMISSION'S HOLIDAY THEME REMAINS "LIVING THE DREAM - LET FREEDOM RING." HOLIDAY POSTERS AND OTHER HOLIDAY OBSERVANCE MATERIALS ARE AVAILABLE BY CONTACTING EITHER OF THE COMMISSION OFFICES. THE WASHINGTON, DC OFFICE IS LOCATED AT 451 SEVENTH STREET, S.W., SUITE 5182 - ZIP 20410, TEL. (202) 708-1005. THE ATLANTA, GA. OFFICE MAILING ADDRESS IS 449 AUBURN AVE., N.E. - ZIP 30312, TEL. (404) 730-3155.

- "I Have A Dream" pledge cards.

More than 4,500,000 cards have been signed for this popular expression of commitment to the completion of Dr. King's unfinished work. The pledge reads: *In honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s life and work, I pledge to do everything that I can to make the world a place where equality and justice, freedom and peace will grow and flourish. On the Holiday, I commit myself to living the dream by: Loving, not hating; showing understanding, not anger; making peace, not war.*

- "Youth Against Violence" pledge cards.

A variation of the "I Have A Dream" card designed for youth and used at the "Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence" Symposiums. The pledge reads: *In honor of Martin Luther King, Jr., I pledge to work together with the members of my family, school and community to eliminate the violence of crime, drugs and racism. On the Holiday, I commit myself to nonviolence by: Rejecting hate and embracing love; serving and caring for others; making a difference with my life.*

- Guidelines for developing and holding a "Law Enforcement/Youth Against Violence" symposium.

The symposiums are part of a new program begun by the Commission's National Law Enforcement Committee. The Committee's National Director is a senior FBI agent assigned to the Commission by Director William Sessions. Symposiums have been held in Atlanta, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Santa Fe and are scheduled for Chicago, Washington, D.C. and Seattle, among others.

The development of a symposium is a joint effort on the part of the law enforcement Committee and the various officials, parents, and students making up the specific population where the event is to be held. It was recognized at the outset that the concept of a partnership must be an ongoing function in order to address the problems facing our youth.

The symposiums cross all cultural, ethnic and economic strata as violence has penetrated large and small communities, inner city and suburban neighborhoods, as well as elementary, secondary and higher education schools and campuses.

One of the major goals of the participants is establishment of "nonviolence" clubs to monitor and address problems confronting youth today.

- Copies of the Commission's quarterly newsletter "Living the Dream."
- Speeches and remarks delivered by Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the Commission Chairperson.
- Martin Luther King, Jr. Heritage Action Project Guidelines.

This project seeks to identify activities by individuals or organizations that are in keeping with Dr. King's standards of service to others and thereby contributing to a better world. The activities must meet defined standards and be registered with the Commission. The Commission will review the projects for the inclusion in the annual Report to the President and Congress. Each registered project which is successful will receive a certificate and may receive additional recognition, promotion and awards.

- Revised **International** Martin Luther King, Jr. Heritage Action Project Guidelines.

The international version of the domestic guidelines were developed with the assistance of the State Department which has sanctioned the guidelines for use overseas.

- Official King Holiday Posters (13" X 17").
- The Freedom Trail Poster Map **and** The Freedom Trail Brochure.

These two beautifully designed publications are produced and marketed by "The Freedom Trail Project," a contracted nonprofit entity of the Commission. The "Free Trail" is not a geographic trail but rather a way by which individuals around the country and world may symbolically join together to honor Dr. King and to demonstrate a commitment towards completion of Dr. King's unfinished work in ending poverty, racism and violence. To demonstrate that commitment and be part of the Freedom Trail, individuals are requested to carry-out at least one activity for the three major categories established for observing the holiday.

The map is a colored, 18" X 28," high gloss, two sided poster that contains civil rights history, principles of nonviolent social change, holiday theme, suggested activities, message from Mrs. Coretta Scott King and a "Living the Dream" pledge. It is ideal for classroom or discussion groups and for bulletin board or other displaying.

The brochure is an 8" X 13 full colored flier designed to accompany the map in group discussions or presentations. It may also be used independently and folds into a standard envelope for easy mailing. It is a perfect commemorative for distributing to students, employees, members of organizations and to persons attending holiday activities.

See display of price list, and order form on back page of this newsletter.

- Copy of the Commission's "Annual Report To The President and Congress" on the results of the January 1991 Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday.

The report contains many snapshots of Holiday related activities in the U.S. and around the world.

- Pamphlet on various ways to celebrate the holiday.
- The "Learn-A-Bration" booklet.

A compilation of teaching materials on the life and legacy of Dr. King developed for grade and high schools. The booklet was developed by the King Center under the direction of Mrs. Christine King Farris, Dr. King's sister and a professor at Spelman College.

- History of the Liberty Bell, including the naming of it by the abolitionists.
- King Commission book markers.

Features the Liberty Bell and describes the annual Liberty Bell Ceremony in Philadelphia, proclaiming the day to be one of peace and nonviolence.

- Pamphlet on the Commission/King Center's "Holiday Speakers Bureau."

A listing of available speakers and procedures for securing their services through the Commission.

- List of recommended readings, developed by the American Library Association, on the King Holiday, Dr. King's writings and other relevant materials.

- Instructions on "How To Organize a State and Local King Holiday Commission."

- Listing of State and local Holiday Commissions and contact names, addresses, telephone numbers, etc.

- National Holiday Events sponsored by the King Federal Holiday Commission.

- National King Week Schedule of Events as published by the King Center. These events are primarily held in Atlanta but have national appeals because of the historical significance of the city where Dr. King was raised, preached, and led the Civil Rights movement. It is the city of the internationally recognized King Center for Nonviolent Social Change and Dr. King's final resting place.

- List of recommended readings developed by the Commission's National Library Involvement Committee.

- Video tape of the 1991 National King Holiday Parade and instructions on how to build low cost, professional-looking floats.

- The Commission will provide either individually or in a booklet or paperback (depending on printing arrangements negotiated) of some of Dr. King's major speeches, major events in Dr. King's life, major civil rights events, "Six Principles of Nonviolence," "Six Steps for Achieving Nonviolent Social Change," a biography of Dr. King, a biography of Mrs. King, etc.

- The Commission also maintains materials on the history of the holiday, legislation, mission and purpose, structure, committee descriptions, King Center catalogues of commemorative and educational materials available, information on the U.S. Civil Rights Memorial.

- Information on next year's (May '92) National Planning & Information Conference in Canton, Ohio.

- Listing of the various King Holiday Commission Committees with a brief description of activities, and National Coordinator's name and address for additional information.

- Information about the MLK Jr. National Historic Park, the King Bust at the U.S. Capitol, the King Time Capsule located on the Freedom Plaza in Washington, D.C. (14th and Pennsylvania Avenue) and update on the national project developed by high school students from around the country on the development of a Lincoln Memorial Museum featuring Dr. King's famous "I Have A Dream Speech" delivered on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in August 19 63.

- Exhibit depicting the contributions of the Jewish Community to the Civil Rights Movement which Dr. King led. The traveling exhibit is entitled "Hand-in-Hand For Justice."

**Martin Luther King, Jr.
Federal Holiday Commission**

449 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

For Our National Holiday Honoring Martin Luther King, Jr.

★—Join The Freedom Trail—★

FOR DISPLAY AND DISTRIBUTION POSTERS AND BROCHURES



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Martin Luther King, Jr.

I H A W E A

Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929, at 501 Auburn Avenue in Atlanta, Georgia. His father was a Baptist minister, and his mother was a musician. His childhood was not especially eventful. He grew up as the second of three children in a black neighborhood, attending all-black schools. At 19 he graduated in 1948 from Morehouse College in Atlanta. Before he turned 27 he had earned two other degrees, a BD from Crozer Theological Seminary and a PhD in systematic theology from Boston University.

From the time that he and his bride, the former Coretta Scott, moved to Montgomery, Alabama, to accept the pastorate of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in 1954, King was destined to play an important role in the history of the United States. The year after he arrived in Montgomery, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to move to the back of the bus, and the support group that was organized to defend her and to boycott the bus company, the Montgomery Improvement Association, chose King as its leader. Soon his eloquent voice on

and his personal encounter with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and with Indian teachings of non-violence strengthened his resolve to use them in his quest for racial justice. This resolve is set forth in his first book, *Stride Toward Freedom*, an account of the successful Montgomery bus boycott.

It was evident by 1958 that King's activities in the movement to secure equal rights interfered with his pastoral duties. He was traveling constantly and his association with such other leaders as A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins required regular meetings. Consequently, in 1960, King resigned his pastorate in Montgomery, moved to Atlanta, and became president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a new but rapidly growing civil rights organization committed to non-violence. He also served as co-pastor with his father at Ebenezer Baptist Church and worked with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Increasingly, King advocated and practiced civil disobedience to what he termed

ing became an issue in the presidential election when Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy expressed his concern to Mrs. King while Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon did not.

In the next few years King intensified his drive for equal rights, staging boycotts in Albany, Georgia, in 1961-62 and in Birmingham, Alabama, in the spring of 1963. There were violent responses from parts of the public as well as from the police, as homes and churches were bombed and civil rights workers were murdered. Meanwhile, King urged his followers to practice non-violence as they committed acts of civil disobedience. King himself was arrested and jailed. When eight prominent white Birmingham clergymen, in a statement called "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," criticized blacks for disobeying the law, King felt obliged to respond. "An individual who breaks the law that conscience tells him is unjust and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice," said King in his "Letter

A DREAM

Negro Labor Council, the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Conference, the American Jewish Council, SNCC, SCLC, and other groups. On August 28, more than 250,000 people of every race and creed marched on Washington. The leaders met with President Kennedy and then several spoke to the assembled crowds. King electrified the audience with his now-famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood . . . 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. This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope."

It was a momentous year for King. In December *Time* magazine chose him as its man of the year. The following year, at

that moved King to write in 1964 his second book, *Why We Can't Wait*. Even as he explained why blacks could not wait, roadblocks were clearly visible. The march from Selma to Montgomery in March 1965 to press for a voting rights bill was almost stalled as the opposition gained strength. By this time, moreover, some segments of the civil rights movement began to lose confidence in non-violence as a means of achieving equality. Although the Voting Rights Act became law in 1965, King's efforts the following year to fight discrimination in Chicago were less than successful. The old tactics of boycotting, picketing, and demonstrating were unfruitful. White backlash and more subtle forms of discrimination immeasurably complicated the task.

In 1967 King surprised many observers by speaking out against the Vietnam War. He was aware that his position might undercut his role as spokesman for civil rights, but he was convinced that his position in the movement would be compromised if he did not oppose the war. Thus the Vietnam War was more than a distraction: it became an

in his book *Where Do We Go From Here?*, published in 1967.

Even as he sought a resolution of his dilemmas, King continued the task of supporting those who attempted to better their condition. In early spring of 1968 he went to Memphis to assist the sanitation workers who were on strike. It was there that he was fatally shot on a motel balcony on April 4, 1968. News of the assassination set off several days of rioting in some cities as millions in this nation and around the world mourned his death.

King was not only the most eloquent spokesman for racial justice of this time; he was also the most successful. He raised the discussion of human rights to a new level, and he developed techniques and approaches that made activism in civil rights a viable policy by which stated goals could be achieved. He discovered, however, that it was far easier to secure basic civil and voting rights—as difficult as that was—than to remove from a society the racial prejudices and discriminatory prac-

behalf of the disadvantaged was heard not only in Montgomery but in many parts of the United States and, ultimately, around the world.

Perhaps King was always committed to non-violence. But his visit to India in 1957

"immoral laws." In 1960 he was sentenced to four months in Reidsville State Prison in Georgia for allegedly trespassing at a department store in Atlanta and for violating probation for a traffic violation several months earlier. Because of widespread fears for his safety in Reidsville, his jail-

from Birmingham Jail," "is in reality expressing the highest respect for the law."

The early summer of 1963 was filled with planning for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, sponsored by the Urban League, the NAACP, the American



the insistence of King and his followers and with the prodding of President Lyndon B. Johnson, Congress passed the first civil rights bill since 1875. In autumn 1964 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. It was, perhaps, the events of the preceding year as well as his hopes for the future

occasion for King to look at himself, his own people, his government, and the way in which economic privation, political disadvantage, and the relations of nations were interconnected. It was a time of re-evaluation and earnest searching for permanent solutions. His quest was expressed

tices by which it had lived for centuries. But by his teachings and example, he infused his own and succeeding generations with a commitment to racial equality and a zeal to work diligently for it. That legacy was second in importance only to the goals that he achieved in his own time.

—John Hope Franklin

Dr. King receives the Nobel Peace Prize, 1964



UPI/Bettmann Archive



March from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, 1965 James Karales

Sweet Auburn

The Black Atlanta of King's Early Years

Early 20th century Atlanta was a patchwork of communities, each shaped by the people within its bounds. Auburn Avenue was the main artery through one prosperous neighborhood which over the years had come to symbolize achievement for Atlanta's black people. After the Civil War, former slaves bought property east of the city's central business district on what was then Wheat Street, a busy east-west thoroughfare. Many black entrepreneurs accumulated profits enough to build homes a little farther east, away from the marketplace. Wheat Street grew to be a mixture of old and young, prominent and obscure, and—until the onset of racial trouble in the early 1900s—black and white.

Business executives and factory workers alike took pride in their surroundings, putting up residences, office buildings, and places of worship whose facades displayed the varied components of late-Victorian architecture. In 1893, citizens petitioned the city council to change the name of Wheat Street to Auburn Avenue, which they thought more stylish.

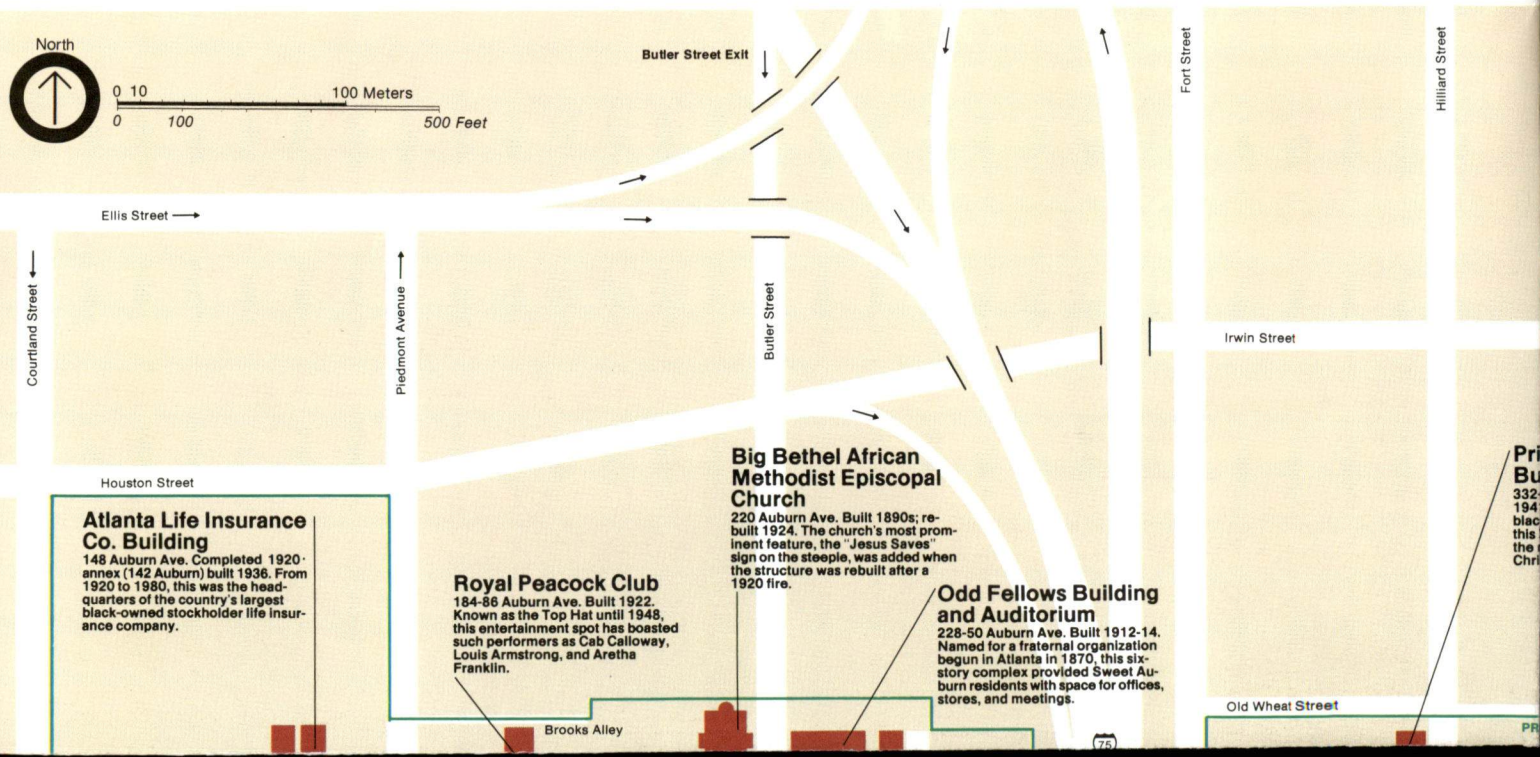
In 1909 the Reverend A.D. Williams, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church,

purchased a large home on Auburn Avenue. Williams played an important role in the community because the lives of many persons in black Atlanta centered around the church. An eloquent speaker and noted local political activist, he contributed his efforts—and meeting space in his church building—to a number of organizations dedicated to the education and social advancement of black citizens. But it was the minister's grandson whose name

would become synonymous with the nation's civil rights movement. On January 15, 1929, Martin Luther King, Jr., was born at his grandfather's home.

Young M.L., as he was called, grew up in a close-knit neighborhood where a wide range of talents and interests made for an independent city within a city. M.L. lived with his parents, grandparents, brother, and sister in a fashionable, though by no means exclusive, black residential area. Their

neighbors were businessmen, educators, and clergymen, as well as servants, laborers, and porters. A few blocks away in the commercial district, the businesses and public services—more than 100 on Auburn Avenue alone—included banks, insurance companies, builders, jewelers, tailors, doctors, lawyers, funeral parlors, a newspaper, a library, and a business college. All were black-owned or black-operated. The district thrived. The opportunities available here to



Parlor, King Birth Home



Michael W. Thomas

blacks, even in the face of Atlanta's segregation laws, inspired political leader John Wesley Dobbs to nickname the area "Sweet Auburn." Years later Dobbs' grandson, Mayor Maynard H. Jackson, added that Sweet Auburn had offered blacks "the three B's—bucks, ballots, and books!"

Dr. King never forgot the community spirit he had known as a child. Nor did he forget racial prejudice, the seemingly insur-

mountable barrier that kept black Atlantans from accomplishing all they might have. It was to Sweet Auburn that he returned in 1960 to serve with his father as co-pastor of Ebenezer Baptist and to head the SCLC. And, as the world mourned on an early spring day in 1968, it was to Sweet Auburn that the body of Martin Luther King, Jr., was brought one last time.

Jackson Street

Houston Street

Boulevard

Grape Place

Howell Street

Randolph Street

PRESERVATION DISTRICT BOUNDARY

Irwin Street

ance Hall Masonic Building

34 Auburn Ave. Completed in 1906, this building is Georgia's most influential Masonic lodge constructed in Atlanta. The building which currently houses the national offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.

Founded in 1968 and headed by Coretta Scott King, this organization continues to work toward Dr. King's dream of economic and social equality.

Visitor Contact Station

At this kiosk, National Park Service personnel provide information and answer questions. A schedule of activities is posted.

COMMUNITY CENTER PLAZA

Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Home

102 Howell St. Built 1890-95. This elegant house, whose architectural details include a Palladian window and Corinthian columns, was home to Atlanta's leading black building contractor in the early 1900s.

Double "Shotgun" Row Houses

472-488 Auburn Ave. Built in 1905 for Empire Textile Company mill workers. Theoretically, a gunshot could enter and leave the house through the perfectly aligned doorways, hence the name "shotgun."

Bryant-Graves House

522 Auburn Ave. Built in 1893-95. Former occupants include two prominent black citizens, Rev. Peter James Bryant and developer Antoine Graves. The house is now an NPS visitor information station; scheduled tours begin here.

Hogue Alley

Ryder Alley

Hogue Street

Old Wheat Street

Auburn Avenue

PRESERVATION DISTRICT BOUNDARY

Auburn Avenue
To downtown Atlanta
and Peachtree Street

Rucker Building

158-80 Auburn Ave. Completed 1904. Atlanta's first black office building was constructed by businessman and politician Henry A. Rucker.

Butler Street YMCA

20-24 Butler St. Built 1918-20. Founded in the basement of the Wheat Street Baptist Church in 1894, the activist YMCA group met in several locations before building new quarters here.

Herndon Building

231-45 Auburn Ave. Built 1926. This multi-use structure was named for its builder, Alonzo F. Herndon, ex-slave and founder of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

Atlanta Municipal Market

209 Edgewood Ave. Completed 1923. Even during the years of legal segregation in Atlanta, both blacks and whites shopped for fresh produce and meats at the market, which is still in operation.

PRESERVATION DISTRICT BOUNDARY

Atlanta Expressway

Edgewood / Auburn Avenue Exit

Hilliard Street

A Walk Through the Park and Preservation District

"Auburn Avenue was like a grand lady," an observer recalled in the 1970s. "In her prime she was the talk of the town— young, vivacious, and beautiful. Everyone loved her, respected her, and wooed her."

This prosperous era in Sweet Auburn's history is well represented by buildings that date from the late 1800s and early 1900s. Sweet Auburn is still an active community. Most historic structures house residents or businesses and are not open to the public. Visitors can tour the Birth Home and the Ebenezer Baptist Church, both carefully restored to re-create the childhood years of Sweet Auburn's most famous resident. A walk through the national historic site

and preservation district will enhance the story of this great American.

Ebenezer Baptist Church Dr. King's father, Daddy King, once proclaimed Ebenezer Baptist Church a home for everyone "from PhD's to no D's." Ebenezer was founded at another location in 1886, eight years before the Reverend A.D. Williams was named pastor. The present Gothic Revival structure was completed in 1922.

Like churches everywhere it offered spiritual guidance and comfort in time of need. But Ebenezer's role in the community was not limited to religious matters. An article in the *Atlanta Daily World* reported that when Williams proudly announced

in 1929 that Ebenezer Baptist was nearly out of debt, "the church dedicated itself to the advancement of black people and support of every righteous and social movement."

For more than 80 years, the ministers of this church were members of the same family. In 1931, upon Williams' death, his son-in-law, Martin Luther King, Sr., took over as pastor and served until he retired in 1975. King family life revolved around this church. Five-year-old Martin Jr. and his sister, Christine, formally joined the church in 1934 at a revival led by a visiting evangelist. King preached his first sermon here at age 17 and joined his father as co-pastor from 1960 to 1968. In 1957, an organizational meeting for

the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was held at Ebenezer.

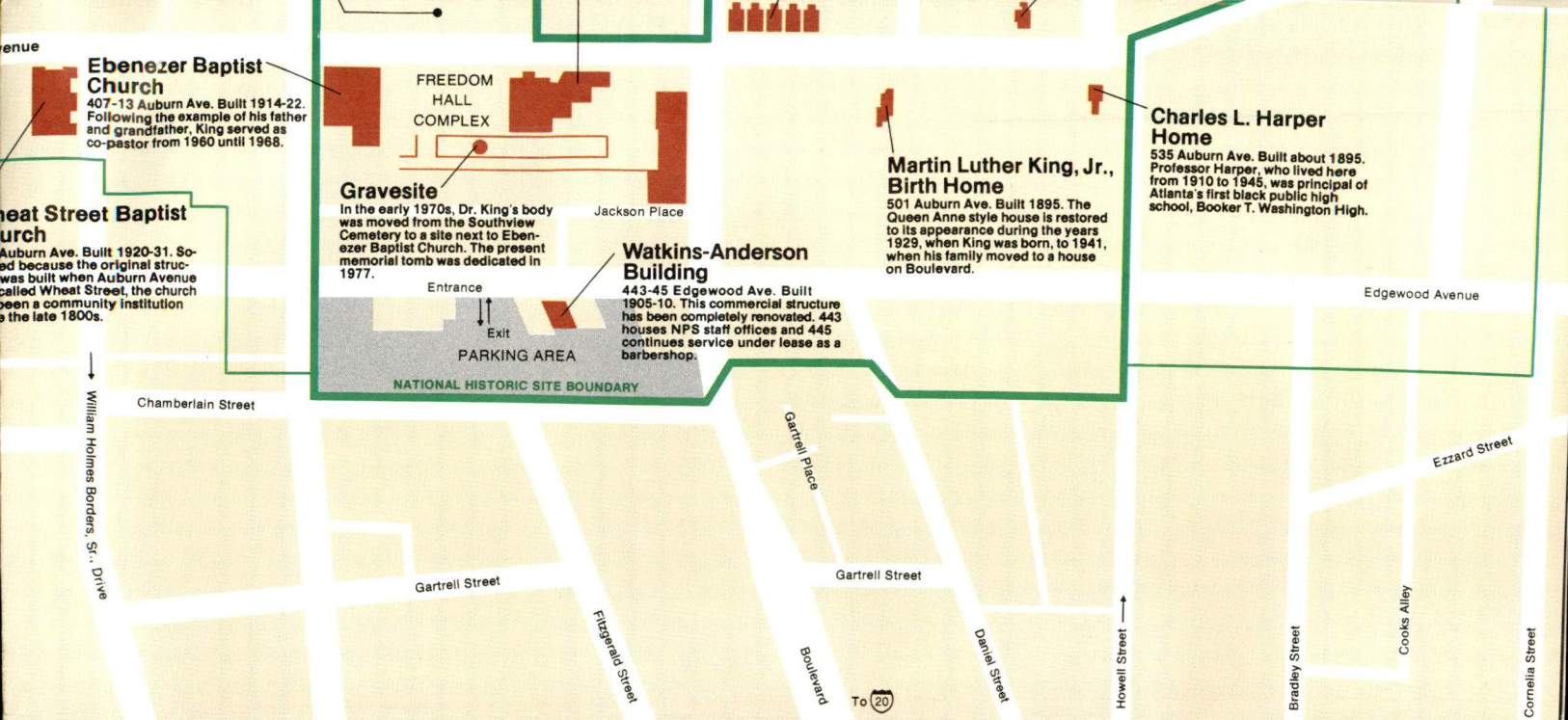
The church was also the scene of tragic episodes in the King family history. Crowds of people gathered here in April 1968 to view King's body as it lay in state during his funeral. In 1974 Dr. King's mother was fatally shot by an assassin as she sat at the church organ.

Martin Luther King, Jr., Birth Home Located at 501 Auburn Avenue, the nine-room, two-story Queen Anne style residence was built in 1895. Fourteen years later, King's grandfather Williams bought the house. For the next 32 years it was occupied by the Williams-King family. On Thanksgiving Day

1926 Williams' daughter Alberta married Martin Luther King, Sr., a young minister. The couple moved into an upstairs room. King worked weekdays, preached Sundays, and spent evenings at the city's Morehouse College studying toward his divinity degree. Their three children—the second was Martin Jr.—were born here. The Kings always stressed to their children the importance of education. Daddy King claimed that even before Martin Jr. could read, "he kept books around him, he just liked the idea of having them." The Kings and Alberta's mother remained here after Williams died in 1931. Ten years later, after the death of his grandmother, 12-year-old Martin and his family moved a few blocks away.

The Preservation District The historic site, which includes the Birth Home, Ebenezer Baptist Church, and the grave site, is surrounded by a preservation district, which helps to ensure the integrity of the Sweet Auburn community and protects historic structures. Most buildings are privately occupied and may be viewed from the outside only.

The historic structures in the district include Big Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Wheat Street Baptist Church, social and cultural organizations such as the Odd Fellows Building and the Prince Hall Masonic Building, the Royal Peacock Club, the Atlanta Municipal Market, small and large business-



Ebenezer Baptist Church
407-13 Auburn Ave. Built 1914-22. Following the example of his father and grandfather, King served as co-pastor from 1960 until 1968.

FREEDOM HALL COMPLEX

Gravesite

In the early 1970s, Dr. King's body was moved from the Southview Cemetery to a site next to Ebenezer Baptist Church. The present memorial tomb was dedicated in 1977.

Jackson Place

Watkins-Anderson Building

443-45 Edgewood Ave. Built 1905-10. This commercial structure has been completely renovated. 443 houses NPS staff offices and 445 continues service under lease as a barbershop.

Entrance
Exit

PARKING AREA

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE BOUNDARY

Martin Luther King, Jr., Birth Home

501 Auburn Ave. Built 1895. The Queen Anne style house is restored to its appearance during the years 1929, when King was born, to 1941, when his family moved to a house on Boulevard.

Charles L. Harper Home

535 Auburn Ave. Built about 1895. Professor Harper, who lived here from 1910 to 1945, was principal of Atlanta's first black public high school, Booker T. Washington High.

Edgewood Avenue

Ezzard Street

William Holmes Borders, Sr., Drive

Chamberlain Street

Gantrell Place

Gantrell Street

Gantrell Street

Fitzgerald Street

Boulevard

To 20

Daniel Street

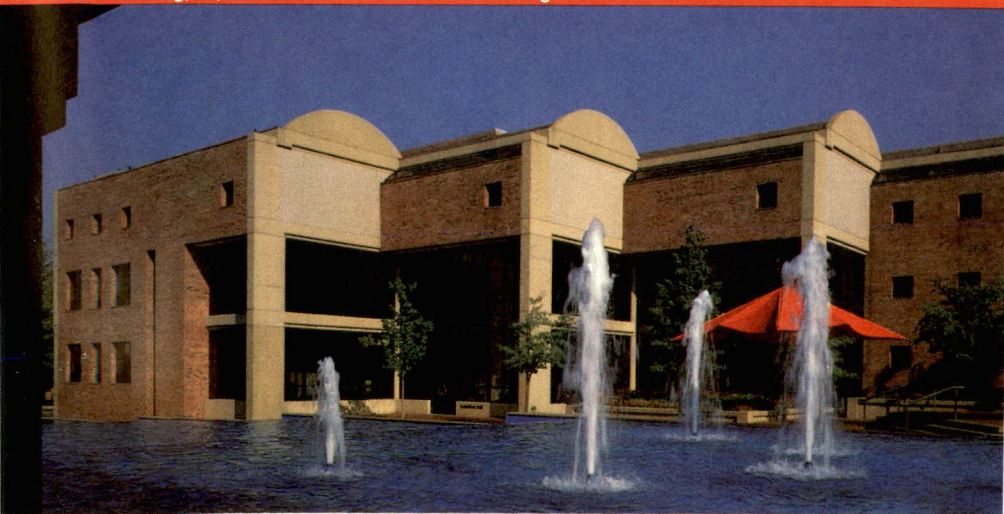
Howell Street

Bradley Street

Cooks Alley

Cornelia Street

Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change



Michael W. Thomas

ses, social service agencies, a newspaper, a radio station, and many residences that once belonged to prominent Atlantans who helped shape the character of Sweet Auburn. As these institutions emerged and grew in turn-of-the-century Atlanta, Sweet Auburn earned a reputation throughout the South as a community where blacks could prosper.

Getting here Visitors traveling to the park on southbound I-75 or I-85 exit at Butler St.; northbound vehicles take the Edgewood/Auburn Avenue exit. The route from the highway to the park is marked by signs. Visitor parking is available only in the lot accessible from Edgewood Avenue. The park is open from 9 a.m.

to 5 p.m. daily. Scheduled tours of the Birth Home and surrounding community begin at the Bryant-Graves house, 522 Auburn Avenue.

Administration Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site was established in 1980 to preserve the birthplace and boyhood surroundings of the nation's foremost civil rights leader. The site is administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Contact: Superintendent, Martin Luther King, Jr., NHS, 526 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, GA 30312.

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