MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Study Guide/Course Outline/Introduction

Martin Luther King, Jr. is an important subject for serious study. He was a Black man, a middle class minister with a Ph.D., and symbolically the most important leader of the civil rights movement during the late 1950s and early 1960s. He was given untold honors including Time magazine "Man of the Year" and the Nobel Peace Prize. He was jailed, beaten, stabbed, and finally murdered. He is the first Black leader given recognition with a federal holiday. Every American should understand and appreciate King's contribution to Black people, to all Americans, to all of humanity. More important than this, however is the need to realize that Dr. King's agenda has not been completed. In fact, Black people have lost ground and continue to lose ground in the 1980s.

The main contribution of Martin Luther King, Jr. was to lead the last great reform movement possible to save the USA. He became an outstanding citizen of the USA who accepted the legitimacy of the basic system while disagreeing with some parts of it. Indeed, this same society killed Martin Luther King. King was brutally assassinated as he was trying to change the focus from race to class, and transform the civil rights movement into the poor peoples campaign. His experiences revolve around the issues of race, nationality, and social class.

King developed as a leader through three ideological political struggles. He summed up each stage in a published book:

1. Spontaneous mass protest and the challenge of leadership (Montgomery Bus Boycott, summed up in Stride Toward Freedom [1958]);

2. Racist terror versus Black self defense (Birmingham Protests, summed up in Why We Can't Wait [1963]); and

3. Reform versus revolution, the crisis of Black Power (Chicago and Mississippi Marches, summed up in Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community [1967]).

Each stage presented new challenges in concrete campaigns of struggle, and each book presents ideology and politics in Kings own words.

In studying King's work (topics 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, in this study guide) we have to first understand the Black Church as the context for his life and the general character of the movements for civil rights and Black liberation (topics 1 and 2). Further, after systematically reviewing his life as a Black leader we have to evaluate his contribution (covered in topics 8, 9 and 10). The most important conclusions will be based on the necessity of carrying forward King's work from a dream - to blueprints and concrete plans. The issues remain. Our decisions and our actions will be the real memorial to King -- in the final analysis, we the people are the determining factor.
BIOPGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929 - 1968)

Phase One: Origins and Qualifications

1863 Rev Adam Daniel Williams born, maternal grandfather of Martin Luther King, became pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1894

1898 Rev Martin Luther King Sr. born, became pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1931

1929 Rev Martin Luther King Jr. born, after his sister Willie Christine and before his brother Alfred Daniel

1947 Ordained a Baptist minister by his father and became Assistant Pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church

1948 Graduated from Morehouse College, BA

1951 Graduated from Crozer Theological Seminary, BD

1953 Married Coretta Scott King, from Marion Alabama who graduated from Antioch College and the New England Conservatory of Music

Phase Two: The Making of a New Ministry

1954 Installed as 20th pastor of the Dexter Avenue Church in Montgomery, Alabama

1955 Birth of 1st child, Yolanda Denise

Graduated from Boston University, PhD

Rosa Parks begins the Montgomery Bus Boycott protest movement which lasts for almost a year

1956 Supreme Court Ruling mandates the integration of buses in Montgomery thus the bus boycott movement is victorious

1957 The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is formed and King is elected the first president

Martin and Coretta attend independence celebration in Ghana as guest of the new President Kwame Nkrumah

Birth of 2nd child, Martin Luther King III

1958 First book, STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM
Phase Three: The American Test of Nonviolence

1960 King moves to Atlanta and becomes co-pastor with his father of Ebenezer Baptist Church

1961 Birth of 3rd child, Dexter Scott

The Albany campaign begins leading to mass arrests, but the goals of the protests were not attained

1963 Birth of 4th child, Bernice Albertine

Beginning of the Birmingham campaign, Black people experienced the most savage reign of terror of the entire 1960’s

Second book, STRENGTH TO LOVE

The assassination of Medgar Evers, NAACP leader of Mississippi
The assassination of John Kennedy, President of the U.S.A.

1964 Third book, WHY WE CAN’T WAIT

Nobel Peace Prize awarded in Oslo Norway

Phase Four: The Challenge of Black Power

1965 THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X

1966 King expands his work to the north with a campaign to end slums in Chicago

King joins Mississippi march after James Meridith was shot, and was confronted by the new SNCC slogan Black Power

1967 Fourth book, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE

SCLC forms the Poor Peoples Campaign to unite poor whites and Blacks

1968 Fifth book, TRUMPET OF CONSCIENCE

THE ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING
I - Black Protest and Black History

The Black experience has gone through three basic economic stages: the slave experience, the rural share cropping experience, and the urban industrial experience. In political matters each stage has focused on its own goal orientation: human rights, civil rights, and equal rights. In this sense the Civil War, and the constitutional amendments were revolutionary shifts in the political status of Blacks from slave to free, but freedom came in degrees. This is the context of the Civil Rights movement.

Black people have faced the multiple problems of race, nationality, and class. And, there has never been a period when Blacks failed to protest against exploitation and oppression. Every period has had Blacks who have provided "world class" leadership, e.g. Paul Robeson, WEB Du Bois, and Frederick Douglas. But King had the privilege of having the greatest Black mass protest movement validate his leadership. Marcus Garvey is the only other Black mass leader.

Required Reading


Questions

1. When Black people originally became part of American society did they have to struggle for peace, freedom, and economic security? How did Africans Become Americans (or Afro-Americans)? (chapters 4, 5, and 6)

2. During each major stage of Afro-American history what were the critical political issues? Discuss human rights, civil rights, and equal rights. (chapter 13)

3. Compare different class experiences of Black people. (chapters 7 and 8)

4. Compare the key organizations of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Include NAACP, UL, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC. (chapter 14)

Supplemental Reading


II - The Black Church and Liberation

Religion and the church are the critical institutional forces that have given structure and coherence to Black life. Wilmore states:

... there are three characteristics of the radical tradition in Black religion: (1) the quest for independence from white control; (2) the revalorization of the image of Africa; and (3) the acceptance of protest and agitation as theological prerequisite for Black liberation and the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

King made an essential contribution to this tradition by demonstrating his rhetorical skill to link Black traditional religion with American political culture. His rhetoric captured the fire and ferment latent in his congregation of the oppressed.

Overall, the Black Church is the cultural and social foundation of the Afro-American nationality. Especially during the rural period, and in the south, but extending until the present, the church has been the primary center for Black leadership and resource mobilization. In general its conservative wing has been more powerful than its radical wing, except under slavery.

Required Reading

Questions
1. How did religion and the Black Church contribute to ending slavery? (chapters 1-4)
2. What has been the relationship between Black religion and Black nationalism? Discuss Martin Delany, Alexander Crummwell, Edward Blyden, and Henry Turner. (chapter 5)
3. Compare the lives of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X in terms of religion and Black protest. (chapter 7)
4. What impact did the Black Power movement have on the church and Black theology? (chapter 8)

Supplemental Reading
III - The Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Kings life represents the development of a middle class elite and the development of a militant protest leader. His first twenty-five years represented the fashioning of an authentic Black middle class pedigree. King was born the third generation ministerial heir to a big influential Baptist church, entered college at 15 and earned degrees at Morehouse (BA, 1948), Crozer Theological Seminary (BD, 1951), and Boston University (PhD, 1955). He married Coretta Scott in 1953 and went on to have four children. He was destined to play a significant role in the Black church, but not as an institutional leader managing administrative resources. King was to be the symbol of the largest movement of protest striving to complete the democratic tasks of the Civil War - full citizenship for Black people. He was the first Black leader popularized by television.

Required Reading


Questions

1. What route led King to the middle class? This social mobility took 3 generations.
2. What were the major educational experiences that shaped King's life? Cover college, divinity school, and graduate school.
3. Discuss King as a family man. Cover his parents, brother, marriage, and four children.
4. What personal characteristics best served King as a charismatic leader?

Supplemental Reading

IV - Theological Aspects of MLK

King was a Christian theologian who focused on the power of love. He stressed that Jesus was the best example of "Love in Action," and explained the negative impact of hate. King believed that fear could best be mastered four ways: self consciousness, courage, love, and faith. He criticized the view that mankind could solve their problems without God, or that God would handle things so people could simply pray to God. King believed that faith and good deeds were the critical ingredients for solutions. King stressed the need to be tough minded and tenderhearted, combining the qualities of the serpent with that of the dove. King urged Black people to be like both. On the political-ideological level he viewed the difference between Christianity and communism as irreconcilable. But he went on to point out that only with "the revolutionary gospel of Jesus Christ" that boldly challenges the socio-economic status quo is it possible for Christians to compete with communism.

Required Reading


Questions

1. Why does King believe that only through love and nonviolence will people solve problems? (chapters 4, 5, and 7)

2. What were King's views on overcoming fear and evil? (chapters 14 and 15)

3. Why does King demand to be judged by his head and his heart? (Chapter 14)

4. What was King's Christian view of communism? (chapter 12)

Supplemental Reading


V - King in Struggle: #1 Montgomery

King moved into leadership of the most influential Black Church in an organized Black community. The movement in Montgomery was a boycott of the city buses to end segregated seating. This struggle was developed by team work, local leadership and the donation of resources from the Black community. Two key figures were Rosa Parks and E.D. Nixon. The civil rights movement was a context for nonviolence to be a theory in action, and King developed six key concepts about nonviolent resistance. The Black community was held together by unity rooted in the churches and the necessity to unite against racist reprisals. There were new social relations developed for over a year that held the protest together. The buses were integrated, but only the buses. Montgomery was a limited victory, more was accomplished for the national movement - the symbol of victory - than the local community because the protest movement failed to maintain its momentum against other manifestations of segregation. Then, King and Abernathy moved to Atlanta.

Required Reading


Questions

1. How did the Bus Boycott protest start? (chapters 3 and 4) Discuss the roles played by Rosa Parks, E.D. Nixon, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

2. Discuss the six point theory of nonviolence. (chapter 6)

3. What was the actual year of struggle like? Discuss the moves and counter moves of the boycott. (chapters 5, 7, 8, and 9)

4. Was the struggle in Montgomery a victory? (chapters 10 and 11)

Supplemental Reading


VI - King in Struggle: #2 Birmingham

After eight years the nonviolent protests led to violent urban insurrection because there was little change for Black urban youth. King developed renewed commitment to nonviolent resistance as a tactic for mass action. The Birmingham campaign - known as Project C - was designed to desegregate the city and spark a response from the federal government. This was Kings first major planned campaign, and several new tactics were used - mass arrests, youth demonstrators, and secretive planning tactics like a military operation. While serving a jail term for his militant protest, King wrote a famous letter in response to criticism from a group of white ministers. This letter became the manifesto of liberal religious forces against the conservative racist practices of churches.

Birmingham was a turning point in the movement. Northern Blacks seemed to reject nonviolence, and cities were turned into battle fields. In Birmingham, racist white city officials turned fire hoses and dogs on nonviolent demonstrators and racist white terrorists bombed a church during services and killed four Black little girls while they prayed.

Required Reading


Questions

1. How did King evaluate the conditions facing the movement in 1963? (chapters 1 and 2)

2. What were the high points of the movement in Birmingham?

3. How did King defend himself from white racist conservative ministers?

4. Was the struggle in Birmingham a victory?

Supplemental Reading


VII - King in Struggle: #3 Northern Battles

Out of the violent suppression of the civil rights movement and the urban insurrections came a reorientation of the movement. The goal of racial integration was joined by economic justice and political power. King was sober about this development: "Achievement of these (new) goals will be a lot more difficult and require much more discipline, understanding, organization and sacrifice."

The key political slogan that challenged King's leadership was "Black Power." SNCC, CORE, and militant artist/intellectuals began to give rhetorical leadership to the new working class militancy. King began to recognize some positive aspects of Black Power but essentially rejected it as being doomed to failure. King's response to this challenge was to develop a new set of proposals to give more energy and relevance to the movement in this new situation.

King was led by the growing militancy of the movement, and its development of an international orientation. He believed the Black movement was relevant on a world scale because of the issues of race, class, and war. He believed we all lived in the "world house."

Required Reading


Questions

1. King explained two stages struggle, a struggle for decency and for equality. Discuss how King compares the fight against Black oppression with the fight against economic exploitation. (chapter 1)

2. Discuss King's view of the strengths and weaknesses of the concept of Black Power. (chapter 2)

3. King proposed five new points of emphasis to continue the Black movement. Discuss. (chapter 4)

4. Why does King make a connection between peace and Black liberation? (chapters 5 and 6)

Supplemental Reading


VIII - Social and Political Theory

Kings last book is made up of five lectures delivered over national Canadian radio four months before he was assassinated. This is the final statement of his social and political views. He had confronted new problems and spoke boldly:

... if the total sum violations of law by the white man over the years were calculated and were compared with the law breaking of a few days of riots, the hardened criminal would be the white man.

He went on to describe five causes of urban riots.

King spoke about his views on youth, war and peace, and nonviolence. He was urgent in his moral "imperative for action." This book spells out how he would view the USA today, all one need do is change the specifics, e.g., Vietnam to Nicaragua.

Required Reading


Questions

1. Given King's views on using mass civil disobedience against unemployment and slum housing how would he be responding to Reaganomics? (chapter 1)

2. Does King's view on youth help explain the recent anti-apartheid movement on campuses against South Africa? (chapters 2 and 3)

3. How did he interpret nonviolence as a call to action? (chapter 4)

4. What would King have to say about US policy toward Nicaragua? (chapter 5)

Supplemental Reading


IX - King and Black Liberation Theology

The Black Church was called to action by the movements of the 1960s. Out of this came a new theological orientation called Black liberation theology. Key interpreters of this new development are James Cone, Vincent Harding, Gayraud Wilmore, and Cornell West.

King helped bring this development about, but it developed (if not in opposition to) beyond his theological positions. As it developed, Cone points out strengths (faith and struggle, attack on racism, focus on Black history and Africa, challenge to conservatism, and an accent on Black ecumenism) and weaknesses (negative over reaction to white racism, lack of social analysis, economic analysis, and sexual analysis). Cone goes on to call for two major shifts in Black theology, both of which go beyond King: (1) to face the evil of patriarchy and to eliminate it; and (2) to use Marxism as a tool of social analysis to "help christians to see how things really are."

Required Reading


Questions

1. How did King contribute to the development of Black theology? (chapter 1)

2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of Black theology and the Black Church? (chapter 5)

3. What is the new role of women in Black theology? (chapter 6)

4. What is the new relationship between Black christians and Marxism? (chapter 9)

Supplemental Reading


X - King and his heirs

The men and women who worked closely with King have established themselves in different ways, and have often been at odds. The strongest organizational development has been Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) which evolved out of Operation Bread Basket Chicago chapter, led by Jesse Jackson. Jackson (1984 candidate for US presidency), along with Andrew Young (elected to Congress, appointed US ambassador to the United Nations and currently serving as mayor elect of Atlanta, GA) have gained prominence in the Democratic Party. On the other hand, James Bevel, Hosea Williams, and Ralph Abernathy have thrown their lot in with the Republicans.

By far, the most important claim as heir to King's legacy has been made by Jesse Jackson. He maintains King's top qualities of having "a great rap," and being media smart. Further he has many of the weaknesses - weak administrator, with little or no follow through on local struggles. Jesse Jackson is a militant conservative in the spirit of King. He takes some positions from the left and some from the right, and maintains a keen sense of Black middle class priorities. Jackson is running to become the Democratic nominee for President in 1988 as he did in 1984. As such Jesse Jackson has ceased being an independent Black leader and has now joined the political establishment. Perhaps the most effective heir to King's work is C.T. Vivian, President of the National Anti-Klan Network, Box 10500, Atlanta, GA 30310.

Required Reading


Questions

1. Why did King's associates end up in different political camps?
2. Can one follow King within the mainstream political establishment?
3. Can one be a christian and believe in Revolutionary Black Power at the same time?
4. If King were alive today would he be more like Jesse Jackson, Ralph Abernathy, or C.T. Vivian?

Supplemental Reading

Toward A Common Curriculum

The Cooperative Research Network is distributing study guides as part of a project in Black studies curriculum development. Our purpose is to help supplement our basic courses, to provide new courses, and to stimulate others to share their work in curriculum. These course outlines are available in bulk for use in the classroom. Single copies are free. Write for details.

Call for New Courses

The CRN plans to publish more course outline/study guides. We welcome suggestions or copies of existing material. Every guide published goes through a collective editorial process and is a collective product.

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What is the Cooperative Research Network?

The CRN is a cooperative organization of Black studies professionals, committed intellectuals, and community activists. The CRN was developed to meet the most critical problem facing Black studies in the mid 1980s, the need for research programs. We have to stimulate collaborative team research so that our substantive theory and methodological technique will be able to fully capture the essence of the Black experience.

The overall development of Black studies has made advances through the standardization of basic professional norms. Members of CRN have contributed substantially to this in the areas of community service, journal publishing, curriculum, theory, and methodology. One of the purposes of the CRN is to maintain the distribution of material that defines the state of the art in Black studies.

Our most practical research tool is the Afro-Scholar Newsletter - a quarterly listing of professional meetings, published articles and books. Every serious student/researcher should subscribe because this is the best way to stay up to date.

The CRN is based on research work groups. Each group is working within the paradigm of unity, establishing a new data base, and reporting results at professional meetings of Black studies (e.g., College Language Association, NCBS, AHS, NCOPS, etc.) and the mainstream professions of literature, history, sociology and political science.

The ideological mandate of CRN is

Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility

Interested scholars and students should write:

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Every American should understand and appreciate King's contribution to Black people, to all Americans, to all of humanity. More important than this, however is the need to realize that Dr. King's agenda has not been completed.

Join us in our STUDY of Martin Luther King and our STRUGGLE to transform his dream into concrete social change! Read this study guide - share it with friends and coworkers - take it to school, church and union hall.

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