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+In the past several years that the technique of mass non-violent direct action has not only become the accepted method of the civil rights movement, but beyond that the vast majority of now Americans now support and approve it. What began as a limited expression of protest ten years ago in Montgomery Alabama to integrate a bus line. Has grown into a national phenomenon. As history spiraled over the decade the movement returned to Montgomery. And involved in direct action nuns and priests, rabbis, protestant ministers and laity of every race, social class, and age. Many observers have been surprised and even shocked by these methods. The enemies of the civil rights movement have been quick and vocal to denounce him as undemocratic pressure tactics. And even un-American in philosophy. Yet the truth is that no one can scorn non-violent direct action, or civil disobedience, without cancelling out American history. The first non-violent direct action did not occur in Montgomery. Its roots go back to the American revolution and the boycott against British tea culminating in the Boston Tea Party. It was a favorite weapon of the suffragette movement when women had to fight for the right to vote. It was a technique the trade unions employed to organize a mass production industries. Many here tonight can recall the events in the 30's when federal court injunctions crippled and stifled union organization. Even (wagmed) could not facilitate a breakthrough. When the now historic sit down strikes verse 4th and 1937. A new national attitude congealed. And through the Congress of Industrial Organizations a new major movement was born. Then too the nation was warned. That the profit system was a target of this new former struggle. Nearly 3 decades later we are able to see that the profit system is not only un-impaired but became significantly strengthened. If there is some confusion about the origins of non-violent direct action, that is even more about civil disobedience. The two methods are not synonymous. Civil disobedience in its true sense has not been implored by negros in their struggle. To utilize civil disobedience in its authentic historical form involves defiance of fundamental national law. For example, when Antigony insisted upon her right to follow her individual conscience and religious convictions to bury her brother, she was defying the king and his unqualified majesty of his law,

when the Quakers refused to return run away slaves they were defying the supreme court in the Dred Scott decision. When Thoreau refused to pay taxes and protest against the Mexican war, he was breaking a fundamental legislative enactment, and opposing declaration of the war of the congress. And certainly we all understand this and I heartily approve of civil disobedience in a creative sense in many instances. But we must that the negro today that when he marches in the streets, is not practicing civil disobedience because he is not challenging the constitution, the supreme court, or the enactments of congress. Instead he seeks to uphold them. He may be violating local municipal ordinances or state laws. But it is these laws which constitute basic national law. Negroes by direct action are exposing the contradiction. The civil disobedience or I should say un-civil disobedience in the situation resting on unjust foundations. Is that of the segregationists? Negroes have not willfully and frivolously violated the law. Many good hearted people believe they do exactly that. And forgive them on grounds that they endured a poor in grievances. Yet these people forgive them for misdeeds they are not committing. The truly unsocial law breaker, disregards law because he as an individual is seeking a personal advantage. Negroes have never forgotten. Even under the crushing burdens of injustice. That they are connected with a larger society. That the robes they may obstruct and the public buildings that they picket are used in common by all citizens. For that reason, before a protest can be approved by a responsible leadership, they must answer the following questions. One, do we have a just grievance or is our purpose merely to create confusion for its own sake as a form of revenge. Two, have we first used every form of normal means to eliminate the problem by negotiation petition, and appropriate appeals to authority. Three, having found these channels useless or forcibly closed to us when we embark upon any type of law breaking are we prepared to accept the consequences that society will inflict. And to maintain even under punishment a sense of brotherhood. Four, do we have a clear program to relieve injustice which does not inflict injustice among others and is that program reasonable and grounded in the ethics and best traditions of our society. In establishing these frequent conditions before employing direct action the civil rights movement meets its responsibility to society and fulfills its obligations to democratic principle. Even after the movement, embarks upon a program of non violent direct action, of civil disobedience. Its purposes are not narrowly confined to obtain benefits exclusively for the negro. It is an axiom of nonviolence and democracy that when any group struggles properly and justly to achieve its own rights, it enlarges the rights of all. This element is what makes both democracy and nonviolent action both self-renewing and creative. What advantages have all Americans derived from the growth of non violent direct action in civil rights. First the struggle dissolves the deceptive façade, and reveals basic evils and contradictions in the society. Tens of millions of Americans a decade ago were ignorant of the actual conditions of the life of the negro both in the north and in the south until there was awareness there could be no consensus to make corrections. The long list of federal legislative enactments and supreme court decisions illustrate how extensive were the wrongs that blighted our society. Second, programs for remedying evils are not confined in their effects to negroes. When negroes took to the streets to demand job opportunities for themselves they

helped to stimulate a broad war on poverty concept which ultimately will benefit more whites than negro. But negroes by direct action seek to participate in the electoral process, they awaken the apathetic white, who so took his rights for granted that he neglected to use them. When negroes boycotted schools they did more than reveal classroom discrimination. They brought to the floor such criticisms as those of Dr. Kona. Who had long charged we were seeking to use 19th century educational methods in conditions of 20th century urbanization. Pushing through the issue of de-segregation. That emerged a new and startling question of paramount importance to the whole population. What is quality education and how is attained for all, under conditions of population growth, automation and redistribution of population in sprawling cities. Sociologists will find much to ponder. In the strike in fact that after the futile efforts to achieve brotherhood and (Ed Punimistive?) by discussion and conferences in the streets of Selma and Montgomery and at the Lincoln Memorial there was the greatest and warmest expression of religious unity. Of catholic, protestant and jew in the nation's history. One of the most profound of all results of the negro upsurge has been its effect upon the youth of the nation from the student led sit-ins of 1960 and the awakening of social thought and action have swept the campuses across the nation. In addition to overcoming the (Stolderfying?) effects of McCarthyism, the movement has in a few years changed the total description of American youth. From the silent generation they have become the morally and socially concerned generation. From the single issue to civil rights interest have broadened to questions of peace and poverty. From exclusively student involvement the issues now have become the concern of faculty and scholars of every description. It is noteworthy that the (cannot determine word) movement to re-examine our foreign policy which the government now respects and welcomes, borrowing its title teach-ins from the civil rights movement. The student awakening and the student mass action rest upon no specific political tendency but impresses a whole democratic political spectrum. I have discussed the social effects of non-violent mass direct action at length. Because I believe it is too often limited in its application merely to the civil rights movement. Perhaps if there had been a broader understanding of the uses of nonviolent direct action in Germany when Hitler was rising and consolidating his power. The brutal extermination of 6 million jews and millions of other war dead might have been averted in Germany might never have become totalitarian. If protestants and catholics had engaged in nonviolent direct action and had made the oppression of the jews their very own oppression and then come into the streets beside the jew to scrub the sidewalks and have gentiles worn the stigmatizing yellow armbands by the millions. A unique form of mass resistance to the Nazi regime might have developed. I am fully aware of the terror of the intimidation and the brutality and the force of fascist was so quick to use. But I am also aware that in the south today some races of the same mentality have been curbed in their resistance to nonviolent action when practiced on a mass scale. Today people all over the world should be engaging in mass action to protest ant-Semitism in the Soviet Union. That is a dangerous silence today which unintentionally encourages evil to flourish. As Albert Einstein writes when he said, the world is in great apparel from those that tolerate evil than from those who actively commit it. Did not president Kennedy warn that

those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Well the nation ever forget the searing impact of Rabbi Yolkom Prince's admonition as he spoke in the march in Washington in 1963. When I was a rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin, under the Hitler regime I learned many things. The most important thing I learned in my life and under tragic circumstances is that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problems. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence. A great people which it created a great civilization had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remain silent in the face of hate. In the face of brutality. And in the face of mass murder. America must not become a nation of onlookers. America must not remain silent. Not merely black America but all of America it must speak up and act from the president down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the negro but for the sake of the image, and the idea and the aspiration of America itself.

Martin Luther King Jr.- Let me proclaim here and now that I am still convinced, that the philosophy and practice of nonviolence affords a more excellent way to improve the inadequacies existing in the American social system. The method of nonviolence resistance is effective in that it has a way of disarming the opponent. It exposes his moral desensus and weakens his morale, and at the same time it works on his conscience. I believe we will win it because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scarred though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America.

Martin Luther King Jr.- It is time to reorder our national priorities. All those who now speak of goodwill and who praise the work of such groups as the president's commission. Now I have the gravest responsibility to stand up and act for the social changes that are necessary to conquer racism in America. If we as a society fail I fear that we will learn very shortly that racism is a sickness unto death.

Martin Luther King Jr.- I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America. And an adult base your faith in the future of mankind.

Martin Luther King Jr.- One day after finishing school I was called to a little church down in Montgomery Alabama. I started preaching there, things were going well in that church, it was a marvelous experience. But one day a year later, a lady by the name of Rosa Parks decided that she wasn't going to take it any longer. She stayed in a bus seat. You may not remember it because it is way back now several years but it was the beginning of the movement where 50,000 black men and women refuse absolutely. To ride the city busses and we walked together for 381 days. That is what we got to learn in the north. Negroes have to learn to stick together. Stick together! We sent out the call, no negro rode the busses, it was one of the most amazing things I have seen in my life. The people of Montgomery asked me to serve as the spokesmen. And as the president of the new organization the Montgomery Improvement Association came into being to lead the boycott. I couldn't say no. Then we started our struggle together. Things were going well for the first few days but then about 10 or 15 days later after the white people in Montgomery knew that we meant business. They started doing some nasty things. They started making nasty telephone calls and it came to the point that some days more than 40

telephone calls would come in threatening my life, the life of my family, the life of my children. I took it for awhile in a strong manner, but I never will forget one night very late. It was around midnight and you can have some strange experiences at midnight. I had been out meeting with the stirring committee all that night. I came home, my wife was in the bed and I immediately crawled into bed to get some rest to get up early the next morning to try to keep things going and immediately the telephone started ringing and I picked it up. On the other end was an ugly voice. That voice said to me in substance, nigger we are tired of you and your mess now. And if you aren't out of this town in 3 days we are going to blow your brains out and blow up your house. I had heard these things before but for some reason that night it got to me and I turned over and tried to go to sleep, but I couldn't sleep. It was frustrated and bewildered. Then I got up and went back to the kitchen and I started warming some coffee, thinking coffee would give me a little relief. Then I started thinking about many things, I pulled back on the theology and philosophy that I had just studied in the universities. Trying to give philosophical and theological reasons for the existence and the reality of sin and evil but the answer didn't quite come there. I sat there and thought about my beautiful little daughter who had just been born about a month earlier. We have 4 children now but we only had one then. She was the darling of my life, I would come in night after night and see that little gentle smile, I sat at that table thinking about that little girl and thinking about the fact that she could be taken away from me at any minute. I started thinking about a dedicated devoted and loyal wife who was over there asleep. She could be taken from me or I could be taken from her. I got to the point that I couldn't take it any longer, I was weak. Something said to me you can't call on daddy now he is up in Atlanta 175 miles away. You can't even call on mamma now you have got to call on that something and that person that your daddy used to tell you about. That power that can make a wave out of no waves. I discovered then that religion had to become real to me and I had to know god for myself. I bowed down over that cup of coffee, I never will forget. Oh yes I prayed a prayer and I prayed out loud that night. I said Lord I am down here trying to do what's right. I think I am right. I think the cause that we represent is right. But lord I must confess that I am weak now, I am faltering, I am losing my courage. It seemed at that moment that I could hear an inner voice saying to me, Martin Luther, stand up for righteousness, stand up for justice, stand up for truth and low I will be with you even until the end of the world! I tell you I have seen the lightning flash, I have heard the thunder roll. I have felt sin breakers dancing trying to conquer my soul but I heard the voice of Jesus saying still to fight on. He promised never to leave me, never to leave me alone, no never alone. No never alone. Promise never to leave me, never to leave me alone. Sometimes I feel discouraged and I don't mind telling you this morning that sometimes I feel discouraged. I felt discouraged in Chicago. As I moved through Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama I feel discouraged. Living every day under the threat of death I feel discouraged. Living every day under extensive criticisms even from negros I feel discouraged. Yes, sometimes I feel discouraged and feel my work is in vain. But then the holy spirit revives my soul again. That is a bomb in giving off to make the wounded whole. There is a bomb in Gilead to heal the sin sick souls, god bless you.

Martin Luther King Jr.- Every now and then I guess we all think realistically about that day when we would be victimized with what is life's common denominator. That something we call death. We all think about it and now and then I think about my own death and I think about my own funeral. And I don't think of it in a morbid sense. Every now and then I ask myself, what is it? That I would once said and I leave the word to you this morning. If you any of you around when I have to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell them not to talk too long. Every now and then I wonder what I want them to say, tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize, that isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have 3 or 4 hundred other awards that's not important, tell them not to mention where I went to school. I would like somebody mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others. I would like for somebody to say that day when Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody. I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the walk. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity. Yes if you want to say that I was a drum major, say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace, I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will (muffled). I won't have any money to leave behind, I won't have the fine and luxurious things of life to leave behind but I just want to leave a committed life behind. That is all I want to say, if I can help somebody as I pass along if I can cure somebody with a well song. If I can show somebody who is traveling wrong then my living will not be in vain. If I can do my duty as a Christian, or if I can bring salvation to a world once wrought, if I can spread the methods as the master taught then my living will not be vain. Yes Jesus I want to be on your right or your left side, not for any selfish reasons. I want to be on your right or your left side not in terms of some prolific kingdom or envision. But I just want to be there and love injustice and in truth and in commitment to others so that we can make of this whole world, a new world.

Martin Luther King Jr.- I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of it's creed. We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the Grandview's of Georgia. The sons of fathers slaved and the sons of former slave owners. Will they be able to sit down at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream. That one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with a heap of injustice. Sweltering with the heat of oppression, be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice, I have a dream. That my four little children will one day live in a nation were they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character, I have a dream. 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. One day right down 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 (muffled), every hill and mountain

shall be made low, the rough places would be made clean and the crooked places will be made straight and the poor will also be revealed and all (muffled) will see it together. This is our hope. This is a piece that I go back to consult with. With this faith we will be able to (hue?) out of the mountain of despair, a storm of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discourse 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 be able to sing with new meaning, my country tis of thee. Sweet land of liberty of thee I sing. Land where my father's died, land of the pilgrim's pride. From every mountainside let freedom ring and if America is to be a great nation this must become true. And 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 Storm mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Look Out Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring forever. When we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of god's children, black men and white men, jews and gentiles, protestant and catholic 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 free at last.

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Martin Luther King Jr.- If you can accept it, you will leave those state troopers gutted with their own barbarity. If you can accept it you will do something that will transform conditions here in Alabama. So I am not worried this afternoon I however dark it may be. However difficult it may be. I know that it is truth forever on the scaffold. Wrong forever underthrown. There is another part of that rich statement, yet that scaffold sways the future. Behind the demon standeth god in the shadow keeping watch above his own. William Carl Bryant is right truth crestus will rise again, the bible is right you shall reap what you sow.

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own sake as a form of revenge. Two, have we first used every form of normal means to eliminate the problem by negotiation petition, and appropriate appeals to authority. Three, having found these channels useless or forcibly closed to us when we embark upon any type of law breaking are we prepared to accept the consequences that society will inflict. And to maintain even under punishment a sense of brotherhood. Four, do we have a clear program to relieve injustice which does not inflict injustice among others and is that program reasonable and grounded in the ethics and best traditions of our society. In establishing these ferequesent conditions before employing direct action the civil rights movement meets its responsibility to society and fulfills its obligations to democratic principle. Even after the movement, embarks upon a program of nonviolent direct action, of civil disobedience. Its purposes are not narrowly confined to obtain benefits exclusively for the negro. It is an axiom of nonviolent action and democracy that when any group struggles properly and justly to achieve its own rights, it enlarges the rights of all. This element is what makes both democracy and nonviolent action both self-renewing and creative. What advantages have all Americans derived from the growth of non violent direct action in civil rights. First the struggle dissolves the deceptive façade, and reveals basic evils and contradictions in the society. Tens of millions of Americans a decade ago were ignorant of the actual conditions of the life of the negro both in the north and in the south until there was awareness there could be no consensus to make corrections. The long list of federal legislative enactments and supreme court decisions illustrate how extensive were the wrongs that blighted our society. Second, programs for remedying evils are not confined in their effects to negros. When negros took to the streets to demand job opportunities for themselves they helped to stimulate a broad war on poverty concept which ultimately will benefit more whites than negro. But negros by direct action seek to participate in the electoral process, they awaken the apathetic white, who so took his rights for granted that he neglected to use them. When negros boycotted schools they did more than reveal classroom discrimination. They brought to the floor such criticisms as those of Dr. Kona. Who had long charged we were seeking to use 19th century educational methods in conditions of 20th century urbanization. Pushing through the issue of de-segregation. That emerged a new and startling question of paramount importance to the whole population. What is quality education and how is attained for all, under conditions of population growth, automation and redistribution of population in sprawling cities. Sociologists will find much to ponder. In the strike in fact that after the futile efforts to achieve brotherhood and (Ed Punimistive?) by discussion and conferences in the streets of Selma and Montgomery and at the Lincoln Memorial there was the greatest and warmest expression of religious unity. Of catholic, protestant and jew in the nation's history. One of the most profound of all results of the negro upsurge has been its effect upon the youth of the nation from the student led sit-ins of 1960 and the awakening of social thought and action have swept the campuses across the nation. In addition to overcoming the (Stolderfying?) effects of McCarthyism, the movement has in a few years changed the total description of American youth. From the silent generation they have become the morally and socially concerned generation. From the single issue to civil rights interest have broadened to questions of peace and poverty.

From exclusively student involvement the issues now have become the concern of faculty and scholars of every description. It is noteworthy that the (Vibrant?) movement to re-examine our foreign policy which the government now respects and welcomes, borrowing its title "teach-ins" from the civil rights movement. The student awakening and the student mass action rest upon no specific political tendency but impresses a whole democratic political spectrum. I have discussed the social effects of non-violent mass direct action at length. Because I believe it is too often limited in its application merely to the civil rights movement. Perhaps if there had been a broader understanding of the uses of nonviolent direct action in Germany when Hitler was rising and consolidating his power. The brutal extermination of 6 million Jews and millions of other war dead might have been averted in Germany might never have become totalitarian. If Protestants and Catholics had engaged in nonviolent direct action and had made the oppression of the Jews their very own oppression and then come into the streets beside the Jew to scrub the sidewalks and have Gentiles worn the stigmatizing yellow armbands by the millions. A unique form of mass resistance to the Nazi regime might have developed. I am fully aware of the terror of the intimidation and the brutality and the force of fascist was so quick to use. But I am also aware that in the South today some races of the same mentality have been curbed in their resistance to nonviolent action when practiced on a mass scale. Today people all over the world should be engaging in mass action to protest anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. That is a dangerous silence today which unintentionally encourages evil to flourish. As Albert Einstein writes when he said, the world is in greater peril from those that tolerate evil than from those who actively commit it. Did not President Kennedy warn that those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Will the nation ever forget the searing impact of Rabbi Yolkem Prince's admonition as he spoke in the march in Washington in 1963. When I was a rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin, under the Hitler regime I learned many things. The most important thing I learned in my life and under tragic circumstances is that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problems. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence. A great people which it created a great civilization had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remain silent in the face of hate. In the face of brutality. And in the face of mass murder. America must not become a nation of onlookers. America must not remain silent. Not merely black America but all of America it must speak up and act from the president down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro but for the sake of the image, and the idea and the aspiration of America itself.

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Martin Luther King Jr.- It is time to reorder our national priorities. All those who now speak of goodwill and who praise the work of such groups as the president's commission. Now I have the gravest responsibility to stand up and act for the social changes that are necessary to conquer racism in America. If we as a society fail I fear that we will learn very shortly that racism is a sickness unto death.

Martin Luther King Jr.- I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America. And an adult base your faith in the future of mankind.

Martin Luther King Jr.- One day after finishing school I was called to a little church down in Montgomery Alabama. I started preaching there, things were going well in that church, it was a marvelous experience. But one day a year later, a lady by the name of Rosa Parks decided that she wasn't going to take it any longer. She stayed in a bus seat. You may not remember it because it is way back now several years but it was the beginning of the movement where 50,000 black men and women refuse absolutely. To ride the city busses and we walked together for 381 days. That is what we got to learn in the north. Negroes have to learn to stick together. Stick together! We sent out the call, no negro rode the busses, it was one of the most amazing things I have seen in my life. The people of Montgomery asked me to serve as the spokesmen. And as the president of the new organization the Montgomery Improvement Association came into being to lead the boycott. I couldn't say no. Then we started our struggle together. Things were going well for the first few days but then about 10 or 15 days later after the white people in Montgomery knew that we meant business. They started doing some nasty things. They started making nasty telephone calls and it came to the point that some days more than 40 telephone calls would come in threatening my life, the life of my family, the life of my children. I took it for awhile in a strong manner, but I never will forget one night very late. It was around midnight and you can have some strange experiences at midnight. I had been out meeting with the stirring committee all that night. I came home, my wife was in the bed and I immediately crawled into bed to get some rest to get up early the next morning to try to keep things going and immediately the telephone started ringing and I picked it up. On the other end was an ugly voice. That voice said to me in substance, nigger we are tired of you and your mess now. And if you aren't out of this town in 3 days we are going to blow your brains out and blow up your house. I had heard these things before but for some reason that night it got to me and I turned over and tried to go to sleep, but I couldn't sleep. It was frustrated and bewildered. Then I got up and went back to the kitchen and I started warming some coffee, thinking coffee would give me a little relief. Then I started thinking about many things, I pulled back on the theology and philosophy that I had just studied in the universities. Trying to give philosophical and theological reasons for the existence and the reality of sin and evil but the answer didn't quite come there. I sat there and thought about my beautiful little daughter who had just been born about a month earlier. We have 4 children now but we only had one then. She was the darling of my life, I would come in night after night and see that little gentle smile, I sat at that table thinking about that little girl and thinking about the fact that she could be taken away from me at any minute. I started thinking about a

dedicated devoted and loyal wife who was over there asleep. She could be taken from me or I could be taken from her. I got to the point that I couldn't take it any longer, I was weak. Something said to me you can't call on daddy now he is up in Atlanta 175 miles away. You can't even call on mamma now you have got to call on that something and that person that your daddy used to tell you about. That power that can make a wave out of no waves. I discovered then that religion had to become real to me and I had to know god for myself. I bowed down over that cup of coffee, I never will forget. Oh yes I prayed a prayer and I prayed out loud that night. I said Lord I am down here trying to do what's right. I think I am right. I think the cause that we represent is right. But lord I must confess that I am weak now, I am faltering, I am losing my courage. It seemed at that moment that I could hear an inner voice saying to me, Martin Luther, stand up for righteousness, stand up for justice, stand up for truth and low I will be with you even until the end of the world! I tell you I have seen the lightning flash, I have heard the thunder roll. I have felt sin breakers dancing trying to conquer my soul but I heard the voice of jesus saying still to fight on. He promised never to leave me, never to leave me alone, no never alone. No never alone. Promise never to leave me, never to leave me alone. Sometimes I feel discouraged and I don't mind telling you this morning that sometimes I feel discouraged. I felt discouraged in Chicago. As I moved through Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama I feel discouraged. Living every day under the threat of death I feel discouraged. Living every day under extensive criticisms even from negros I feel discouraged. Yes, sometimes I feel discouraged and feel my work is in vain. But then the holy spirit revives my soul again. That is a bomb in giving off to make the wounded whole. There is a bomb in Gilead to heal the sin sick souls, god bless you.

Martin Luther King Jr.- Every now and then I guess we all think realistically about that day when we would be victimized with what is life's common denominator. That something we call death. We all think about it and now and then I think about my own death and I think about my own funeral. And I don't think of it in a morbid sense. Every now and then I ask myself, what is it? That I would once said and I leave the word to you this morning. If you any of you around when I have to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell them not to talk too long. Every now and then I wonder what I want them to say, tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize, that isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have 3 or 4 hundred other awards that's not important, tell them not to mention where I went to school. I would like somebody mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others. I would like for somebody to say that day when Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody. I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the walk. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity. Yes if you want to say that I was a drum major, say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace, I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will (muffled). I won't have any money to leave behind, I won't have the fine and

luxurious things of life to leave behind but I just want to leave a committed life behind. That is all I want to say, if I can help somebody as I pass along if I can cure somebody with a well song. If I can show somebody who is traveling wrong then my living will not be in vain. If I can do my duty as a Christian, or if I can bring salvation to a world once wrought, if I can spread the methods as the master taught then my living will not be vain. Yes Jesus I want to be on your right or your left side, not for any selfish reasons. I want to be on your right or your left side not in terms of some prolific kingdom or envision. But I just want to be there and love injustice and in truth and in commitment to others so that we can make of this whole world, a new world.

Martin Luther King Jr.- I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of it's creed. We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the Grandview's of Georgia. The sons of fathers slaved and the sons of former slave owners. Will they be able to sit down at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream. That one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with a heap of injustice. Sweltering with the heat of oppression, be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice, I have a dream. That my four little children will one day live in a nation were they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character, I have a dream. 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. One day right down 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 would be made clean and the crooked places will be made straight and the poor will also be revealed and all (muffled) will see it together. This is our hope. This is a piece that I go back to consult with. With this faith we will be able to hear out of the mountain of despair, a storm of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discourse 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 be able to sing with new meaning, my country tis of thee. Sweet land of liberty of thee I sing. Land where my father's died, land of the pilgrim's pride. From every mountainside let freedom ring and if America is to be a great nation this must become true. And 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 Storm mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Look Out Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring forever. When we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of god's children, black men and white men, jews and gentiles, protestant and

catholic will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old negro spiritual.
Free at last, free at last, thank...(Tape Ends)