CHRISTIANITY, BLACK LIBERATION, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On the basis of struggle, mass widespread support resulted in Congress and President Reagan making the third Monday of every January the official federal holiday for marking Dr. Martin Luther King's birth. (He was actually born January 15, 1929.) This is an excellent opportunity to remember the great activities, victories and defeats, of the 1950's and 1960's. King was a great religious leader, a great Black leader, and the source of inspiration for many of us to think about revolution. The greatest opportunity is for all of us to act today as King would have acted, to find injustice and protest about it, to find someone to help, to make evil uncomfortable wherever it sticks its ugly head.

THE DANGERS OF COMPLACENCY

But while we have to praise Stevie Wonder and the many others who worked so hard for the world to be wary of this federally sponsored act. One might get suspicious from the signatures on the act, and yet the real story is revealed. The act was signed by Tip O'Neill, Strom Thurmond, and Ronald Reagan. This is one liberal, one hard core racist, and one cold blooded conservative rolling back all of the victories King fought so hard to make. We should not be fooled that King is now supported by these people, because if he was still alive he would be fighting these very people today.

LET RESISTANCE BE OUR MOTTO!

Everyone should study Kings life and the lessons of the civil rights struggle. In no case should we let the white racist government, and the media define our movement. We have to fight being lazy, pick up some material and READ FOR OURSELVES. If you stay lazy then you will be ignorant and the system that killed King physically dead will simply keep you mentally dead.

The second thing is that everyone should be actively supporting at least one local community struggle to make the world a better place. With your block club, PTA, church, etc. fight to make the local merchants give better service, cheaper goods and hire local residents, fight against slum housing, inferior schools, etc. These are the kinds of actions to get with right now. Frederick Douglass said it clearly: "Without struggle there is no progress." Remember, God helps those who help themselves!

Lastly, now that we have a holiday for King, it is time that we begin the fight to make Malcolms birthday a federal holiday. The federal government, the Black middle class, and Black politicians must be willing to support that hero, that great leader of ours. Without Malcolm, King is only one side of our story. The federal act encourages people "to reflect on the principles of racial equality and nonviolent social change" from a government waging war all over the world. Congress set up a Commission for one year but failed to appropriate any funds at all. Are they serious? Are we suppose to believe that something substantial has been done?

Perhaps the greatest danger is that people will begin to take King for granted and forget that he was an important part of the struggle. When the beast which preys upon the meek issues a holiday for all, complacency is likely to set in. But when we put the strengths of Martin and Malcolm together we shall overcome the beast as did the Conquering Lamb.
King became a great leader. This was an obvious and logical development of his life: 1. his name, a combination of church (Martin Luther) and state (King) deeply rooted in western tradition and guidance; his intellectual development and personal strength; 2. Black tradition, a church-based nationality of great collective commitment, loyalty to leadership, and oratorical skill; 3. Black movement, a massive political mobilization of Black people to end all racial obstacles to full democracy; and 4. this era of world history, a century of great revolutionary change in which some leaders are recognized for their leadership into socialism (e.g., Lenin, Mao, Castro, etc.), some for their leadership of national liberation struggles (e.g., Amilcar Cabral, Maurice Bishop, Nelson Mandela, etc.), and some for their leadership within the imperialist system (e.g., Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Ralph Featherstone). King's life gives us greater insight into the following: (1) the Talented Tenth put forward by DuBois, (2) spontaneous mass protest, (3) confronting white racist terror, and (4) building Black unity.

THE TALENTED TENTH
Martin Luther King is the model of excellence for the Black middle class. He was born into the family of a preacher and a preacher's daughter, and was groomed for leadership of the major Baptist church in Atlanta, Georgia. He went to major educational institutions and mastered the basic ideas of Black people and world history, especially the philosophical and theological traditions of the west. King took the best family background, Black education, and white education as the basis for his life. This represents a great example of Nabonse Oblighe, where the privileges of birth and education are translated into community service and participation in political struggle for civil rights. DuBois called for the Talented Tenth of college-educated Black people to serve the Black community through their leadership. King is our best example of this 20th-century prophecy of middle class leadership.

The youth of the Black middle class continued this revolt against boredom and seeking personal gain by developing into SNCC militants in a broad movement for social change, a movement that shook the country to its very foundation. However, this has been turned into its opposite. Most of the Black middle class has turned inward to protect self-interest, and has become self-indulgent and hedonistic again, alienated from the traditions of Black social protest. King is a viable voice of the middle class, a voice that is turned away from a life of privilege and find the kingdom of God in a life of service to Black people. He worshiped in the temple of mass struggle, he was no more holy place than in the battle for Black liberation.

SPONTANEOUS MASS PROTEST
Mass protest by Blacks in the 1960's burst through the paralysis of the 1950's and caught everyone off guard. The mainstream social scientists didn't see it coming, the government was not ready for it, and most Black people thought that economic progress was moving North and you had to be happy with what you found there. But this was all turned around by massive protests at the grass roots level, beginning especially with the 1955-1956 Bus Boycott of Montgomery Alabama. King was at the right place at the right time. At the time, King was pastor of the most powerful Black church, hadn't been in town long so he didn't have any enemies, and he had powerful contacts coming from his father and grandfather-in-law.

King was swept into leadership of the spontaneous protests, but was supported by the solid core of churches and leaders from the resistance (especially the NAACP trade unions, and the Black colleges). Alden Morris sums up this trend: 'In this context movement centers, strategic planning, organizing, charisma, and preexisting institutions were central to the civil rights movement in that they enabled the Black community effectively to confront an entrenched opposition dedicated to keeping them subservient.' What King provided was charisma, a necessary but not sufficient quality of leadership. The great lesson of this campaign is that change is more a result of leadership by organization than by leadership by charisma.

BUILDING THE BLACK UNITED FRONT
King was at the center of the greatest publicity given to any Black leader ever before. He was given great awards, and called to private talks with heads of state and world religious leaders. But, he always based his motion on building Black unity within the Black community, and the Black movement. More than the leaders of the NAACP and the Urban League, King was always in a dialogue with the various tendencies from militant Black nationalists to communists. In fact, he helped us think about these issues through his writings. A Black nationalist or a communist should study King's discussion because he reflects the thinking of so many Black people. King is the Black theological reflection of the Black middle class, and this vision is shared by a dominant minority in the Black community. King would sit and talk with the militant leadership of SNCC as it moved from the sit ins to Black revolutionary nationalism, as well as Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam.

King, at the very end of his life began to make a decisive turn. He began to turn the civil rights movement into a poor peoples movement. At this stage he was assassinated. The greatest lesson is that Black people must unite with poor and oppressed people of all nationalities to challenge a common enemy, the racist ruling class and the government of the United States of America. Our angel of light was struck down by the devil of our own Walker average that fallen angel and fight for revolutionary change that will bring genuine economic, political and social equality to Black people and all exploited and oppressed people in the United States of America.
It is essential that people of good will, particularly Black people interested in fighting all forms of injustice, make definite efforts to understand the work and historical significance of Martin Luther King Jr. His work must be carefully evaluated so that his successes can be built upon while avoiding the pitfalls he encountered. Judicious criticism will help us identify those lessons that we can use to build our movement. We must avoid past errors and discard strategies and tactics which are not applicable to the present.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

This is a dynamic period, reforms are being swept away and the moral high ground has been captured by the conservative forces. Conversely, the move to the right mainstream politics swings, the more relevant the rebirth of civil rights activism becomes. This resurgence of Black activism is not a repeat of the 1960s even more. All past and current leaders must be critically reevaluated as the basis for future strategy.

One of the difficulties in dealing with the work of Martin Luther King Jr, is that several forces have interpreted his works in such a way as to give them their own ideological and political purposes rather than for the purpose of Black liberation.

THE ROLE OF KING

Although the end of the Civil War brought the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, were several Black leaders, notably Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr, and others, who sought to build on the gains that had been made. Malcolm X is most well known for his criticism of the Nation of Islam which had split from the Nation of Islam and the protest tradition of Black people and Black institutions, particularly the Black church. In recognition of this achievement, Malcolm X was honored posthumously with the Nobel Peace Prize (1964). His work to complete the democratic transition began after the Civil War with the goal of providing political rights to Black people for the first time. Malcolm X, and more recently the Poor People's March, have been involved in a struggle to make the gains of Black people permanent.

King's decision to use nonviolent direct action to promote civil rights has been both praised and criticized. He saw nonviolence as a way to challenge the status quo and to create a new world order. However, some critics argue that nonviolence is a tool of the oppressor and that it fails to address the root causes of inequality and oppression.

MASS PROTEST IS THE REAL KING LEGACY

The essence of the King legacy is fighting for change through mass protests, incorporating militant and nonviolent tactics. Nevertheless much of King's activity was based on nonviolent principle. His commitment to nonviolent direct action was crucial in the movement from the revolutionary nationalist forces under the influence of Malcolm X, the militants of SNCC from within the civil rights movement in the south, and the street force of the cities which rejected the wave of change that met with the heavy opposition of the forces of racism. He never understood the dual character of violence - that of the oppressor and that of the oppressed. The dual character of violence is the essence of the power of the oppressor. Black people use violence against racist terror has been self defense since the slave trade.

No movement can be initiated militant action, such as in Albany, Selma, Chicago, the focus on power, and opposition to the Vietnam War. King and SCCLC would often in (usually being asked to protest church leadership) and give general leadership as well as mobilization, media coverage, negotiations, and settlement. King would then depart, leaving the tasks of implementation and follow through to the local level. This cooperation of two different levels, the local level of concrete and tangible problems, and the national level of media visibility was crucial for King. King was successful on the national level. Local Black leadership was given local support. This was a glaring failure. Protest action led to national action and a symbolic victory. However such policy was not always effective. Local areas would not experience much concrete change.

In keeping with evaluating the leadership of Black communities, this should also be done with rejections taken by his former close associates. There is no unifying focus now by King's lieutenants to build a mass resistance movement. Their main common approach is to work within the system. Some have become Black democrats, Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young, and others Black republicans (James Benvo, and Ralph Abernathy). Few major institutions have been developed, with the notable exceptions of C.T. Vivian and the Anti-Klan Network, and Jackson's Operation PUSH.

In sum, the Black middle class has exhausted its leadership potential. It has become obvious we must maintain mass political mobilization, and go beyond reform to revolutionary goals. When King moved to the right, he was killed for it. Today, our best case of Black middle class leader is Black business. Black Black leaders are now the majority of the city, however, they are not the majority of the city. There are other routes that would assist King's rule. They continue to intervene in local struggles when mass protest is necessary. The support of those who are involved in the early stages of a movement is more of a danger than an asset. But, once the basic movement is established, it does not have to be armed for all times. King's personal confidence in the effectiveness of the media is essential for national and international recognition and support.

Ultimately King fell short of what we need. No one has yet emerged to give the leadership that is needed. The new leadership will not appear spontaneously as if from heaven, because it will be made right here on the earth by the hands and efforts of all Black people to bring leadership to the vanguard of the struggle. The spirit of SNCC and the Black Panther Party, and the recent African Liberation Support Committee, must be reborn in a new organization with its mass base in the churches. More specifically, since an independent organization of the Black liberation struggle is in a position to define and articulate a new vision of society, and to be a major voice in giving leadership to making this vision concrete.

REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION

King was a great American and was killed for it. This is proof that the system is rotten to the core and must be replaced by a new system. The critical relationship is between the system and the leadership. The system is concerned with the immediate problems while revolutiionaries are concerned with the long-term. Our road to revolution goes through the reform struggles. Our future will be forged in battle, the fight for survival. Meanwhile, a new generation of people must be trained and involved. The struggle for Black liberation is our only base, and the way to understand and analyze our times. Our strategy will be to forge a new generation of people who will form the new radical leadership to take us to the future.

Economic Exploitation and Poverty: The capitalist class in the USA is cold blooded in its rip-off racket. The new policy of the capitalists is that all nationalities get ripped off. On the political level we have to fight on all fronts, especially the issues of jobs, unemployment benefits, health benefits, and the cost of medical care, housing costs and availability in the public and private sectors, child care, transportation costs and access, quality of food and cost of a balanced diet, and availability and cost of communications including telephone and cable television. But, we have to go beyond this to evaluate the fundamental soundness of the capitalist system. The economic crisis of the late 20th century forces us to discuss alternatives, especially socialism. By socialism we mean a system in which the state owns and controls the means of production, including wealth (factories, banks, communication and transportation systems, etc.) are collectively owned by the people. Where the means of production are not produced by the working masses to meet the needs of the state, i.e., keeping the schools and hospitals open, lower rents and gas prices, etc.) and not into the bank accounts of a few wealthy capitalists. Finally, socialism is the independent organization of the people of the society and the full political power of the government behind ending all forms of oppression—especially racism and male supremacy. King becoming more and more critical of capitalism and what he called the "pulp between superficial wealth and abject poverty" which it perpetrates.

Political Repression and Powerlessness: Only in some parts of the country Black people have achieved proportionate representation in the political system, while virtually everywhere Black people got a raw deal. This means police brutality, more frequent ar- rested, murder, and the sense of powerlessness. In other situations and general tolerance of violent crime that forces the majority of Black poor people to live in a constant state of fear. There is a sinister pattern of severe political repression against militants of the Black liberation struggle, and the full operation of COIN-TELPRO seems to be in high gear. This degenerate political system has failed to produce adequate exp- ansions of who assassinated Martin Luther King, or Malcolm, or John F. Kennedy. It also fails to ex- plain why Black people are always on the bottom. Therefore, we have a right to examine the situation and do the explaining and the changing of the situa- tion. The movement is growing and moving toward this position. We must keep moving our com- munity forward.

(continues on page 4)
## BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

### SUNDAY

**THEOLOGIANS OF BLACK LIBERATION**

Religion has best served Black people when it has strengthened not weakened the people through positive identity. Jesus was a Black Man—and the encouragement of mass united protest—Jesus was a revolutionary. The essence of the Black religious experience is based on Gods mandate to fight against sin. The greatest sins facing Black people are white racism and capitalist economic exploitation. Religion should be in the street inspiring mass struggle against all forms of evil. These four great preachers are among those who have made religion relevant to Black people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Eduardo Mondlane, first president of Frelimo, was assassinated by a mall bomb. Frelimo led the victorious national liberation struggle of the people of Mozambique against the Portuguese.</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>The Selma-to-Montgomery March dramatized the fight for Black voting rights. It ended with a rally of 25,000 people in front of the state capital.</td>
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<td>1993</td>
<td>4,000 Black and white youth led by the American Youth Congress march in Washington D.C. to protest government discrimination against Black servicemen and the U.S. war policy.</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>The National Negro Congress was founded in Chicago. It organized workers in the C.I.O.</td>
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<td>1865</td>
<td>The Ku Klux Klan, a fascist organization that promotes white supremacy, organized in Pulaski, Tennessee.</td>
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<td>1868</td>
<td>W.E.B. DuBois was born. He was a writer, an educator, and Fisk graduate, as well as key architect of Pan Africanism, Secretary of the London Pan African Congress in 1900, and participated until 1945 bringing the case against colonialism before the world.</td>
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<td>1877</td>
<td>The Hayes-Tilden Betrayal was announced.</td>
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<td>1885</td>
<td>At the Berlin Conference, Europe began to divide Africa.</td>
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### KEY REFERENCES ON BLACK THEOLOGIANS


### HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET

(1815-1882)

Presbyterian Pastor, Orator at National Negro Conventions

### GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

(1864 – 1943)

Scientist, Farmer, Inventor

1968: There was a campaign in Orangeburg, South Carolina, to pass a resolution to end segregation in that city, and the campaign was met with violence and protests.

1933: The first Black library was founded in Philadelphia. This is one of the many examples of Black people's struggle to build institutions and to develop culturally.

W.E.B. DuBois

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_Labor Directed_
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<th>ESDAY</th>
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<td>GEORGE ALEXANDER MCGUIRE</td>
<td>EL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ</td>
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<td>(1866 – 1934)</td>
<td>(1925 – 1966)</td>
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<td>Bethel A.M.E. Union Church</td>
<td>Imam, Sunni Movement, leader of Islam</td>
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<td>1960: The sit-in movement was launched in Greensboro, N.C. This sparked a new phase of militant Black protest that exposed the national oppression of Black people in the U.S.A.</td>
<td>Organization of Afro-American Unity.</td>
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<td>demonstration in South Carolina,油烟 in blowing alleys sullying in a police bruy, brutally students and</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1973: Native Americans unleashed armed resistance at Wounded Knee, South Dakota to protest government repression. Wounded Knee is a historic site of the 1890 massacre where federal troops killed over 300 Indians.</td>
<td>1974: Grenada Independence Day.</td>
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<td>1926: Negro History Week was founded by Carter G. Woodson in honor of Frederick Douglass.</td>
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<td>1865: Black Laws of Illinois were repealed.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>association for the Ad-Colored People was formed in New York.</td>
<td>1790: Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was born in Philadelphia. The development of the independent Black church made a major contribution to the formation and development of the Afro-American people as a nationality.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Slave Law was made illegal to use slave.</td>
<td>1817: Frederick Douglass, ex-slave, abolitionist, and organizer for Black freedom, was born.</td>
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<td>1895: Frederick Douglass died.</td>
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<td>1895: Frederick Douglass died.</td>
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<td>1872: The National United Front of farmers, workers, and city folk, in which the Colored National Farmers Alliance played a prominent role, formed a Peoples Party in St. Louis and tried to establish itself as a national third political party.</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>1965: Malcolm X was assassinated at age 39 in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.</td>
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*Conference 1864-85, the “Scramble for Africa”*

*"Without struggle there is no progress."* Frederick Douglass

*Political work must be rooted among the masses and carried out on a professional level. What is required is that our feet march in the struggles waged by the masses, our hearts throb in empathy with their joys and sorrows, while our heads rationally use the science of revolution to develop our strategy and tactics.*

Peoples College, *Editorial for Marxism and Black Liberation*
ML KING

A Biographical Sketch

ORIGINS AND QUALIFICATIONS

1863 Reverend Adam Daniel Williams born, maternal grandfather of Martin Luther King, became pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1891
1898 Reverend Martin Luther King Sr. born, became pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1931
1929 Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. born, after his sister Willie Christine and before his brother Alfred Daniel
1944 Entered Morehouse College at the age of 15
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

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
1962 Doctor of Civil Laws, H. Bard College
1963 Birth of 4th child, Bernice Alberta

THE MAKING OF A NEW MINISTRY

1954 Installed as 20th pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist 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

THE AMERICAN TEST OF NONVIOLENCE

1960 King moves to Atlanta and becomes co-pastor with his father of Ebenezer Baptist Church
The sit-in movement launched by four students in Greensboro, NC
1961 Birth of 3rd child, Dexter Scott
The Albany campaign begins leading to mass arrests, but the goals of the protests were not attained
Doctor of Laws (H), Lincoln University

1964 Third book, Why We Can’t Wait, Harper and Row
1965 Doctor of Laws (H), Yale University

1966 Doctor of Laws (H), Jewish Theological Seminary
Nobel Peace Prize awarded in Oslo Norway

1968 Fifth book, Trumpet of Conscience

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 Meredith 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

SUMMARY

The overall main aspect of King is that he is the personification of the mainstream of the Black community in opposition to oppression. He was mainly against racism, and he led the assault on segregation in the interest of all Black people. He grew with the movement, not as the vanguard, but as part of the critical consensus. The unity of Malcolm and Martin could have been the highest form of consensus, a critical consensus for Black resistance. We don’t need King to come back, we can’t have him back. We must carry on. He would have demanded we do so. And we must not mimic King. Rather we must stand on his shoulders and go beyond him.

King was a master preacher from a strong tradition. We have thousands of such great preachers. What we lack are local movements fighting against the system, and where our great voices can be the expression of our collective fight back. Otherwise it’s just a rap. The point is to change the world, not just talk about it. King would have wanted it that way.

Black people are in desperate need of King’s message. These are the days when evil is reigning all over the world – Reagan, the devil, postures as a saint with one foot in heaven, while imperialism forces genocidal conditions on Black people everywhere in the world. Racism and greed are the two greatest sins in the world. King, as Jesus, and many others before him, gave his life so that we might live. Now, we have to pick up the stand and teaching to do. Our people are on the bottom! Let us begin our long march into a new world in the the 21st century.

Freedom for South Africa: The fight for South Africa is critical. Black people the world over must destroy all forms of white colonialism before the 21st century. South Africa is the key. Reagan and his moral majority cronies are firmly lined up with the racist white minority and British liberals against the Black and Indian communities. We must take up this fight and start a new mass form of protest: Free South Africa!
In his own words

From Race to Class

The practical cost of change for the masses up to this point has been deep. The limit reforms have been obtained at the expense of the masses. They have been forced, required, for Negroes to shake loose chunks, libraries, parks, hotels and other public facilities that have been deprived of them, fighting from the outside, from the masses. The new Negro is not a militant Negro, he is fighting for the right to exist, to be fit for his immediate environment. He is a militant Negro only against the actions of individuals. We have been oppressed as a group and we must overcome that oppression as a group.

Where Do We Go From Here? (pp. 5-6)

Capitalism and Communism

Truth is found neither in traditional capitalism nor in classical Communism. Each represents a partial truth only. Capitalism is a kind of democracy. Democracy fails to see the truth in individualism. Capitalism fails to realize that real life is personal. The good and just society is neither the thesis of capitalism nor the antithesis of it but is dialectical democracy which recognizes the truths of individualism and collectivism.

Where Do We Go From Here? (p. 187)

Now is the Time

We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. There is really no eternal sunrisesor sunsets. Tomorrow will not come. There is no tomorrow. There is only the present, and when it is gone, that is the end of all delay. Life often leaves us standing here, naked and dejected with a lost opportunity. the "I'm in the affairs of men" stuff is over. We are standing at the crossroads of history, and there is no more time to waste. There are only three possible outcomes. We must seize the future, or lose it. The voice of reason must be heard, and the jumbled results of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, "Too late." There is an invisible clock ticking away the time of opportunity for new alliances. The moving finger writes, and having writ, move on.

Where Do We Go From Here? (p. 191)

Congressional Terrorism

The administration's only concrete response was to initiate a study and call for a day of prayer. As a minister, I take prayer too seriously to use it as an excuse for avoiding guilt. The thinly veiled fact that Congress is now more aware of more power and more power as has ever known in the history of this nation than this, is a little worse than this, it is more than a bit. It is irrational and paralyzing. The negro leadership is filling and empty of the truth of the matter. As the world goes, the black community is filling and empty of the truth of the matter. As the world's good men, we are filling and empty of the truth of the matter. As the world's good men, we are filling and empty of the truth of the matter.

Where Do We Go From Here? (p. 192)

Revolution

The dispossessed of this nation—the poor, the white and black—live in a crucial juncture. They must organize. The revolution is not a luxury or for the select few, but for all of us. The leadership of the society is to take measures that have been called for and which are at hand, to fill the load of poverty.

Where Do We Go From Here? (pp. 49-50)

Emergence

There is a fresh new wave of the poor and the poor of this nation. They are living in stringent conditions because of the terrible economic conditions that keep them locked in as an "inferiority," as the sociologists are now calling it. Dismayed people all over the world are brought to death from deep social and economic wounds. They need the guidance of a black masseur who will have the capacity to steer the different rates of the present structure in the emergent social.
Our course of action must be neither in passively relying on persuasion nor in actively succumbing to violent rebellion, but in a higher synthesis that reconciles the truths of these two opposites while avoiding the inadequacies and ineffectiveness of both.

Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community? p. 129

Martin Luther King, Jr.
1929 - 1968