

# Repetition in Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.'s Selected Speeches Against Social Injustice: A Contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis

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## Abstract

This paper conducts a contrastive critical discourse analysis to examine the role of repetition in selected speeches delivered by Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) and Martin Luther King Jr. (MLK) against social injustice. The study aims to examine repetition as a rhetorical and linguistic device through a contrastive lens, presenting its divergent usage and impact on framing these significant speeches. Along with this, the study tries to highlight the underpinning ideologies through the used types of repetition. By adopting Cockcroft and Cockcroft's (2014) framework and by following a mixed method of research analysis, the study has found that RFK's speeches employ certain types of repetition, namely, random repetition, initial repetition, stop-and-start, and full circle so that to emphasise key points, ideas, actions in order to make the speeches memorable and give them variety as well as to impact emotions. Concerning MLK's speeches, the study has found that repetition, through its various types, is used to emphasise and to ensure key messages about social injustice and allow the audience to reinforce these messages. The study has also revealed that types of repetition are interrelated and could be used interchangeably; thus, a repeated phrase of initial repetition could be repeated in random, stop-and-start, full-circle types. It has been identified that repetition is a powerful device in uncovering ideology, by repeating certain words, phrases, ideologies become apparent. Accordingly, RFK's ideologies are: social justice, liberalism and democracy, resistance and humanitarianism, while, MLK's ideologies are: progress and change, non-violence and justice, civil rights and racial equality.

**Keywords:** CDA, ideology, MLK, repetition, RFK, social injustice

## 1. Introduction

Rhetorical techniques are essential in the fight for social justice because they grab people's attention, rally support, and spark radical change. Hence, repetition is a powerful rhetorical/linguistic device that emphasises and persuades key messages in a text, speech, or the like. In line with this, the present paper takes in analysis selected speeches delivered by RFK and MLK against social injustice as they were influential figures in preventing social injustice and calling for 'social justice' especially in the period of sixtieths when injustice spread all over the United States.

The study aims to examine the role of repetition in these speeches by conducting a contrastive critical discourse analysis to delve into the distinct ways in which repetition is employed. Furthermore, it seeks to uncover how repetition functions as a rhetorical, linguistic and a persuasive tool in framing the discourse of these figures as well as to examine their ideologies in addressing social injustice and calling for social justice through their repetitive language choices.

To be researchable, the study tries to answer the following questions:

- 1) How does repetition function as a rhetorical/linguistic strategy in selected speeches of RFK and MLK against social injustice?
- 2) How does repetition contribute to the expression of their ideologies?
- 3) How do RFK and MLK utilize repetition to evoke emotional responses and foster connections with their audiences in the context of advocating for social justice?

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Repetition

Repetition is a significant stylistic device that is used to dominate the listeners' attention, and build important details in the spoken or written discourse (Okpewho, 1992 as cited in Cahnmann, 2000). Furthermore, it allows the speaker to produce language more efficiently and to speak fluently while planning what to say next (Tannen, 2007). Consequently, Perregaard (2022) declares that repetition is a kind of response to something that has happened before or it is a response to the real or imagined requirements of the current situations.

Mccarthy (1998 as cited in Rabab'ah & Abuselleek, 2012) argues that repetition reflects important communicative remarks in spoken discourse hence it is a feature of a speaker's linguistic competence and represents a main aspect of meaning construction in speech. It also serves various political purposes; accordingly there are different types of repetition that present the speaker's stylistic command as a political speaker besides conveying his political ideologies that might have an effective influence on the audience (Sayyora, 2022). In this regard Van Dijk (1995a) states that repetition can be a function of ideological control when unfavourable information about 'us' is minimised while unfavourable information about 'them' is emphasised and vice versa.

Thus, in political speeches, types of repetition are important for eliciting emotion and drawing out an argument (Wales, 2011), as well as to persuade people of certain political acts (Posch, 2018).

### 2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

According to Strauss and Feiz (2014), CDA is a comprehensive, multidisciplinary methodological approach to language and society that emphasises discourse as a social practise. For Chuliaraki and Fairclough (1999 as cited in Sheyholislami, 2015) CDA puts linguistics and social sciences in a distinguished notional and reasonable groundwork, as a result, it investigates the relationships between the way of using a language and the social as well as the political environments in which it takes place (Paltridge, 2013).

Van Dijk (2015a) asserts that CDA places more emphasis on social issues and political concerns than it does on the analysis of speech structures in isolation from these settings; in which it focuses on the ways discourse structures legitimise, eternize, perform, and/or dominance relationships in society. More particularly, its importance according to Alyahya (2023) lies in investigating and revealing the hidden meanings contained within discourse as well as assessing the ideological relationships with which it is aligned.

By critically examining discourse, Catalano and Waugh (2020) demonstrate how language is entangled in issues like ideology and power which shape the way language is utilized and what effect it has. Besides that, discourse operates from a viewpoint that supports the objectives of dominating groups as it makes use of the circumstances of individuals from such groups and what they go through to support their resistance to injustice (van Dijk, 2001). This is because it is built on the premise that what is written and what is said play an important role in legitimising and preserving justice in society (van Leeuwen, 2009). As a result, CDA is often 'normative' in the sense that it evaluates what is good and what is wrong, as well as it "addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them" (Fairclough, 2010).

### 2.3 Key Concepts in CDA

#### 2.3.1 Political Discourse (PD)

Van Dijk states that the concept of PD is likely ambiguous in which one cannot decide which discourse is political, consequently, he mentions that PD is not known by the "topic or style, but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion and with what goals" (van Dijk, 2002a). In other words, PD is particularly political due to its functions and contributions in the political process. In addition to that, Wilson (2015) identifies that the concept PD may denotes different types of talk or text, thus, People may refer to a certain type of discourse as a political one or political production, such as debate or speech, policy document, political interview and so on. In this vein, van Dijk suggests the subjects that PD involves and they are usually about events in the public sphere, more specifically those events that demand collective decision making, clear policies, regulation or legislation (van Dijk, 2002b).

It can be noticed that PD is multifunctional, that is, it can be used to perform multiple speech acts, for instance, to protest and to legitimise, as well as to persuade (Woods, 2006). And of course this is done through the language that politicians use to lead the audience to a particular view of political reality and to act in such a way that is consistent with this view (*ibid.*). Woods (2006) ends this argument by saying that PD is designed to lead its audience in a path of particular beliefs, thoughts, and ultimately actions.

Applying what has been written above on RFK and MLK's selected speeches against social injustice, then these

speeches officially fall under the domain of political speeches.

### 2.3.2 Ideology

Destutt de Tracy and Cabanis, coined the term ‘ideology’ by following Enlightenment philosophy where the notion of genesis had an important position at that time, so they meant by it: the theory (-logy) of the genesis of ideas (ideo-), hence, ‘ideology’ (Althusser, 2014). For de Tracy, the goal of ideology was to build a solid and indisputable system for scientifically identifying correct concepts in order to promote the use of reason in the government of human affairs for the betterment of society as a whole (Mackenzie, 2003).

Ideology refers to a bunch of attitudes or views shared by individuals belong to a specific social group (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). It is a system of ideas and values that elucidate certain political and social regimes, legitimize hierarchies, and perpetuate group identities (Othamn & Salih, 2022). Besides that, it is crucial to point that ideologies are embedded in both structures and events, thus, ideologies often embody groups’ social identity, activities, aims, norms and values, resources, and interests (van Dijk, 2015b); Which means that ideologies enable individuals to organise the diversity of social views about bad or good things, what is wrong or right, and act accordingly as members of a collective community (van Dijk, 2000).

An ideology, like language, has structures and these structures can be diagrammed and understood by showing how language choices are made (Mooney & Evans, 2015), for instance, active and passive voice, foregrounding, register, politeness, selecting a level of formality, and so forth (Trask, 2007). Therefore, because language users are expected to speak, write, or interpret from a particular social position, then ideological analysis investigates whether ideologies are commonly associated with that position or not (van Dijk, 1995).

In the present study, the researcher tries to examine the role of language choice through the used types of repetition in uncovering the embedded ideologies.

### 2.4 Social Injustice

The beginning point for CDA is regarded to be societal challenges and difficulties that a society faces. Overall, the resistance of social injustice by the use of language is the primary focus of CDA, as this approach aims to explore social inequity and manifests itself through the use of language (Wodak & Mayer, 2009).

The act of injustice happens when a social actor takes advantage of the incidents of injustice to the harm of another actor (Bufacchi, 2012). There are, (*ibid.*: 8), three different grounds for injustice as shown below:

- (1) The influences of cooperated social institutions.
  - (a) There is a shattered institution order -that the better-off shape and impose- on the poor.
  - (b) This institutional system perpetuates extreme inequality.
  - (c) The profound inequality that is emerging cannot be attributed to extra-social sources.
- (2) The unequivocal prohibition on the use of natural resources.
  - (a) The better-off benefit significantly from the utilisation of a single natural resource base, from which the poor are mainly not included.
- (3) The consequences of public and violent history.
  - (a) The social starting points of the better-off and worse-off have developed from a common historical process marked by huge, horrific wrongs.

It can be said that social injustice is the umbrella term of unjust practices such as (discrimination, racism, domination, and inequality). When looking closer at these terms one can think of social injustice, thus, discrimination is a practice which affects individuals’ life, providing them unequal chances of jobs or employment, education and the like (Roger, 1991). Racism at the other side is understood as a societal system of ethnically or racially based domination (van Dijk, 1999) and by domination it is meant the exercise of social power elites, institutions or groups that results in social inequality (van Dijk, 1993). As its name suggests, inequality is the structural result of historical process of social, political, cultural group dominance (van Dijk, 1994).

Obviously, each concept leads to another one and that puts them in a circle that can be entitled ‘the circle of social injustice’.

It is important to notice that as social injustice is the absence of social justice then it is crucial to emphasise what is social justice. According to Rawls, justice is “the manner in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the distribution of benefits from social cooperation” (Rawls, 1971). Social justice is heavily influenced by beliefs about legitimacy, fairness, and impartiality, as well as welfare and

mutual benefit besides political and social agreement (Corson, 1993). In this regard Chaturvedi (2015) sets forth that social justice generally refers to the idea of creating a society that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity that values human rights and recognizes their dignity. In addition to that, Kheehen (2013) maintains that social justice is a normative concept that focuses on the notion of fairness and the principles of equality, equity, rights and participation. For (Barsky & Barsky, 2024) social justice relies on the idea that people must have the required capabilities to maintain life, social wellbeing and health besides having control over their environments.

### 2.5 Who Is RFK?

Robert Francis Kennedy is frequently abbreviated as RFK (Manchester, 2020). He was born on 20 November 1925 in Brookline, Massachusetts, US, the seventh child to Joseph P. Kennedy and Rose E. Fitzgerald (River, 2013). He grew up in a wealthy and politically liberal but morally conservative Roman Catholic, Irish American family (Ching, 2002). He has demonstrated abilities in observation, analysis, and written expression. Aside from that, he had a tremendous affinity for the oppressed.

RFK graduated from the University of Harvard in 1948 and went on to study law at the University of Virginia in order to do something meaningful as well as to continue exploring the moral goodness that was so deeply ingrained in him through the law (Goduti, 2012). Politics, according to RFK, is “honourable profession” because, if properly embraced and followed, it can be the most effective channel for advancing the common interest. Moreover, enshrining communitarian principles in public discourse will dignify the spirit of individuals and the spirit of the communities in which they inhabit (Paupp, 2014). Adding to that, President John F. Kennedy (his brother) chose him to be the attorney general so he served as President Kennedy’s valued counsellor while performing this duty (Palermo, 2001). RFK, with his brother’s help, made more progress than any other attorney general could; above all, he thought that the rule of law will confront and vanquish injustice. He depended on this paradigm to effect such change (Goduti, 2012).

RFK resigned as Attorney General and ran successfully for the US Senate from New York in 1964 shortly after President Kennedy’s assassination (jfklibrary.org). Throughout his Senate career, RFK maintained an important contact with the peace movement (Palermo, 2001), accordingly, desired change not just because it was the right thing to do, but also because it was crucial thing to do in order to achieve a good union (Felsenthal, 2018).

RFK was assassinated on 5 June 1968, shortly after making a victory speech in the California primary and he died in the following day at the age of 42 (History.com Editors, 2009).

### 2.6 Who Is MLK?

Martin Luther King Jr. (MLK) was born on 15 January 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia. His father, Martin Luther King Sr. was the assistant pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, and his mother was Alberta Williams, a well-educated woman (Schraff, 2008). He grew up in the South at a terrible period where the laws separated races, such as prohibiting African Americans and Whites from eating at the same restaurants or drinking from the same fountains (Conklin, 2008).

In 1948, he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from Morehouse, and in the same year, he enrolled at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he received a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1951 (Bruns, 2006). In addition, he received a Doctorate of Philosophy in Systematic Theology from Boston University in 1955 (*ibid.*).

As MLK lived with racism since he was a child and witnessing the social injustice of segregation, he realized the significance of equality, therefore he preached about civil rights and encouraged his parishioners to become members of the “National Association for the Advancement of Colored People” (NAACP) (Walker, 2008). He opposed the notion that progress could be achieved through bargaining, favours, or the use of the courts. (K. Lerner, Brenda Lerner, & Adrienne Lerner 2006). Therefore, standing in the core of the civil rights struggle he became one of the foremost black leaders in America (Willhelm, 1979). MLK set forth a powerful vision that all people were created equal and he announced his vision in what has been identified as one of the greatest speeches ever (Brunnicardi, Cotton, Cole, & Martinez 2007)

MLK was assassinated on 4 April 1968, while going across the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee (Jakoubek, 2005).

## 3. Method

### 3.1 Research Methods

To handle the current study, the researcher will follow mixed methods of research analysis which is according to Patten and Newhart (2018) a kind of combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in one research project.

Qualitative research is concerned with phenomena that are represented by words (Kothari, 2004) and quantitative research is used to describe phenomena that can be represented with numbers (*ibid.*).

### 3.2 Data Collection

Four speeches have been selected; two speeches by RFK and two speeches by MLK. In this respect, RFK's speeches are: 'Day of Affirmation'. University of Cape Town. 6 June 1966; and 'Speech to Students'. University of California at Berkeley. 22 October 1966, which are collected from Guthman and Allen's (2018) *RFK: His Words for Our Times*.

Whereas MLK's speeches are: 'Where Do We Go From Here'. Atlanta, Georgia. 16 August 1967; and 'The Other America'. University of Stanford. 14 April 1967 and they are collected from <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/the-other-america-speech-transcript-martin-luther-king-jr> and <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu>

### 3.3 The Model

The researcher has adopted Cockcroft and Cockcroft's (2014) framework of types of repetition as Figure 1 shows. According to Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2014) there are different types of repetition as explained below:

- **Initial Repetition:** it happens when a word or a phrase are repeated at the beginning of a sequence of clauses or sentences.
- **Terminal Repetition:** it happens when a word or a phrase are repeated at the end of a sequence of clauses or sentences.
- **Random Repetition:** The frequent repetition of key words or phrases in a sentence or a paragraph.
- **Instant Repetition:** An immediate repetition of certain word or a phrase one or more times.
- **Full-circle:** A repetition of a word or a phrase that begins and closes the sentences.
- **Stop-and-start:** A repetition of a word or a phrase that closes the sentence and at the same time opens the later sentence.
- **Switch-around:** The repetition of words or phrases with variation means in different order.

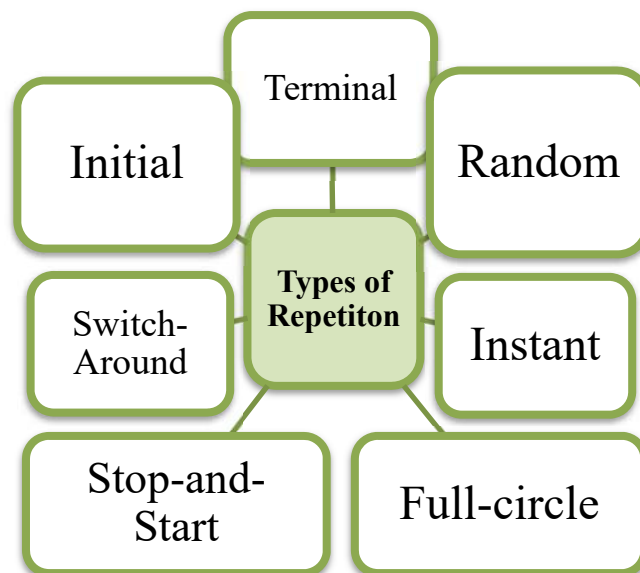


Figure 1. The model of types of repetition

## 4. Data Analysis

### 4.1 Analysis of RFK's Speeches

#### 4.1.1 Analysis of Speech 'Day of Affirmation'

##### The Use Of Initial Repetition

‘More than this I think that we could agree on what kind of a world we would all want to build. **It would be a world** of independent nations moving toward international community, each of which protected and respected the basic human freedoms. **It would be a world** which demanded of each government that it accept its responsibility to insure social justice. **It would be a world** of constantly accelerating economic progress—not material welfare as an end in itself but as a means to liberate the capacity of every human being to pursue his talents and to pursue his hopes.’

In the above excerpt RFK repeats the clause ‘*it would be a world*’ to tell and influence people of his optimistic vision for the world he wants to see in the coming future. He expresses his firm belief that the world that they live in at the present time will improve.

‘**If we would** lead outside our borders, **if we would** help those who need our assistance, **if we would** meet our responsibilities to mankind, we must first, all of us, demolish the borders which history has erected between men within our own nations—barriers of race and religion, social class and ignorance’.

Repeating ‘*if we would*’ presents the audience with a succession of conditional statements that encourage them to contemplate their part in correcting social injustice. It emphasises that positive change is possible, but it is dependent on individual and societal actions and decisions.

#### The Use Of Random Repetition

‘This is a Day of Affirmation, a celebration of **liberty**. We stand here in the name of **freedom**. At the heart of that Western **freedom** and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value, and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit. Therefore the enlargement of **liberty** for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of any Western society’.

‘Liberty’ and ‘Freedom’ are fundamental American principles that are strongly ingrained in the country’s identity. RFK ties the battle against social injustice with these core ideals by repeating these terms.

‘What price will we pay before we have assured full opportunity to millions of **Negro** Americans? In the last five years we have done more to assure equality to our **Negro** citizens, and to help the deprived both white and black, than in the hundred years before. But much more remains to be done. For there are millions of **Negroes** untrained for the simplest of jobs, and thousands every day denied their full equal rights under the law’.

Repeating the word ‘Negro(s)’ for three times shows RFK emphasis upon Negroes whom are subjected to inequality and they should be treated equally as white people are treated; so they have the same rights the whites have.

#### The Use Of Full-Circle

‘**The concerns** of one inevitably becoming **the concerns** of all’.

RFK repeats ‘*the concerns*’ within the context of the above excerpt to underline the country’s unity, that individuals are equal to each other in this country, that is, what he or she is subjected to, faced, or denied from is a matter for the country and its people as a whole.

#### The Use Of Stop-And-Start

‘And most important of **all, all** the panoply of government power has been committed to the goal of equality before the law’.

RFK ends the first part of the fragment with the word ‘*all*’ and begins the second portion with the very word, indicates his emphasis on the government and its responsibility to its citizens as a first step to be taken in fighting social injustice. Table 1 shows the frequency and percentage of types of repetition in speech ‘Day of Affirmation’.

Table 1. Types of repetition in speech ‘Day of Affirmation’

Types of Repetition	Frequency	Percentage
Initial	21	27.63%
Terminal	0	0.00%
Random	51	67.11%
Instant	0	0.00%
Full-circle	2	2.63%
Stop-and-Start	2	2.63%
Switch-Around	0	0.00%
<b>Total</b>	76	100.00%

#### 4.1.2 Analysis of Speech ‘Speech to Students’

##### The Use Of Initial Repetition

‘**We dissent from** the fact that millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich. **We dissent from** the conditions and hatreds which deny a full life to our fellow citizens because of the color of their skin. **We dissent from** the monstrous absurdity of a world where nations stand poised to destroy one another, and men must kill their fellow men. **We dissent from** the sight of most of mankind living in poverty, stricken by disease’.

RFK emphasises the areas of disagreement and opposition by beginning successive clauses with ‘*we dissent from*’. This repetition emphasises his and his audience’s shared opposition to certain practices or policies that lead to social injustice.

‘**Surely** the world has enough, in the last forty years, of violence and hatred. **Surely** we have seen enough of the attempt to justify present injustice by past slights, or to punish the unjust by making the world more unjust’.

While repeating the word ‘*surely*’, RFK tries to capture the audience’s focus on the following statements where he emphasises the idea that the world has seen enough hatred and violence, and that attempt to justify the present injustice with past slights are no longer acceptable.

##### The Use Of Random Repetition

‘The great challenge before us is what you have gathered to consider: the **revolution** within our gates; the struggle of Negro Americans for full equality and freedom. That **revolution** has now entered a new stage, one that is at once **more** hopeful and **more** difficult, **more** important and **more** painful. It is to give every Negro the same opportunity as every white man to educate his children,’

Within this excerpt, repeating the word ‘*revolution*’ appears to be a call to think of taking an action, implying that individuals have an important role to play in causing social change. Moreover, through mentioning the word ‘*more*’ about four times, RFK makes his message clearer; he wants the audience to understand the nature of this new stage of revolution; to discern the distinctions between ‘*more hopeful*’ and ‘*more difficult*’, ‘*more important*’ and ‘*more painful*’.

##### The Use Of Stop-And-Start

‘For this we must look to your **generation, a generation** which feels most intensely the agony and bewilderment of the modern age, and which is not bound to old ways of thought ...’

For the mission of creating change, RFK repeats the word ‘*generation*’ at the end of the first sentence and at the beginning of the second sentence, hence, he reinforces the idea that the responsibility and potential for change lie with the people he is addressing.

It is noted that sometimes these types of repetition are overlapping each other, thus, a random repetition can be viewed as a random repetition once and as a stop-and-start also, as in this excerpt ‘*It means overcoming the scarred heritage of centuries of oppression, poor education, and the many obstacles to fruitful employment. It means dissolving ghettos—the physical ghettos of our big cities and those ghettos of the mind which separate white from black with hatred and ignorance, fear and mistrust ...*’; where the word ‘ghettos’ is a repetition of stop-and-start and it is repeated again in a random way as well. Table 2 views the frequency and the percentage of types of repetition in speech ‘Speech to Students’.

Table 2. Types of repetition in speech ‘Speech to Students’

Types of Repetition	Frequency	Percentage
Initial	16	25.00%
Terminal	0	0.00%
Random	42	65.63%
Instant	0	0.00%
Full-circle	0	0.00%
Stop-and-Start	6	9.38%
Switch-Around	0	0.00%
<b>Total</b>	64	100%

## 4.2 Analysis of MLK's Speeches

### 4.2.1 Analysis of Speech 'Where Do We Go from Here'

#### The Use Of Initial Repetition

'Where do we go from here? First, **we must** massively assert our dignity and worth. **We must** stand up amid a system that still oppresses us and develop an unassailable and majestic sense of values. **We must** no longer be ashamed of being black.'

By starting consecutive sentences with '*we must*', MLK places a strong emphasis on the actions and responsibilities he is discussing. This repetition underscores the urgency and importance of these actions, making it evident that they are crucial for achieving justice.

'**I am** somebody. (Oh yeah) **I am** a person. **I am** a man with dignity and honor.'

Within the above excerpt '*I am*' emphasises the notion of a distinct human identity and existence with each repetition. The repetition of this pronoun rejects any attempts to dehumanise or minimise the worth of the speaker and the people he represents. It is a mean of declaring, 'I exist, I matter, and I have a voice.'

#### The Use Of Random Repetition

'But things are different now. In assault after assault, we caused the sagging walls of **segregation** to come tumbling down. During this era the entire edifice of **segregation** was profoundly shaken. This is an accomplishment whose consequences are deeply felt by every southern **Negro** in his daily life. (Oh yeah) It is no longer possible to count the number of public establishments that are open to **Negroes**. Ten years ago, **Negroes** seemed almost invisible to the larger society, and the facts of their harsh lives were unknown to the majority of the nation.'

In this speech, the words 'segregation' and 'Negroes' are frequently used. By doing so, MLK draws attention to the Negro community and the segregation that this group of people experiences just because of their skin tone. He makes it clear that Negroes matter and live as oppressed.

'But **we are going to** put picket signs around and **we are going to** put leaflets out and **we are going to** our pulpits and tell them not to sell Sealtest products, and not to purchase Sealtest products.'

This excerpt accomplishes what MLK discusses in the preceding excerpt, thus, by repeating '*we are going to*', MLK motivates action and gives hope, he underscores the determination and commitment of the civil rights movement to take an action by restating '*we are going to*' before each action '*put picket signs around*', '*put leaflet out*', and '*go to our pulpits*'.

#### The Use Of Instant Repetition

'And so I say to you today that I still stand by nonviolence. (Yes) **And I am still convinced** [applause], **and I'm still convinced** that it is the most potent weapon available to the Negro in his struggle for justice in this country.'

'And I'm not talking about emotional bosh when I talk about love; I'm talking about a strong, demanding love. (Yes) For **I have seen too much hate**. (Yes) **I've seen too much hate** on the faces of sheriffs in the South.'

In the first excerpt MLK repeats the phrase '*and I am still convinced*' instantly to inspire the audience to take action and this can be a persuasive technique to influence the action. While in the second excerpt he repeats '*I have seen too much hate*' to add emphasis to this phrase signalling to the audience that this point is a critical point, hence, black people are exposed to hate in the south.

#### The Use Of Full-Circle

'**Let us be dissatisfied** (All right) until men and women, however black they may be, will be judged on the basis of the content of their character, not on the basis of the color of their skin. (Yeah) **Let us be dissatisfied**.'

MLK stresses his displeasure with the current reality by repeating the phrase 'let us be dissatisfied' emphasising that the situation is intolerable and that change is required. Consequently, he is delivering a call to action, inviting the audience to join him in his discontent and struggle for change.

#### The Use Of Stop-And-Start

'The most dramatic success in Chicago has been **Operation Breadbasket**. Through **Operation Breadbasket** we have now achieved for the Negro community of Chicago more than twenty-two hundred new jobs...'



MLK accentuates the event he is about to discuss by closing the sentence with ‘*Operation Breadbasket*’ and then introducing the subsequent sentence with this phrase. It is the achievement of Operation Breadbasket in creating almost twenty-two hundred new jobs for the African American community.

#### The Use Of Switch-Around

‘And one of the great problems of history is that the concepts of love and power have usually been contrasted as opposites, polar opposites, so that **love is identified with a resignation of power, and power with a denial of love**. Now, we got to get this thing right. What is needed is a realization that **power without love is reckless and abusive, and that love without power is sentimental and anemic**.’

It is clear here that repeating words like ‘power’ and ‘love’ through switch-around type identifies the importance of these terms in bringing about change; that the speaker once mention these words with certain meanings and then he re-mentions the same words with different meaning to convey his message that power and love are put first to face problems.

It can be noticed that these types of repetition are interrelated and compatible with each other, thus, in the following excerpt it is clear that there are four types of repetition appear namely; random repetition, instant repetition, switch-around, and stop-and-start.

‘Now, we got to get this thing right. What is needed is a realization that **power without love is reckless and abusive, and that love without power is sentimental and anemic**. (Yes) **Power at its best [applause], power at its best is love** (Yes) implementing the demands of **justice, and justice** at its best is love correcting everything that stands against love. (Speak) And this is what we must see as we move on.’

The words ‘power’, ‘love’, and ‘justice’ are randomly repeated. Those words can act with other types of repetition, thus with switch-around ‘*What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive, and that love without power is sentimental and anemic*.’ The word ‘power’ comes with instant repetition as in ‘**Power at its best [applause], power at its best is love**’. Stop-and-start is clear in the word ‘justice’ as in ‘**Power at its best [applause], power at its best is love (Yes) implementing the demands of justice, and justice at its best is love**’. Table 3 views the frequency and the percentage of types of repetition in speech ‘Where Do We Go from Here’.

Table 3. Types of repetition in speech ‘Where Do We Go from Here’

Types of Repetition	Frequency	Percentage
Initial	63	29.30%
Terminal	0	0.00%
Random	130	60.47%
Instant	4	1.86%
Full-circle	3	1.40%
Stop-and-Start	8	3.72%
Switch-Around	7	3.26%
<b>Total</b>	215	100.00%

#### 4.2.2 Analysis of Speech ‘The Other America’

##### The Use Of Initial Repetition

‘**In this America**, millions of work-starved men walk the streets daily in search for jobs that do not exist. **In this America**, millions of people find themselves living in rat-infested, vermin-filled slums. **In this America**, people are poor by the millions.’

By repeating ‘*in this America*’ at the beginning of a series of sentence, MLK signals that this phrase is crucial to the message he wants his audience to get, that this America is an unjust country where people are suffering because of lack of jobs, lack of money, lack of proper housing.

It is important to mention here that repeating the phrase ‘*in this America*’ several times is just the starting point to shift to the ‘*other America*’ which MLK mentions in his speech.

‘**We shall overcome** because somehow the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice. **We shall overcome** because Carlisle is right. No lie can live forever. **We shall overcome** because William Cullen Bryant is right. Truth crushed to earth will rise again. **We shall overcome** because James Russell Lowell is right.’

MLK underlines themes of hope, commitment, and perseverance by repeating the clause ‘*we shall overcome*’. It supports the notion that despite enormous obstacles and difficulties (racism and discrimination), meaningful change is attainable. Furthermore, the usage of the pronoun ‘we’ fosters a sense of unity among the listeners.

#### The Use of Terminal Repetition

‘Before the Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth, **we were here**. Before Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, **we were here**. Before the beautiful words of the Star Spangled Banner were written, **we were here**’.

The repetition of ‘*we are here*’ at the end of this set of phrases emphasises the significance of that concept; the concept of existence. It makes the message more remembered; hence, when the audience hears the same clause repeated at the end of a sequence of sentences, it is more likely to keep in their minds that they [Black people] are American and have the right to be American and live in America.

‘Because he was black, doors were closed to him that would not close to other groups. And need to say to people that you are to lift yourself by your own **bootstraps**, but it is to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his own **bootstraps**.’

In this excerpt MLK uses the metaphor of ‘pulling oneself up by their own bootstraps’ to illustrate a point about racial inequality. The phrase ‘pulling oneself up by their own bootstraps’ is an idiom that means someone should improve their situation through their own efforts. MLK repeats the word ‘bootstraps’ to emphasise the absurdity of expecting a person without boots to lift themselves by bootstraps that don’t exist. He is highlighting the unfairness of expecting African Americans to overcome their difficulties on their own, especially when doors are closed to them based on their race.

#### The Use Of Random Repetition

‘Now, I said I wasn’t going to talk about **Vietnam**, but I can’t make a speech without mentioning some of the problems that we face there... Above all, it is **destroying** human lives, **destroying** the lives of thousands of the young, promising men of our nation. **Destroying** the lives of little boys and little girls in **Vietnam**.’

In the above excerpt, the word ‘*Vietnam*’ and ‘*destroying*’ are repeated randomly to remind the audience of the bad consequences of the war of Vietnam which is in the first place leads to destroy both the Americans and the Vietnamese at once.

‘Now the other thing that we’ve got to come to see now, that many others didn’t see too well during the last 10 years, and that is that **racism** is still alive in American society, and much more widespread than we realize. And we must see **racism** for what it is. It is a myth of the superior and the inferior race. It is the false and tragic notion that one particular group, one particular race, is responsible for all of the progress, all of the insights in the total flow of history. And the theory that another group or another race is totally depraved, innately impure, and innately inferior. In the final analysis, **racism** is evil because its ultimate logic is genocide.’

Repetition of the word ‘*racism*’ emphasises the significance of this issue. It serves as a reminder to the audience that racism exists and it is a persistent issue in the society and must be fought.

#### The Use Of Stop-And-Start

‘Probably the largest group in this other America, in proportion to its size and the population is **the American Negro**. **The American Negro** finds himself living in a triple **ghetto**. **A ghetto** of race, **a ghetto** of poverty.’

‘But we must see that the struggle today is much **more difficult**. **It’s more difficult** today because we are struggling now for genuine equality.’

The use of stop-and-start here functions in drawing attention to repeated words and phrases, signalling their importance. Closing the sentence with ‘*the American Negro*’ and repeat this phrase at the beginning of the later sentence puts emphasis on the American Negro and what he/she is exposed to especially in repeating the word ‘ghetto’. In the second excerpt MLK draws attention by how difficult the struggle is to gain equality and this is clear by closing the sentence with ‘*more difficult*’ and opening the new sentence with this same phrase which create a noticeable interruption in the flow of speech to provoke thinking. Table 4 views the frequency and the percentage of types of repetition in speech ‘The Other America’.

Table 4. Types of repetition in speech ‘The Other America’

Types of Repetition	Frequency	Percentage
Initial	36	27.48%
Terminal	5	3.82%
Random	80	61.07%
Instant	0	0.00%
Full-circle	0	0.00%
Stop-and-Start	10	7.36%
Switch-Around	0	0.00%
<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

## 5. Results and Discussion

The present study is concerned with a critical discourse analysis of repetition in RFK and MLK’s selected speeches against social injustice contrastively, which means that the researcher has focused on repetition as a rhetorical/linguistic strategy in selected speeches delivered by RFK and MLK against social injustice and tries to study these speeches in a contrastive way. In conducting the study the researcher has Adopted Cockcroft and Cockcroft’s (2014) framework of types of repetition, and has applied mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) of research analysis to get a better understanding of the speeches and to reach reasonable answers for the questions that the study has already been arisen.

Based on what has been mentioned, the study has found that RFK uses certain types of repetition in his selected speeches; thus, the random repetition comes in the first place with (93) occurrences which constitute (66.43%) then the initial repetition with (37) occurrences which constitute (26.43%), following that, stop-and-start with (8) occurrences which constitute (5.75%) and lastly full-circle with (2) occurrences which constitute (1.43%). There is no use in RFK’s selected speeches of terminal, instant and switch-around types. Table 5 shows the frequency and percentage of using types of repetition in RFK’s selected speeches.

The study has revealed that the aims behind using these types is that such types can reinforce the central ideas of the speech, consequently, random repetition helps in connecting different parts of the speech and create a sense of unity throughout the discourse. Furthermore, by repeating words or phrases at unexpected moments, RFK adds emphasis to what he wants to convey, signalling the audience that this situation, this problem, this idea...etc. is significant. Initial repetition can emphasise the importance of a series of ideas or actions. The same thing goes to stop-and-start and full-circle which help to emphasise that this point is crucial that is why they close the sentence and start the next one or they start and close the sentence.

Concerning MLK’s speeches, he employs all types of repetition in his selected speeches. Accordingly there is a prominent use of random repetition with (210) occurrences which constitute (60.69%), initial repetition with (99) occurrences which constitute (28.61%), stop-and-start with (18) occurrences which constitute (5.20%), switch-around with (7) occurrences which constitute (2.02%), on the other hand, terminal repetition with (5) occurrences which constitute (1.45%), instant repetition with (4) occurrences that constitute (1.16%), , and full-circle with (3) occurrences which constitute (0.87%). Table 6 shows the frequency and percentage of using types of repetition in MLK’s selected speeches.

It has been found that depending on all of these types by different frequencies implies that MLK is determined and focused to what he wants to convey. He used these types to amplify the meaning of words, phrases as well as reinforcing the central ideas of the speeches as well as to persuade the audience and make the messages memorable and this is clear through using random repetition, instant repetition, full-circle, and switch around. The same thing is applied to initial and terminal repetition, adding to that, initial repetition demonstrates the importance of a series of actions or ideas, while terminal repetition emphasises the outcomes or the consequences.

Throughout analysing RFK and MLK’s selected speeches, it has been found that types of repetition have the function to be interrelated and overlapping, for instance, a phrase that is repeated at the beginning of a series of sentences (initial repetition) can also be repeated within this series randomly and this time it is random repetition or it can be stop-and-start. The relationships between different types of repetition can add depth to the speakers’ messages and contribute to the overall effectiveness of their speeches.

Through these employed types of repetition the underpinning ideologies have been uncovered, thus, when RFK or MLK repeats certain words or phrases, they are signalling the importance of certain concepts within their ideologies. Consequently repeating words or clauses like ‘*Negro*’, ‘*generation*’, ‘*it would be a world of*’, ‘*liberty*’, ‘*freedom*’ ‘*we dissent*’, and ‘*revolution*’ by RFK; shows his ideologies which revolve around social justice,

liberalism and democracy, resistance and humanitarianism. There is no big difference between RFK and MLK's ideologies concerning the matter of social injustice, thus, repeating words or clauses like '*we must*', '*we shall overcome*', '*let us be dissatisfied*', '*we are going to*', '*Negro*', and '*segregation*' by MLK; shows his ideologies which are about progress and change, non-violence and justice, civil rights and racial equality ideologies.

Table 5. The frequency and percentage of using types of repetition in RFK's selected speeches

Types of repetition	Frequency	Percentage
Initial	37	26.43%
Terminal	0	0.00%
Random	93	66.43%
Instant	0	0.00%
Full-circle	2	1.43%
Stop-and-Start	8	5.71%
Switch-Around	0	0.00%
<b>Total</b>	140	100.00%

Table 6. The frequency and percentage of using types of repetition in MLK's selected speeches

Types of repetition	Frequency	Percentage
Initial	99	28.61%
Terminal	5	1.45%
Random	210	60.69%
Instant	4	1.16%
Full-circle	3	0.87%
Stop-and-Start	18	5.20%
Switch-Around	7	2.02%
<b>Total</b>	346	100.00%

## 6. Conclusion

Repetition is a powerful rhetorical/linguistic tool that can provide valuable insights into the speeches and the embedded ideologies that the speaker is trying to convey. In line with this, the study has concluded that RFK's speeches employ specific types of repetition (random, initial, stop-and-start, and full-circle). These types serve linguistic, rhetorical and persuasive purposes, including emphasising key points, making the speeches memorable, creating emotional impact, maintaining engagement, and ultimately persuading the audience to join the fight against social injustice. On the other hand, MLK's speeches employ all types of repetition to achieve a range of linguistic, rhetorical and persuasive goals in his speeches against social injustice. These types are instrumental in conveying his messages, mobilizing support, and inspiring action. They contribute to the enduring impact of his words and the struggle against social injustice.

Moreover, there is an interrelated relationship among types of repetition, thus, repeating a word or a clause at the beginning of a series of sentences in a paragraph, could also be done by repeating the same word or clause in a paragraph randomly and this identical word or clause could be used as stop-and-start or full-circle; this adds to the speeches variety besides emphasising the messages that RFK and MLK want to share and point to.

Accordingly, throughout repeating certain words or clauses, the ideologies of the speakers become apparent, thus, RFK's ideologies revolve around social justice, liberalism and democracy, resistance and humanitarianism. MLK's ideologies on the other hand revolve around progress and change, non-violence and justice, civil rights and racial equality.

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## Appendix A

### Speech ‘Day of Affirmation’

I came here because of my deep interest and affection for a land settled by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century, then taken over by the British, and at last independent; a land in which the native inhabitants were at first subdued, but relations with whom remain a problem to this day; a land which defined itself on a hostile frontier; a land which has tamed rich natural resources through the energetic application of modern technology; a land which once imported slaves and now must struggle to wipe out the last traces of that former bondage. I refer, of course, to the United States of America. But I am glad to come here to South Africa. I am already enjoying my visit. I am making an effort to meet and exchange views with people from all walks of life, and all segments of South African opinion, including those who represent the views of the government. Today I am glad to meet with the National Union of South African Students. For a decade, NUSAS has stood and worked for the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—principles which embody the collective hopes of men of goodwill all around the world ... This is a Day of Affirmation, a celebration of liberty. We stand here in the name of freedom. At the heart of that Western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value, and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit. Therefore the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of any Western society. The first element of this individual liberty is the freedom of speech: the right to express and communicate ideas, to set oneself apart from the dumb beasts of field and forest; to recall governments to their duties and obligations; above all, the right to affirm one’s membership and allegiance to the body politic—to society—to the men with whom we share our land, our heritage, and our children’s future. Hand in hand with freedom of speech goes the power to be heard, to share in the decisions of government which shape men’s lives. Everything that makes man’s life worthwhile—family, work, education, a place to rear one’s children and a place to rest one’s head—all this depends on decisions of government; all can be swept away by a government which does not heed the demands of its people. Therefore, the essential humanity of men can be protected and preserved only where government must answer—not just to the wealthy, not just to those of a particular religion, or a particular race, but to all its people. And even government by the consent of the governed, as in our own Constitution, must be limited in its power to act against its people; so that there may be no interference with the right to worship, or with the security of the home; no arbitrary imposition of pains or penalties by officials high or low; no restrictions on the freedom of men to seek education or work or opportunity of any kind, so that each man may become all he is capable of becoming. These are the sacred rights of Western society. These were the essential differences between us and Nazi Germany, as they were between

Athens and Persia. They are the essence of our differences with Communism today. I am unalterably opposed to Communism because it exalts the state over the individual and the family, and because of the lack of freedom of speech, of protest, of religion, and of the press, which is the characteristic of totalitarian states. The way of opposition to Communism is not to imitate its dictatorship but to enlarge individual freedom, in our own countries and all over the globe. There are those in every land who would label as Communist every threat to their privilege. But as I have seen on my travels in all sections of the world, reform is not Communism. And the denial of freedom, in whatever name, only strengthens the very Communism it claims to oppose. Many nations have set forth their own definitions and declarations of these principles. And there have often been wide and tragic gaps between promise and performance, ideal and reality. Yet the great ideals have constantly recalled us to our duties. And—with painful slowness—we have extended and enlarged the meaning and the practice of freedom for all our people. For two centuries, my own country has struggled to overcome the self-imposed handicap of prejudice and discrimination based on nationality, social class, or race discrimination profoundly repugnant to the theory and command of our Constitution. Even as my father grew up in Boston, signs told him that NO IRISH NEED APPLY. Two generations later President Kennedy became the first Catholic to head the nation; but how many men of ability had, before 1961, been denied the opportunity to contribute to the nation’s progress because they were Catholic, or of Irish extraction? How many sons of Italian or Jewish or Polish parents slumbered in slums—untaught, unlearned, their potential lost forever to the nation and human race? Even today, what price will we pay before we have assured full opportunity to millions of Negro Americans? In the last five years we have done more to assure equality to our Negro citizens, and to help the deprived both white and black, than in the hundred years before. But much more remains to be done. For there are millions of Negroes untrained for the simplest of jobs, and thousands every day denied their full equal rights under the law; and the violence of the disinherited, the insulted and injured, looms over the streets of Harlem and Watts and South Side Chicago. But a Negro American trains as an astronaut, one of mankind’s first explorers into outer space; another is the chief barrister of the United States government, and dozens sit on the benches of court; and another, Dr. Martin Luther King, is the second man of African descent to win the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent efforts for social justice between races. We have



passed laws prohibiting discrimination in education, in employment, in housing, but these laws alone cannot overcome the heritage of centuries—of broken families and stunted children, and poverty and degradation and pain. So the road toward equality of freedom is not easy, and great cost and danger march alongside us. We are committed to peaceful and nonviolent change, and that is important for all to understand—though all change is unsettling. Still, even in the turbulence of protest and struggle is greater hope for the future, as men learn to claim and achieve for themselves the rights formerly petitioned from others. And most important of all, all the panoply of government power has been committed to the goal of equality before the law, as we are now committing ourselves to the achievement of equal opportunity in fact. We must recognize the full human equality of all of our people—before God, before the law, and in the councils of government. We must do this, not because it is economically advantageous, although it is; not because the laws of God command it, although they do; not because people in other lands wish it so. We must do it for the single and fundamental reason that it is the right thing to do. We recognize that there are problems and obstacles before the fulfillment of these ideals in the United States, as we recognize that other nations, in Latin America and Asia and Africa, have their own political, economic, and social problems, their unique barriers to the elimination of injustices. In some, there is concern that change will submerge the rights of a minority, particularly where the minority is of a different race from the majority. We in the United States believe in the protection of minorities; we recognize the contributions they can make and the leadership they can provide; and we do not believe that any people—whether minority, majority, or individual human beings—are “expendable” in the cause of theory or policy. We recognize also that justice between men and nations is imperfect, and that humanity sometimes progresses slowly. All do not develop in the same manner, or at the same pace. Nations, like men, often march to the beat of different drummers, and the precise solutions of the United States can neither be dictated nor transplanted to others. What is important is that all nations must march toward increasing freedom; toward justice for all; toward a society strong and flexible enough to meet the demands of all its own people, and a world of immense and dizzying change. In a few hours, the plane that brought me to this country crossed over oceans and countries which have been a crucible of human history. In minutes we traced the migration of men over thousands of years; seconds, the briefest glimpse, and we passed battlefields on which millions of men once struggled and died. We could see no national boundaries, no vast gulfs or high walls dividing people from people; only nature and the works of man—homes and factories and farms—everywhere reflecting man’s common effort to enrich his life. Everywhere new technology and communications bring men and nations closer together, the concerns of one inevitably becoming the concerns of all. And our new closeness is stripping away the false masks, the illusion of difference which is at the root of injustice and hate and war. Only earthbound man still clings to the dark and poisoning superstition that his world is bounded by the nearest hill, his universe ended at river shore, his common humanity enclosed in the tight circle of those who share his town and views and the color of his skin. It is your job, the task of the young people of this world, to strip the last remnants of that ancient, cruel belief from the civilization of man. Each nation has different obstacles and different goals, shaped by the vagaries of history and of experience. Yet as I talk to young people around the world I am impressed not by the diversity but by the closeness of their goals, their desires and their concerns and their hope for the future. There is discrimination in New York, the racial inequality of apartheid in South Africa, and serfdom in the mountains of Peru. People starve in the streets of India, a former prime minister is summarily executed in the Congo, intellectuals go to jail in Russia, and thousands are slaughtered in Indonesia; wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere in the world. These are differing evils; but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfections of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, the defectiveness of our sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows; they mark the limit of our ability to use knowledge for the well-being of our fellow human beings throughout the world. And therefore they call upon common qualities of conscience and indignation, a shared determination to wipe away the unnecessary sufferings of our fellow human beings at home and around the world. It is these qualities which make of youth today the only true international community. More than this I think that we could agree on what kind of a world we would all want to build. It would be a world of independent nations moving toward international community, each of which protected and respected the basic human freedoms. It would be a world which demanded of each government that it accept its responsibility to insure social justice. It would be a world of constantly accelerating economic progress—not material welfare as an end in itself but as a means to liberate the capacity of every human being to pursue his talents and to pursue his hopes. It would, in short, be a world that we would be proud to have built. Just to the north of here are lands of challenge and opportunity—rich in natural resources, land and minerals and people. Yet they are also lands confronted by the greatest odds—overwhelming ignorance, internal tensions and strife, and great obstacles of climate and geography. Many of these nations, as colonies, were oppressed and exploited. Yet they have not estranged themselves from the broad traditions of the West; they are hoping and gambling their progress and stability on the chance that we will meet our responsibilities to help them overcome their poverty. In the world we would like to build, South

Africa could play an outstanding role in that effort. This is without question a preeminent repository of the wealth and knowledge and skill of the continent ... But the help and the leadership of South Africa or the United States cannot be accepted if we—within our own countries or in our relations with others—deny individual integrity, human dignity, and the common humanity of man. If we would lead outside our borders, if we would help those who need our assistance, if we would meet our responsibilities to mankind, we must first, all of us, demolish the borders which history has erected between men within our own nations—barriers of race and religion, social class and ignorance. Our answer is the world's hope; it is to rely on youth. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. It cannot be moved by those who cling to a present which is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger which comes with even the most peaceful progress. This world demands the qualities of youth; not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. It is a revolutionary world we live in, and thus, as I have said in Latin America and Asia, in Europe and in the United States, it is young people who must take the lead. Thus you, and your young compatriots everywhere, have had thrust upon you a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived. "There is," said an Italian philosopher, "nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things." Yet this is the measure of the task of your generation, and the road is strewn with many dangers. First is the danger of futility: the belief there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills—against misery and ignorance, injustice and violence. Yet many of the world's greatest movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant Reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the thirty-two-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal. "Give me a place to stand," said Archimedes, "and I will move the world." These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself; but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. Thousands of Peace Corps volunteers are making a difference in isolated villages and city slums in dozens of countries. Thousands of unknown men and women in Europe resisted the occupation of the Nazis and many died, but all added to the ultimate strength and freedom of their countries. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance. "If Athens shall appear great to you," said Pericles, "consider then that her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty." That is the source of all greatness in all societies, and it is the key to progress in our time. The second danger is that of expediency; of those who say that hopes and beliefs must bend before immediate necessities. Of course, if we would act effectively we must deal with the world as it is. We must get things done. But if there was one thing President Kennedy stood for that touched the most profound feelings of young people around the world, it was the belief that idealism, high aspirations, and deep convictions are not incompatible with the most practical and efficient of programs—that there is no basic inconsistency between ideals and realistic possibilities, no separation between the deepest desires of heart and of mind and the rational application of human effort to human problems. It is not realistic or hard headed to solve problems and take action unguided by ultimate moral aims and values, although we all know some who claim that it is so. In my judgment, it is thoughtless folly. For it ignores the realities of human faith and of passion and of belief—forces ultimately more powerful than all of the calculations of our economists or of our generals. Of course to adhere to standards, to idealism, to vision in the face of immediate dangers takes great courage and takes self-confidence. But we also know that only those who dare to fail greatly can ever achieve greatly. It is this new idealism which is also, I believe, the common heritage of a generation which has learned that while efficiency can lead to the camps at Auschwitz or the streets of Budapest, only the ideals of humanity and love can climb the hills of the Acropolis. A third danger is timidity. Few men are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality of those who seek to change a world which yields most painfully to change. Aristotle tells us that "at the Olympic games it is not the finest and the strongest men who are crowned, but they who enter the lists ... So too in the life of the honorable and the good it is they who act rightly who win the prize." I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the world. For the fortunate among us, the fourth danger is comfort, the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who have the privilege of education. But

that is not the road history has marked out for us. There is a Chinese curse which says: "May he live in interesting times." Like it or not, we live in interesting times. They are times of danger and uncertainty; but they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. And everyone here will ultimately be judged — will ultimately judge himself—on the effort he has contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which his ideals and goals have shaped that effort. So we part, I to my country and you to remain. We are—if a man of forty can claim that privilege—fellow members of the world's largest younger generation. Each of us have our own work to do. I know at times you must feel very alone with your problems and difficulties. But I want to say how impressed I am with what you stand for and the effort you are making; and I say this not just for myself, but for men and women everywhere. And I hope you will often take heart from the knowledge that you are joined with fellow young people in every land, they struggling with their problems and you with yours, but all joined in a common purpose; that, like the young people of my own country and of every country I have visited, you are all in many ways more closely united to the brothers of your time than to the older generations of any of these nations; and that you are determined to build a better future. President Kennedy was speaking to the young people of America, but beyond them to young people everywhere, when he said that "the energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world." And, he added, "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

## Appendix B

### 'Speech to Students'

The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend passion, reason, and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American society. It will belong to those who see that wisdom can only emerge from the clash of contending views, the passionate expression of deep and hostile beliefs. Plato said: "A life without criticism is not worth living." This is the seminal spirit of American democracy. It is this spirit which can be found among many of you. It is this which is the hope of our nation. For it is not enough to allow dissent. We must demand it. For there is much to dissent from. We dissent from the fact that millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich. We dissent from the conditions and hatreds which deny a full life to our fellow citizens because of the color of their skin. We dissent from the monstrous absurdity of a world where nations stand poised to destroy one another, and men must kill their fellow men. We dissent from the sight of most of mankind living in poverty, stricken by disease, threatened by hunger, and doomed to an early death after a life of unremitting labor. We dissent from cities which blunt our senses and turn the ordinary acts of daily life into a painful struggle. We dissent from the willful, heedless destruction of natural pleasure and beauty. We dissent from all those structures —of technology and of society itself—which strip from the individual the dignity and warmth of sharing in the common tasks of his community and his country. These are among the objects of our dissent. Yet we must, as thinking men, distinguish between the right of dissent and the way we choose to exercise that right. It is not enough to justify or explain our actions by the fact that they are legal or constitutionally protected. The Constitution protects wisdom and ignorance, compassion and selfishness alike. But that dissent which consists simply of sporadic and dramatic acts sustained by neither continuing labor or research—that dissent which seeks to demolish while lacking both the desire and direction for rebuilding, that dissent which contemptuously or out of laziness casts aside the practical weapons and instruments of change and progress—that kind of dissent is merely self-indulgence. It is satisfying, perhaps, to those who make it. But it will not solve the problems of our society. It will not assist those seriously engaged in the difficult and frustrating work of the nation. And when it is all over, it will not have brightened or enriched the life of a single portion of humanity in a single part of the globe. All of us have the right to dissipate our energies and talent as we desire. But those who are serious about the future have the obligation to direct those energies and talents toward concrete objectives consistent with the ideals they profess. From those of you who take that course will come the fresh ideas and leadership which are the compelling needs of America. Devoted and intelligent men have worked for generations to improve the well-being of the American people, diminish poverty and injustice, and protect freedom. Yet even as we honor their accomplishments we know that our own problems will not yield to the ideas and programs on which past achievement has been built. Ideas are often more confining, more difficult to discard, in their success than in their failure. Yet we must now cast aside many tested concepts in the face of challenges whose nature and dimension are more complex and towering than any before. For this we must look to your generation, a generation which feels most intensely the agony and bewilderment of the modern age, and

which is not bound to old ways of thought ... The great challenge before us is what you have gathered to consider: the revolution within our gates; the struggle of Negro Americans for full equality and freedom. That revolution has now entered a new stage, one that is at once more hopeful and more difficult, more important and more painful. It is to give every Negro the same opportunity as every white man to educate his children, provide for his family, live in a decent home, and win human acceptance as well as economic achievement in the society of his fellows. And it is to do all this in the face of the ominous growth of renewed hostility among the races. This will not be achieved by a law or a lawsuit, by a single program or in a single year. It means overcoming the scarred heritage of centuries of oppression, poor education, and the many obstacles to fruitful employment. It means dissolving ghettos—the physical ghettos of our big cities and those ghettos of the mind which separate white from black with hatred and ignorance, fear and mistrust ... Some among us say the Negro has made great progress—which is true; and that he should be satisfied and patient—which is neither true nor realistic. In the past twenty years we have witnessed a revolution of rising expectations in almost every continent. That revolution has spread to the Negro nation confined within our own. Men without hope, resigned to despair and oppression, do not make revolutions. It is when expectation replaces submission, when despair is touched with the awareness of possibility, that the forces of human desire and the passion for justice are unloosed ... We have held out the promise that color shall no longer stand in the way of achievement or personal fulfillment or keep a man from sharing in the affairs of the country. We have unveiled the prospect of full participation in American society, while television, radio, and newspapers bring to every Negro home the knowledge of how rewarding such participation can be. With so bountiful a promise, how much greater must be the frustration and the fury of the Negro—especially the young Negro ... For him the progress of the past can count for little against the crushing awareness that his hopes for the future are beyond his reach for reasons which have little to do with justice or his worth as a man. Occasionally, broken hope and a deeply felt futility erupt in violence and extreme statements and doctrines. If we deny a man his place in the larger community then he may turn inward to find his manhood and identity, rejecting those he feels have rejected him ... But if any man claims the Negro should be content or satisfied, let him say he would willingly change the color of his skin and go to live in the Negro section of a large city. Then, and only then, has he a right to such a claim. Yet however much the condition of most Negroes must call forth compassion, the violence of a few demand condemnation and action ... To understand the causes is not to permit the result. No man has the right to wantonly menace the safety and well-being of his neighbors. All citizens have the right to security in the streets of their community—in Birmingham or in Los Angeles. And it is the duty of all public officials to keep the public peace and bring to justice those who violate it. I know many of you understand the terrible frustration, the feeling of hopelessness, the passion for betterment which, denied to others, has turned to violence and hate. It is difficult to live in the shadow of a multimillion-dollar freeway, to watch the white faces blur as they speed by the problems of the city, returning each evening to the pleasant green lawns of the suburbs. And it must be difficult beyond measure to share in America's affluence enough to own a television set—and to see on that set the hate and fear and ugliness of little Negro children being beaten and clubbed by hoodlums and thugs in Mississippi. Some have turned to violence. And the question many Negroes surely ask themselves—the question many of you surely ask yourselves—is, Why not? Why not turn to violence? ... But the course of violence would be terribly, awfully wrong: Not just because hatred and violence are self-defeating—though they are self-defeating, for they strike at the very heart of obedience to law, peaceful process, and political cooperation which are man's last best hopes for a decent world. We must oppose violence not because of what violence does to the possibilities of cooperation between whites and blacks; not just because it hampers the passage of civil rights bills, or poverty legislation, or open-occupancy laws. The central disease of violence is what it does to all of us—to those who engage in it as much as to those who are its victims. Cruelty and wanton violence may temporarily relieve a feeling of frustration, a sense of impotence. But the damage of those who perpetrate it—these are the negation of reason and the antithesis of humanity, and they are the besetting sins of the twentieth century. Surely the world has enough, in the last forty years, of violence and hatred. Surely we have seen enough of the attempt to justify present injustice by past slights, or to punish the unjust by making the world more unjust. We know now that the color of an executioner's robe matters little. And we know in our hearts, even through times of passion and discontent, that to add to the quantity of violence in this country is to burden our own lives and mortgage our children's souls, and the best possibilities of the American future. If this is a challenge to the Negro community, and especially to the political courage of Negro leadership whose own position may be endangered by rising militance, the challenge to white America is equally great. In recent months we have seen comment on what some have called the backlash. Opposition to violence and riots and irresponsible action is the justified feeling of most Americans, white and black. But that backlash which masks hostility to the swift and complete fulfillment of equal opportunity and treatment, which contains opposition to demands for justice and freedom, which denies the need to destroy slums, provide education, and eliminate poverty—that is wrong, shameful, immoral, and self-defeating.

Any leader who seeks to exploit this feeling for the momentary advantage of office fails his duty to the people of this country. It would be a national disaster to permit resentment, or fear at the actions of a few, to drive increasing numbers of white and black Americans into opposing camps of distrust and enmity ... Some say that in the last analysis, after all, we need not fear injustice; that if our great common purpose divides into conflict and contest, the whites will win. In one sense, that is true. We are far more numerous and more powerful. But it would be a Pyrrhic victory. The cost would be decades of agony and civil strife, the sacrifice of our ideal of liberty, and ultimately the loss of the soul of our nation. We can understand the apprehension of those white Americans who feel threatened in their persons or their property. Yet they are only being asked to permit others what they demand for themselves: an equal chance to share in the American life. The whole experience of our nation shows that as each minority emerged, those who came before feared damage to their own way of life, and that each time they were wrong. The achievements of each group enlarged the prospects of all. In President Kennedy's words: "The rising tide lifts all the boats." That will be our experience with the Negro too. Moreover, we must all understand that the problem will not go away ... Thus we have only one choice. We can face our difficulties and strive to overcome them; or we can turn away, bringing repression, steadily increasing human pain and civil strife, and leaving a problem of far more terrifying and grievous dimensions to our children. Anyone who promises another course, who pledges a solution without cost, effort, or difficulty, is deluding both himself and the people to whom he speaks. Like other minority groups, Negroes will bear the major burden of their own progress. They will have to make their own way, as they are doing. But we must remember that other minorities, including my own, also made progress through increasing their political and economic power as well as by individual effort. Nor was that progress completely without violence, fear, and hatred. Moreover, earlier immigrants often began their cities by moving to the unsettled West, a door now closed; or finding unskilled labor, a door which is swiftly narrowing. Today, to find a job requires increasingly complex skills, denied to those without education. Nor did other minorities suffer under the special handicaps of the Negro heritage and the crushing forces of racial feeling from whose poisons few whites have fully liberated themselves. Thus the changed circumstances of modern life and the peculiar nature of the Negro experience make large-scale government action necessary if we are to crush the remaining barriers to equal opportunity and to lead an accelerating national effort to give Negroes a fair chance to share equally in the abundance and dignity of American life ... Even if we do all this and much more, if we act on an unprecedented scale, progress will still be slow. It is true, as Jefferson wrote, that "the generation which commences a revolution rarely completes it." The problem of giving content to equality is deeply embedded in the structure of American life. It cannot be swept away with a single blow. Yet we can create the steady, concrete, and visible achievements which will justify and sustain the expectation that each year will bring greater opportunity than the last. And we can support and nourish the faith of Negro Americans that their country recognizes the justice of their cause and the urgency of their needs. This is one of the many crossroads at which American life now stands. In the world and at home, you have the opportunity and the responsibility to help make the choices which will determine the greatness of this nation. You are a generation which is coming of age at one of the rarest moments in history—a time when all around us the old order of things is crumbling and a new world society is painfully struggling to take shape. If you shrink from this struggle, and these many difficulties, you will betray the trust which your own position forces upon you. You live in the most privileged nation on earth. You are the most privileged citizens of that privileged nation, for you have been given the opportunity to study and learn, to take your place among the tiny minority of the world's educated men. By coming to this school you have been lifted onto a tiny, sunlit island while all around you lies an ocean of human misery, injustice, violence, and fear. You can use your enormous privilege and opportunity to seek purely private pleasure and gain. But history will judge you, and, as the years pass, you will ultimately judge yourself, on the extent to which you have used your gifts to lighten and enrich the lives of your fellow man. In your hands, not with presidents or leaders, is the future of your world and the fulfillment of the best qualities of your own spirit.

## Appendix C

### 'Where Do We Go from Here'

Dr. Abernathy, our distinguished vice president, fellow delegates to this, the tenth annual session of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, my brothers and sisters from not only all over the South, but from all over the United States of America: ten years ago during the piercing chill of a January day and on the heels of the year-long Montgomery bus boycott, a group of approximately one hundred Negro leaders from across the South assembled in this church and agreed on the need for an organization to be formed that could serve as a channel through which local protest organizations in the South could coordinate their protest activities. It was this meeting that gave birth to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

And when our organization was formed ten years ago, racial segregation was still a structured part of the architecture of southern society. Negroes with the pangs of hunger and the anguish of thirst were denied access to the average lunch counter. The downtown restaurants were still off-limits for the black man. Negroes, burdened with the fatigue of travel, were still barred from the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. Negro boys and girls in dire need of recreational activities were not allowed to inhale the fresh air of the big city parks. Negroes in desperate need of allowing their mental buckets to sink deep into the wells of knowledge were confronted with a firm “no” when they sought to use the city libraries. Ten years ago, legislative halls of the South were still ringing loud with such words as “interposition” and “nullification.” All types of conniving methods were still being used to keep the Negro from becoming a registered voter. A decade ago, not a single Negro entered the legislative chambers of the South except as a porter or a chauffeur. Ten years ago, all too many Negroes were still harried by day and haunted by night by a corroding sense of fear and a nagging sense of nobody-ness (Yeah).

But things are different now. In assault after assault, we caused the sagging walls of segregation to come tumbling down. During this era the entire edifice of segregation was profoundly shaken. This is an accomplishment whose consequences are deeply felt by every southern Negro in his daily life. (Oh yeah) It is no longer possible to count the number of public establishments that are open to Negroes. Ten years ago, Negroes seemed almost invisible to the larger society, and the facts of their harsh lives were unknown to the majority of the nation. But today, civil rights is a dominating issue in every state, crowding the pages of the press and the daily conversation of white Americans. In this decade of change, the Negro stood up and confronted his oppressor. He faced the bullies and the guns, and the dogs and the tear gas. He put himself squarely before the vicious mobs and moved with strength and dignity toward them and decisively defeated them. (Yes) And the courage with which he confronted enraged mobs dissolved the stereotype of the grinning, submissive Uncle Tom. (Yes) He came out of his struggle integrated only slightly in the external society, but powerfully integrated within. This was a victory that had to precede all other gains.

In short, over the last ten years the Negro decided to straighten his back up (Yes), realizing that a man cannot ride your back unless it is bent. (Yes, That’s right) We made our government write new laws to alter some of the cruelest injustices that affected us. We made an indifferent and unconcerned nation rise from lethargy and subpoenaed its conscience to appear before the judgment seat of morality on the whole question of civil rights. We gained manhood in the nation that had always called us “boy.” It would be hypocritical indeed if I allowed modesty to forbid my saying that SCLC stood at the forefront of all of the watershed movements that brought these monumental changes in the South. For this, we can feel a legitimate pride. But in spite of a decade of significant progress, the problem is far from solved. The deep rumbling of discontent in our cities is indicative of the fact that the plant of freedom has grown only a bud and not yet a flower.

And before discussing the awesome responsibilities that we face in the days ahead, let us take an inventory of our programmatic action and activities over the past year. Last year as we met in Jackson, Mississippi, we were painfully aware of the struggle of our brothers in Grenada, Mississippi. After living for a hundred or more years under the yoke of total segregation, the Negro citizens of this northern Delta hamlet banded together in nonviolent warfare against racial discrimination under the leadership of our affiliate chapter and organization there. The fact of this non-destructive rebellion was as spectacular as were its results. In a few short weeks the Grenada County Movement challenged every aspect of the society’s exploitative life. Stores which denied employment were boycotted; voter registration increased by thousands. We can never forget the courageous action of the people of Grenada who moved our nation and its federal courts to powerful action in behalf of school integration, giving Grenada one of the most integrated school systems in America. The battle is far from over, but the black people of Grenada have achieved forty of fifty-three demands through their persistent nonviolent efforts.

Slowly but surely, our southern affiliates continued their building and organizing. Seventy-nine counties conducted voter registration drives, while double that number carried on political education and get-out-the-vote efforts. In spite of press opinions, our staff is still overwhelmingly a southern-based staff. One hundred and five persons have worked across the South under the direction of Hosea Williams. What used to be primarily a voter registration staff is actually a multifaceted program dealing with the total life of the community, from farm cooperatives, business development, tutorials, credit unions, etcetera. Especially to be commended are those ninety-nine communities and their staffs which maintain regular mass meetings throughout the year.

Our Citizenship Education Program continues to lay the solid foundation of adult education and community organization upon which all social change must ultimately rest. This year, five hundred local leaders received training at Dorchester and ten community centers through our Citizenship Education Program. They were trained in literacy, consumer education, planned parenthood, and many other things. And this program, so ably directed by Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Mrs. Septima Clark, and their staff of eight persons, continues to cover ten southern states.

Our auxiliary feature of C.E.P. is the aid which they have given to poor communities, poor counties in receiving and establishing O.E.O. projects. With the competent professional guidance of our marvelous staff member, Miss Mew Soong-Li, Lowndes and Wilcox counties in Alabama have pioneered in developing outstanding poverty programs totally controlled and operated by residents of the area.

Perhaps the area of greatest concentration of my efforts has been in the cities of Chicago and Cleveland. Chicago has been a wonderful proving ground for our work in the North. There have been no earth-shaking victories, but neither has there been failure. Our open housing marches, which finally brought about an agreement which actually calls the power structure of Chicago to capitulate to the civil rights movement, these marches and the agreement have finally begun to pay off. After the season of delay around election periods, the Leadership Conference, organized to meet our demands for an open city, has finally begun to implement the programs agreed to last summer.

But this is not the most important aspect of our work. As a result of our tenant union organizing, we have begun a four million dollar rehabilitation project, which will renovate deteriorating buildings and allow their tenants the opportunity to own their own homes. This pilot project was the inspiration for the new home ownership bill, which Senator Percy introduced in Congress only recently.

The most dramatic success in Chicago has been Operation Breadbasket. Through Operation Breadbasket we have now achieved for the Negro community of Chicago more than twenty-two hundred new jobs with an income of approximately eighteen million dollars a year, new income to the Negro community. [Applause] But not only have we gotten jobs through Operation Breadbasket in Chicago; there was another area through this economic program, and that was the development of financial institutions which were controlled by Negroes and which were sensitive to problems of economic deprivation of the Negro community. The two banks in Chicago that were interested in helping Negro businessmen were largely unable to loan much because of limited assets. Hi-Lo, one of the chain stores in Chicago, agreed to maintain substantial accounts in the two banks, thus increasing their ability to serve the needs of the Negro community. And I can say to you today that as a result of Operation Breadbasket in Chicago, both of these Negro-operated banks have now more than double their assets, and this has been done in less than a year by the work of Operation Breadbasket. [applause]

In addition, the ministers learned that Negro scavengers had been deprived of significant accounts in the ghetto. Whites controlled even the garbage of Negroes. Consequently, the chain stores agreed to contract with Negro scavengers to service at least the stores in Negro areas. Negro insect and rodent exterminators, as well as janitorial services, were likewise excluded from major contracts with chain stores. The chain stores also agreed to utilize these services. It also became apparent that chain stores advertised only rarely in Negro-owned community newspapers. This area of neglect was also negotiated, giving community newspapers regular, substantial accounts. And finally, the ministers found that Negro contractors, from painters to masons, from electricians to excavators, had also been forced to remain small by the monopolies of white contractors. Breadbasket negotiated agreements on new construction and rehabilitation work for the chain stores. These several interrelated aspects of economic development, all based on the power of organized consumers, hold great possibilities for dealing with the problems of Negroes in other northern cities. The kinds of requests made by Breadbasket in Chicago can be made not only of chain stores, but of almost any major industry in any city in the country.

And so Operation Breadbasket has a very simple program, but a powerful one. It simply says, "If you respect my dollar, you must respect my person." It simply says that we will no longer spend our money where we can not get substantial jobs. [applause]

In Cleveland, Ohio, a group of ministers have formed an Operation Breadbasket through our program there and have moved against a major dairy company. Their requests include jobs, advertising in Negro newspapers, and depositing funds in Negro financial institutions. This effort resulted in something marvelous. I went to Cleveland just last week to sign the agreement with Sealtest. We went to get the facts about their employment; we discovered that they had 442 employees and only forty-three were Negroes, yet the Negro population of Cleveland is thirty-five percent of the total population. They refused to give us all of the information that we requested, and we said in substance, "Mr. Sealtest, we're sorry. We aren't going to burn your store down. We aren't going to throw any bricks in the window. But we are going to put picket signs around and we are going to put leaflets out and we are going to our pulpits and tell them not to sell Sealtest products, and not to purchase Sealtest products."

We did that. We went through the churches. Reverend Dr. Hoover, who pastors the largest church in Cleveland, who's here today, and all of the ministers got together and got behind this program. We went to every store in the ghetto and said, "You must take Sealtest products off of your counters. If not, we're going to boycott your whole store." (That's right) A&P refused. We put picket lines around A&P; they have a hundred and some stores in Cleveland, and we picketed A&P and closed down eighteen of them in one day. Nobody went in A&P. [applause]

The next day Mr. A&P was calling on us, and Bob Brown, who is here on our board and who is a public relations man representing a number of firms, came in. They called him in because he worked for A&P, also; and they didn't know he worked for us, too. [laughter] Bob Brown sat down with A&P, and he said, they said, "Now, Mr. Brown, what would you advise us to do." He said, "I would advise you to take Sealtest products off of all of your counters." A&P agreed next day not only to take Sealtest products off of the counters in the ghetto, but off of the counters of every A&P store in Cleveland, and they said to Sealtest, "If you don't reach an agreement with SCLC and Operation Breadbasket, we will take Sealtest products off of every A&P store in the state of Ohio."

The next day [applause], the next day the Sealtest people were talking nice [laughter], they were very humble. And I am proud to say that I went to Cleveland just last Tuesday, and I sat down with the Sealtest people and some seventy ministers from Cleveland, and we signed the agreement. This effort resulted in a number of jobs, which will bring almost five hundred thousand dollars of new income to the Negro community a year. [applause] We also said to Sealtest, "The problem that we face is that the ghetto is a domestic colony that's constantly drained without being replenished. And you are always telling us to lift ourselves by our own bootstraps, and yet we are being robbed every day. Put something back in the ghetto." So along with our demand for jobs, we said, "We also demand that you put money in the Negro savings and loan association and that you take ads, advertise, in the Cleveland Call & Post, the Negro newspaper." So along with the new jobs, Sealtest has now deposited thousands of dollars in the Negro bank of Cleveland and has already started taking ads in the Negro newspaper in that city. This is the power of Operation Breadbasket. [applause]

Now, for fear that you may feel that it's limited to Chicago and Cleveland, let me say to you that we've gotten even more than that. In Atlanta, Georgia, Breadbasket has been equally successful in the South. Here the emphasis has been divided between governmental employment and private industry. And while I do not have time to go into the details, I want to commend the men who have been working with it here: the Reverend Bennett, the Reverend Joe Boone, the Reverend J. C. Ward, Reverend Dorsey, Reverend Greer, and I could go on down the line, and they have stood up along with all of the other ministers. But here is the story that's not printed in the newspapers in Atlanta: as a result of Operation Breadbasket, over the last three years, we have added about twenty-five million dollars of new income to the Negro community every year. [applause]

Now as you know, Operation Breadbasket has now gone national in the sense that we had a national conference in Chicago and agreed to launch a nationwide program, which you will hear more about.

Finally, SCLC has entered the field of housing. Under the leadership of attorney James Robinson, we have already contracted to build 152 units of low-income housing with apartments for the elderly on a choice downtown Atlanta site under the sponsorship of Ebenezer Baptist Church. This is the first project [applause], this is the first project of a proposed southwide Housing Development Corporation which we hope to develop in conjunction with SCLC, and through this corporation we hope to build housing from Mississippi to North Carolina using Negro workmen, Negro architects, Negro attorneys, and Negro financial institutions throughout. And it is our feeling that in the next two or three years, we can build right here in the South forty million dollars worth of new housing for Negroes, and with millions and millions of dollars in income coming to the Negro community. [applause]

Now there are many other things that I could tell you, but time is passing. This, in short, is an account of SCLC's work over the last year. It is a record of which we can all be proud.

With all the struggle and all the achievements, we must face the fact, however, that the Negro still lives in the basement of the Great Society. He is still at the bottom, despite the few who have penetrated to slightly higher levels. Even where the door has been forced partially open, mobility for the Negro is still sharply restricted. There is often no bottom at which to start, and when there is there's almost no room at the top. In consequence, Negroes are still impoverished aliens in an affluent society. They are too poor even to rise with the society, too impoverished by the ages to be able to ascend by using their own resources. And the Negro did not do this himself; it was done to him. For more than half of his American history, he was enslaved. Yet, he built the spanning bridges and the grand mansions, the sturdy docks and stout factories of the South. His unpaid labor made cotton "King" and established America as a significant nation in international commerce. Even after his release from chattel slavery, the nation grew over him, submerging him. It became the richest, most powerful society in the history of man, but it left the Negro far behind.

And so we still have a long, long way to go before we reach the promised land of freedom. Yes, we have left the dusty soils of Egypt, and we have crossed a Red Sea that had for years been hardened by a long and piercing winter of massive resistance, but before we reach the majestic shores of the promised land, there will still be gigantic mountains of opposition ahead and prodigious hilltops of injustice. (Yes, That's right) We still need some Paul Revere of conscience to alert every hamlet and every village of America that revolution is still at hand. Yes, we



need a chart; we need a compass; indeed, we need some North Star to guide us into a future shrouded with impenetrable uncertainties.

Now, in order to answer the question, "Where do we go from here?" which is our theme, we must first honestly recognize where we are now. When the Constitution was written, a strange formula to determine taxes and representation declared that the Negro was sixty percent of a person. Today another curious formula seems to declare he is fifty percent of a person. Of the good things in life, the Negro has approximately one half those of whites. Of the bad things of life, he has twice those of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in substandard housing. And Negroes have half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experiences of life, the Negro has a double share: There are twice as many unemployed; the rate of infant mortality among Negroes is double that of whites; and there are twice as many Negroes dying in Vietnam as whites in proportion to their size in the population. (Yes) [applause]

In other spheres, the figures are equally alarming. In elementary schools, Negroes lag one to three years behind whites, and their segregated schools (Yeah) receive substantially less money per student than the white schools. (Those schools) One-twentieth as many Negroes as whites attend college. Of employed Negroes, seventy-five percent hold menial jobs. This is where we are.

Where do we go from here? First, we must massively assert our dignity and worth. We must stand up amid a system that still oppresses us and develop an unassailable and majestic sense of values. We must no longer be ashamed of being black. (All right) The job of arousing manhood within a people that have been taught for so many centuries that they are nobody is not easy.

Even semantics have conspired to make that which is black seem ugly and degrading. (Yes) In Roget's Thesaurus there are some 120 synonyms for blackness and at least sixty of them are offensive, such words as blot, soot, grim, devil, and foul. And there are some 134 synonyms for whiteness and all are favorable, expressed in such words as purity, cleanliness, chastity, and innocence. A white lie is better than a black lie. (Yes) The most degenerate member of a family is the "black sheep." (Yes) Ossie Davis has suggested that maybe the English language should be reconstructed so that teachers will not be forced to teach the Negro child sixty ways to despise himself, and thereby perpetuate his false sense of inferiority, and the white child 134 ways to adore himself, and thereby perpetuate his false sense of superiority. [applause] The tendency to ignore the Negro's contribution to American life and strip him of his personhood is as old as the earliest history books and as contemporary as the morning's newspaper. (Yes)

To offset this cultural homicide, the Negro must rise up with an affirmation of his own Olympian manhood. (Yes) Any movement for the Negro's freedom that overlooks this necessity is only waiting to be buried. (Yes) As long as the mind is enslaved, the body can never be free. (Yes) Psychological freedom, a firm sense of self-esteem, is the most powerful weapon against the long night of physical slavery. No Lincolnian Emancipation Proclamation, no Johnsonian civil rights bill can totally bring this kind of freedom. The Negro will only be free when he reaches down to the inner depths of his own being and signs with the pen and ink of assertive manhood his own emancipation proclamation. And with a spirit straining toward true self-esteem, the Negro must boldly throw off the manacles of self-abnegation and say to himself and to the world, "I am somebody. (Oh yeah) I am a person. I am a man with dignity and honor. (Go ahead) I have a rich and noble history, however painful and exploited that history has been. Yes, I was a slave through my foreparents (That's right), and now I'm not ashamed of that. I'm ashamed of the people who were so sinful to make me a slave." (Yes sir) Yes [applause], yes, we must stand up and say, "I'm black (Yes sir), but I'm black and beautiful." (Yes) This [applause], this self-affirmation is the black man's need, made compelling (All right) by the white man's crimes against him. (Yes)

Now another basic challenge is to discover how to organize our strength in to economic and political power. Now no one can deny that the Negro is in dire need of this kind of legitimate power. Indeed, one of the great problems that the Negro confronts is his lack of power. From the old plantations of the South to the newer ghettos of the North, the Negro has been confined to a life of voicelessness (That's true) and powerlessness. (So true) Stripped of the right to make decisions concerning his life and destiny he has been subject to the authoritarian and sometimes whimsical decisions of the white power structure. The plantation and the ghetto were created by those who had power, both to confine those who had no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness. Now the problem of transforming the ghetto, therefore, is a problem of power, a confrontation between the forces of power demanding change and the forces of power dedicated to the preserving of the status quo. Now, power properly understood is nothing but the ability to achieve purpose. It is the strength required to bring about social, political, and economic change. Walter Reuther defined power one day. He said, "Power is the ability of a labor union like UAW to make the most powerful corporation in the world, General Motors, say, 'Yes' when it wants to say 'No.' That's power."

[applause]

Now a lot of us are preachers, and all of us have our moral convictions and concerns, and so often we have problems with power. But there is nothing wrong with power if power is used correctly.

You see, what happened is that some of our philosophers got off base. And one of the great problems of history is that the concepts of love and power have usually been contrasted as opposites, polar opposites, so that love is identified with a resignation of power, and power with a denial of love. It was this misinterpretation that caused the philosopher Nietzsche, who was a philosopher of the will to power, to reject the Christian concept of love. It was this same misinterpretation which induced Christian theologians to reject Nietzsche's philosophy of the will to power in the name of the Christian idea of love.

Now, we got to get this thing right. What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive, and that love without power is sentimental and anemic. (Yes) Power at its best [applause], power at its best is love (Yes) implementing the demands of justice, and justice at its best is love correcting everything that stands against love. (Speak) And this is what we must see as we move on.

Now what has happened is that we've had it wrong and mixed up in our country, and this has led Negro Americans in the past to seek their goals through love and moral suasion devoid of power, and white Americans to seek their goals through power devoid of love and conscience. It is leading a few extremists today to advocate for Negroes the same destructive and conscienceless power that they have justly abhorred in whites. It is precisely this collision of immoral power with powerless morality which constitutes the major crisis of our times. (Yes)

Now we must develop progress, or rather, a program—and I can't stay on this long—that will drive the nation to a guaranteed annual income. Now, early in the century this proposal would have been greeted with ridicule and denunciation as destructive of initiative and responsibility. At that time economic status was considered the measure of the individual's abilities and talents. And in the thinking of that day, the absence of worldly goods indicated a want of industrious habits and moral fiber. We've come a long way in our understanding of human motivation and of the blind operation of our economic system. Now we realize that dislocations in the market operation of our economy and the prevalence of discrimination thrust people into idleness and bind them in constant or frequent unemployment against their will. The poor are less often dismissed, I hope, from our conscience today by being branded as inferior and incompetent. We also know that no matter how dynamically the economy develops and expands, it does not eliminate all poverty.

The problem indicates that our emphasis must be twofold: We must create full employment, or we must create incomes. People must be made consumers by one method or the other. Once they are placed in this position, we need to be concerned that the potential of the individual is not wasted. New forms of work that enhance the social good will have to be devised for those for whom traditional jobs are not available. In 1879 Henry George anticipated this state of affairs when he wrote in *Progress and Poverty*:

The fact is that the work which improves the condition of mankind, the work which extends knowledge and increases power and enriches literature and elevates thought, is not done to secure a living. It is not the work of slaves driven to their tasks either by the, that of a taskmaster or by animal necessities. It is the work of men who somehow find a form of work that brings a security for its own sake and a state of society where want is abolished.

Work of this sort could be enormously increased, and we are likely to find that the problem of housing, education, instead of preceding the elimination of poverty, will themselves be affected if poverty is first abolished. The poor, transformed into purchasers, will do a great deal on their own to alter housing decay. Negroes, who have a double disability, will have a greater effect on discrimination when they have the additional weapon of cash to use in their struggle.

Beyond these advantages, a host of positive psychological changes inevitably will result from widespread economic security. The dignity of the individual will flourish when the decisions concerning his life are in his own hands, when he has the assurance that his income is stable and certain, and when he knows that he has the means to seek self-improvement. Personal conflicts between husband, wife, and children will diminish when the unjust measurement of human worth on a scale of dollars is eliminated.

Now, our country can do this. John Kenneth Galbraith said that a guaranteed annual income could be done for about twenty billion dollars a year. And I say to you today, that if our nation can spend thirty-five billion dollars a year to fight an unjust, evil war in Vietnam, and twenty billion dollars to put a man on the moon, it can spend billions of dollars to put God's children on their own two feet right here on earth. [applause]

Now, let me rush on to say we must reaffirm our commitment to nonviolence. And I want to stress this. The futility of violence in the struggle for racial justice has been tragically etched in all the recent Negro riots. Now, yesterday,

I tried to analyze the riots and deal with the causes for them. Today I want to give the other side. There is something painfully sad about a riot. One sees screaming youngsters and angry adults fighting hopelessly and aimlessly against impossible odds. (Yeah) And deep down within them, you perceive a desire for self-destruction, a kind of suicidal longing. (Yes)

Occasionally, Negroes contend that the 1965 Watts riot and the other riots in various cities represented effective civil rights action. But those who express this view always end up with stumbling words when asked what concrete gains have been won as a result. At best, the riots have produced a little additional anti-poverty money allotted by frightened government officials and a few water sprinklers to cool the children of the ghettos. It is something like improving the food in the prison while the people remain securely incarcerated behind bars. (That's right) Nowhere have the riots won any concrete improvement such as have the organized protest demonstrations.

And when one tries to pin down advocates of violence as to what acts would be effective, the answers are blatantly illogical. Sometimes they talk of overthrowing racist state and local governments and they talk about guerrilla warfare. They fail to see that no internal revolution has ever succeeded in overthrowing a government by violence unless the government had already lost the allegiance and effective control of its armed forces. Anyone in his right mind knows that this will not happen in the United States. In a violent racial situation, the power structure has the local police, the state troopers, the National Guard, and finally, the army to call on, all of which are predominantly white. (Yes) Furthermore, few, if any, violent revolutions have been successful unless the violent minority had the sympathy and support of the non-resisting majority. Castro may have had only a few Cubans actually fighting with him and up in the hills (Yes), but he would have never overthrown the Batista regime unless he had had the sympathy of the vast majority of Cuban people. It is perfectly clear that a violent revolution on the part of American blacks would find no sympathy and support from the white population and very little from the majority of the Negroes themselves.

This is no time for romantic illusions and empty philosophical debates about freedom. This is a time for action. (All right) What is needed is a strategy for change, a tactical program that will bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the nonviolent movement. Without recognizing this we will end up with solutions that don't solve, answers that don't answer, and explanations that don't explain. [applause]

And so I say to you today that I still stand by nonviolence. (Yes) And I am still convinced [applause], and I'm still convinced that it is the most potent weapon available to the Negro in his struggle for justice in this country.

And the other thing is, I'm concerned about a better world. I'm concerned about justice; I'm concerned about brotherhood; I'm concerned about truth. (That's right) And when one is concerned about that, he can never advocate violence. For through violence you may murder a murderer, but you can't murder murder. (Yes) Through violence you may murder a liar, but you can't establish truth. (That's right) Through violence you may murder a hater, but you can't murder hate through violence. (All right, That's right) Darkness cannot put out darkness; only light can do that. [applause]

And I say to you, I have also decided to stick with love, for I know that love is ultimately the only answer to mankind's problems. (Yes) And I'm going to talk about it everywhere I go. I know it isn't popular to talk about it in some circles today. (No) And I'm not talking about emotional bosh when I talk about love; I'm talking about a strong, demanding love. (Yes) For I have seen too much hate. (Yes) I've seen too much hate on the faces of sheriffs in the South. (Yeah) I've seen hate on the faces of too many Klansmen and too many White Citizens Councilors in the South to want to hate, myself, because every time I see it, I know that it does something to their faces and their personalities, and I say to myself that hate is too great a burden to bear. (Yes, That's right) I have decided to love. [applause] If you are seeking the highest good, I think you can find it through love. And the beautiful thing is that we aren't moving wrong when we do it, because John was right, God is love. (Yes) He who hates does not know God, but he who loves has the key that unlocks the door to the meaning of ultimate reality.

And so I say to you today, my friends, that you may be able to speak with the tongues of men and angels (All right); you may have the eloquence of articulate speech; but if you have not love, it means nothing. (That's right) Yes, you may have the gift of prophecy; you may have the gift of scientific prediction (Yes sir) and understand the behavior of molecules (All right); you may break into the storehouse of nature (Yes sir) and bring forth many new insights; yes, you may ascend to the heights of academic achievement (Yes sir) so that you have all knowledge (Yes sir, Yes); and you may boast of your great institutions of learning and the boundless extent of your degrees; but if you have not love, all of these mean absolutely nothing. (Yes) You may even give your goods to feed the poor (Yes sir); you may bestow great gifts to charity (Speak); and you may tower high in philanthropy; but if you have not love, your charity means nothing. (Yes sir) You may even give your body to be burned and die the death

of a martyr, and your spilt blood may be a symbol of honor for generations yet unborn, and thousands may praise you as one of history's greatest heroes; but if you have not love (Yes, All right), your blood was spilt in vain. What I'm trying to get you to see this morning is that a man may be self-centered in his self-denial and self-righteous in his self-sacrifice. His generosity may feed his ego, and his piety may feed his pride. (Speak) So without love, benevolence becomes egotism, and martyrdom becomes spiritual pride.

I want to say to you as I move to my conclusion, as we talk about "Where do we go from here?" that we must honestly face the fact that the movement must address itself to the question of restructuring the whole of American society. (Yes) There are forty million poor people here, and one day we must ask the question, "Why are there forty million poor people in America?" And when you begin to ask that question, you are raising a question about the economic system, about a broader distribution of wealth. When you ask that question, you begin to question the capitalistic economy. (Yes) And I'm simply saying that more and more, we've got to begin to ask questions about the whole society. We are called upon to help the discouraged beggars in life's marketplace. (Yes) But one day we must come to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. (All right) It means that questions must be raised. And you see, my friends, when you deal with this you begin to ask the question, "Who owns the oil?" (Yes) You begin to ask the question, "Who owns the iron ore?" (Yes) You begin to ask the question, "Why is it that people have to pay water bills in a world that's two-thirds water?" (All right) These are words that must be said. (All right)

Now, don't think you have me in a bind today. I'm not talking about communism. What I'm talking about is far beyond communism. (Yeah) My inspiration didn't come from Karl Marx (Speak); my inspiration didn't come from Engels; my inspiration didn't come from Trotsky; my inspiration didn't come from Lenin. Yes, I read Communist Manifesto and Das Kapital a long time ago (Well), and I saw that maybe Marx didn't follow Hegel enough. (All right) He took his dialectics, but he left out his idealism and his spiritualism. And he went over to a German philosopher by the name of Feuerbach, and took his materialism and made it into a system that he called "dialectical materialism." (Speak) I have to reject that.

What I'm saying to you this morning is communism forgets that life is individual. (Yes) Capitalism forgets that life is social. (Yes, Go ahead) And the kingdom of brotherhood is found neither in the thesis of communism nor the antithesis of capitalism, but in a higher synthesis. (Speak) [applause] It is found in a higher synthesis (Come on) that combines the truths of both. (Yes) Now, when I say questioning the whole society, it means ultimately coming to see that the problem of racism, the problem of economic exploitation, and the problem of war are all tied together. (All right) These are the triple evils that are interrelated.

And if you will let me be a preacher just a little bit. (Speak) One day [applause], one night, a juror came to Jesus (Yes sir) and he wanted to know what he could do to be saved. (Yeah) Jesus didn't get bogged down on the kind of isolated approach of what you shouldn't do. Jesus didn't say, "Now Nicodemus, you must stop lying." (Oh yeah) He didn't say, "Nicodemus, now you must not commit adultery." He didn't say, "Now Nicodemus, you must stop cheating if you are doing that." He didn't say, "Nicodemus, you must stop drinking liquor if you are doing that excessively." He said something altogether different, because Jesus realized something basic (Yes): that if a man will lie, he will steal. (Yes) And if a man will steal, he will kill. (Yes) So instead of just getting bogged down on one thing, Jesus looked at him and said, "Nicodemus, you must be born again." [applause]

In other words, "Your whole structure (Yes) must be changed." [applause] A nation that will keep people in slavery for 244 years will "thingify" them and make them things. (Speak) And therefore, they will exploit them and poor people generally economically. (Yes) And a nation that will exploit economically will have to have foreign investments and everything else, and it will have to use its military might to protect them. All of these problems are tied together. (Yes) [applause]

What I'm saying today is that we must go from this convention and say, "America, you must be born again!" [applause] (Oh yes)

And so, I conclude by saying today that we have a task, and let us go out with a divine dissatisfaction. (Yes)

Let us be dissatisfied until America will no longer have a high blood pressure of creeds and an anemia of deeds. (All right)

Let us be dissatisfied (Yes) until the tragic walls that separate the outer city of wealth and comfort from the inner city of poverty and despair shall be crushed by the battering rams of the forces of justice. (Yes sir)

Let us be dissatisfied (Yes) until those who live on the outskirts of hope are brought into the metropolis of daily security.

Let us be dissatisfied (Yes) until slums are cast into the junk heaps of history (Yes), and every family will live in

a decent, sanitary home.

Let us be dissatisfied (Yes) until the dark yesterdays of segregated schools will be transformed into bright tomorrows of quality integrated education.

Let us be dissatisfied until integration is not seen as a problem but as an opportunity to participate in the beauty of diversity.

Let us be dissatisfied (All right) until men and women, however black they may be, will be judged on the basis of the content of their character, not on the basis of the color of their skin. (Yeah) Let us be dissatisfied. [applause]

Let us be dissatisfied (Well) until every state capitol (Yes) will be housed by a governor who will do justly, who will love mercy, and who will walk humbly with his God.

Let us be dissatisfied [applause] until from every city hall, justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream. (Yes)

Let us be dissatisfied (Yes) until that day when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together (Yes), and every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree, and none shall be afraid.

Let us be dissatisfied (Yes), and men will recognize that out of one blood (Yes) God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth. (Speak sir)

Let us be dissatisfied until that day when nobody will shout, "White Power!" when nobody will shout, "Black Power!" but everybody will talk about God's power and human power. [applause]

And I must confess, my friends (Yes sir), that the road ahead will not always be smooth. (Yes) There will still be rocky places of frustration (Yes) and meandering points of bewilderment. There will be inevitable setbacks here and there. (Yes) And there will be those moments when the buoyancy of hope will be transformed into the fatigue of despair. (Well) Our dreams will sometimes be shattered and our ethereal hopes blasted. (Yes) We may again, with tear-drenched eyes, have to stand before the bier of some courageous civil rights worker whose life will be snuffed out by the dastardly acts of bloodthirsty mobs. (Well) But difficult and painful as it is (Well), we must walk on in the days ahead with an audacious faith in the future. (Well) And as we continue our charted course, we may gain consolation from the words so nobly left by that great black bard, who was also a great freedom fighter of yesterday, James Weldon Johnson (Yes):

Stony the road we trod (Yes),

Bitter the chastening rod

Felt in the days

When hope unborn had died. (Yes)

Yet with a steady beat,

Have not our weary feet

Come to the place

For which our fathers sighed?

We have come over a way

That with tears has been watered. (Well)

We have come treading our paths

Through the blood of the slaughtered.

Out from the gloomy past,

Till now we stand at last (Yes)

Where the bright gleam

Of our bright star is cast.

Let this affirmation be our ringing cry. (Well) It will give us the courage to face the uncertainties of the future. It will give our tired feet new strength as we continue our forward stride toward the city of freedom. (Yes) When our days become dreary with low-hovering clouds of despair (Well), and when our nights become darker than a thousand midnights (Well), let us remember (Yes) that there is a creative force in this universe working to pull down the gigantic mountains of evil (Well), a power that is able to make a way out of no way (Yes) and transform dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows. (Speak)

Let us realize that the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice. Let us realize that William Cullen Bryant is right: "Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again." Let us go out realizing that the Bible is right: "Be not deceived. God is not mocked. (Oh yeah) Whatsoever a man soweth (Yes), that (Yes) shall he also reap." This is our hope for the future, and with this faith we will be able to sing in some not too distant tomorrow, with a cosmic past tense, "We have overcome! (Yes) We have overcome! Deep in my heart, I did believe (Yes) we would overcome." [applause]

## Appendix D

### 'The Other America'

Mr. Bell, and members of the faculty and members of the student body of this great institution of learning, ladies and gentlemen. I have several things that one could talk about before such a large, concerned, and enlightened audience. There are so many problems facing our nation and our world, that one could just take off anywhere. But today, I would like to talk mainly about the race problem, since I have to rush right out and go to New York to talk about Vietnam tomorrow, and I've been talking about it a great deal this week and weeks before that. And I'd like to use as a subject from which to speak this afternoon, the other America. And I use this subject because there are literally two Americas. One America is beautiful for our situation. And in a sense, this America is overflowing with the miracle of prosperity and the honey of opportunity. This America is the habitat of millions of people who have food and material necessities for their bodies and culture and education for their minds, and freedom and human dignity for their spirit. In this America, millions of people experience every day the opportunity of having life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in all of their dimensions. And in this America, millions of young people grow up in the sunlight of opportunity. But tragically and unfortunately, there is another America. This other America has a daily ugliness about it that constantly transforms the buoyancy of hope into the fatigue of despair. In this America, millions of work-starved men walk the streets daily in search for jobs that do not exist. In this America, millions of people find themselves living in rat-infested, vermin-filled slums. In this America, people are poor by the millions. And they find themselves perishing on a lonely island of poverty, in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. In a sense, the greatest tragedy of this other America is what it does to other children. Little children in this other America are forced to grow up with clouds of inferiority, farming every day in their little mental skies. And as we look at this other America, we see it as an arena of blasted hopes and shattered dreams. Many people of various backgrounds live in this other America. Some are Mexican-American, some are Puerto Ricans, some are Indians, some happen to be from other groups, millions of them are Appalachian whites. Probably the largest group in this other America, in proportion to its size and the population is the American Negro. The American Negro finds himself living in a triple ghetto. A ghetto of race, a ghetto of poverty, ghetto- Is to deal with this problem, to deal with this problem of the two Americas. We are seeking to make America one nation, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. Now, let me say that the struggle for our civil rights and the struggle to make these two Americas one America is much more difficult today than it was five, 10 years ago. Fought about a decade or maybe 12 years. We've fought across the South, in various struggles to get rid of legal, overt segregation and all of the humiliation that surrounded that system of segregation. In a sense, this was a struggle for decency. We could not go to a lunch counter, in so many instances, and get a hamburger or a cup of coffee. We could not make use of public accommodations. Public transportation was segregated, and often we had to sit in the back. In transportation within cities, we often had to stand over empty seats because sections were reserved for whites only. We did not have the right to vote, in so many areas of the South. And the struggle was to deal with these problems. Certainly, they were difficult problems. They were humiliating conditions. By the thousands, we protested these conditions. We made it clear that it was ultimately more honorable to accept jail cell experiences than the accept segregation and humiliation. By the thousands, students and adults decided to sit in at segregated lunch counters, to protest conditions there. And when they were sitting at those lunch hours, they were, in reality, standing up for the best in the American dream and seeking to take the whole nation back to those great wells of democracy, which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Many things were gained, as a result of these years of struggle. In 1964, the Civil Rights Bill came into being. After the Birmingham Movement, which did a great deal to subpoena the conscience of a large segment of the nation, to appear before the judgment seat of morality on the whole question of civil rights. After the Selma Movement in 1965, we were able to get a voting rights bill. All of these things represented strides. But we must see that the struggle today is much more difficult. It's more difficult today because we are struggling now for genuine equality, and it's much easier to integrate a lunch counter than it is to guarantee a livable income and a good, solid job. It's much easier to guarantee the right to vote than it is to guarantee the right to live in sanitary, decent housing conditions. It is much easier to integrate a public park than it is to make genuine quality integrated

education a reality. And so today, we are struggling for something which says we demand genuine equality. It's not merely a struggle against extremist behavior toward Negroes. And I'm convinced that many of the very people who supported us in the struggle in the South are not willing to go all the way now. I came to see this in a very difficult and painful way in Chicago, over the last year, where I've lived and worked. Some of the people who came quickly to march with us in Selma and Birmingham weren't active around Chicago. And I came to see that so many people who supported morally and even financially what we were doing in Birmingham and Selma were really outraged against the extremist behavior of Bull Connor and Jim Clark toward Negroes, rather than believing in genuine equality for Negroes. And I think this is what we've got to see now, and this is what makes the struggle much more difficult. And so as a result of all of this, we see many problems existing today that are growing more difficult. It's something that is often overlooked, but Negroes generally live in worse slums today than 20 or 25 years ago. In the North, schools are more segregated today than they were in 1954, when the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation was rendered. Economically, the Negro is worse off today than he was 15 and 20 years ago. And so the unemployment rate among whites, at one time, was about the same as the unemployment rate among Negroes. But today, the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice that of whites. And the average income of the Negro is today 50% less than whites. And as we look at these problems, we see them growing and developing every day. We see the fact that the Negro economically is facing a Depression in his everyday life that is more staggering than the Depression of the '30s. The unemployment rate of the nation as a whole is about 4%. Statistics would say, from the Labor Department, that among Negroes, it's about 8.4%. But these are the persons who are in the labor market, who still go to employment agencies to seek jobs, and so they can be calculated. The statistics can be gotten because they are still somehow in the labor market. But there are hundreds of thousands of Negroes who have given up. They've lost hope. They've come to feel that life is a long and desolate corridor for them, with no exit sign. And so they no longer go to look for a job. There are those who would estimate that these persons who are called the discouraged persons would be 6% or 7% in the Negro community. And that means that unemployment among Negroes may well be 16%. And among Negro youth in some of our large urban areas, it goes to 30 and 40%. And so you can see what I mean when I say that in the Negro community, that is a major, tragic, and staggering Depression that we face in our everyday lives. Now the other thing that we've got to come to see now, that many others didn't see too well during the last 10 years, and that is that racism is still alive in American society, and much more widespread than we realize. And we must see racism for what it is. It is a myth of the superior and the inferior race. It is the false and tragic notion that one particular group, one particular race, is responsible for all of the progress, all of the insights in the total flow of history. And the theory that another group or another race is totally depraved, innately impure, and innately inferior. In the final analysis, racism is evil because its ultimate logic is genocide. Hitler was a sick and tragic man who carried racism to its logical conclusion, and he ended up leading a nation to the point of killing about six million Jews. And this is a tragedy of racism because its ultimate logic is genocide. If one says that I am not good enough to live next door to him, if one says that I am not good enough to eat at a lunch counter, to have a good, decent job or to go to school with him, merely because of my race, he is saying, consciously or unconsciously, that I do not deserve to exist. To use a philosophical analogy here, racism is not based on some empirical generalization. It is based, rather, on an ontological affirmation. It is not the assertion that certain people are behind, culturally or otherwise, because of environmental conditions. It is the affirmation that the very being of a people is inferior. And this is a great tragedy of it. I say that however unpleasant it is, we must honestly see and admit that racism is still deeply rooted all over America. It's still deeply rooted in the North, and it's still deeply rooted in the South. This leads me to say something about another discussion that we hit a great deal, and that is the so-called white backlash. I would like to honestly say to you that the white backlash is merely a new name for an old phenomenon. It's not something that just came into being because shouts of black power or because Negroes engaged in riots in Watts, for instance. The fact is that the state of California voted a fair housing bill out of existence before anybody shouted black power or before anybody rioted in Watts. It may well be that shouts of black power and riots in Watts and the Harlems and the other areas are the consequences of the white backlash, rather than the cause of them. What it is necessary to see is that there has never been a single, solid, monistic, determined commitment on the part of the vast majority of white Americans on the whole question of civil rights and on the whole question of racial equality. This is something that truth impels all men of goodwill to admit. It is said on the Statue of Liberty that America is a home of exiles. But it doesn't take us long to realize that America has been the home of its white exiles from Europe, but it has not evinced the same kind of maternal care and concern for its black exiles from Africa. And it is no wonder that in one of its sorrow songs, the Negro could sing out, "Sometimes I feel like a motherless child." What great estrangement, what great sense of rejection caused a people to emerge with such a metaphor, as they looked over their lives. What I'm trying to get across is that our nation has constantly taken a positive step forward on the question of racial justice and racial equality. But over and over again, at the same time, it made certain backwards

steps. And this has been the persistence of the so-called white backlash. In 1863, the Negro was freed from the bondage of physical slavery. But at the same time, the nation refused to give him land to make that freedom meaningful. And at that same period, America was giving millions of acres of land in the West and the Midwest, which meant that America was willing to undergird its white peasants from Europe with an economic flower that would make it possible to grow and develop, and refused to give that economic flower to its black peasants, so to speak. And this is why Frederick Douglass could say that emancipation for the Negro was freedom to hunger, freedom to the winds and rains of heaven, freedom without roofs to cover their heads. He went on to say that it was freedom without bread to eat, freedom without land to cultivate. It was freedom and famine at the same time, but it does not stop there. In 1875, the nation passed a civil rights bill and refused to enforce it. In 1964, the nation passed a weaker civil rights bill, and even to this day, that bill has not been totally enforced in all of its dimensions. The nation heralded a new day of concern for the poor, for the poverty-stricken, for the disadvantaged, and brought into being a poverty bill. But at the same time, it put such little money into the program that it was hardly and still remains hardly a good skirmish against poverty. White politicians in suburbs talk eloquently against open housing, and in the same breath, contend that they are not racist. And all of this, and all of these things, tell us that America has been back lashing on the whole question of basic constitutional and God-given rights for Negroes and other disadvantaged groups for more than 300 years. So these conditions, persistence of widespread poverty, of slums and of tragic conditions in schools and in other areas of life, all of these things have brought about a great deal of despair and a great deal of desperation, a great deal of disappointment and even bitterness in the Negro communities. Today, all of our cities confront huge problems. All of our cities are potentially powder kegs, as a result of the continued existence of these conditions. Many, in moments of anger, many, in moments of deep bitterness, engage in riots. Let me say, as I've always said, and I will always continue to say, that riots are socially destructive and self-defeating. I'm still convinced that nonviolence is the most potent weapons available to oppress people in their struggle for freedom and justice. I feel that violence will only create more social problems than they will solve, that in a real sense, it is impractical for the Negro to even think of mounting a violent revolution in the United States. So I will continue to condemn riots and continue to say to my brothers and sisters that this is not the way. Continue to affirm that there is another way. But at the same time, it is as necessary for me to be as vigorous in condemning the conditions which cause persons to feel that they must engage in riotous activities, as it is for me to condemn riots. I think America must see that riots do not develop out of thin air. Certain conditions continue to exist in our society, which must be condemned as vigorously as we condemn riots. And in the final analysis, a riot is the language of the unheard. And what is it that America has failed to hear? It has failed to hear that the plight of the Negro poor has worsened over the last few years. It has failed to hear that the promises of freedom and justice have not been met. And it has failed to hear that large segments of white society are more concerned about tranquility and the status quo than about justice, equality, and humanity. So in a real sense, our nation's summer's riots are caused by our nation's winters of delay. And as long as America postpones justice, we stand in the position of having these recurrences of violence and riots over and over again. Social justice and progress are the absolute guarantors of riot prevention. Now, let me go on to say that, if we are to deal with all of the problems that I've talked about, that we are to bring America to the point that we have one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, there are certain things that we must do. The job ahead must be massive and positive. We must develop massive action programs all over the United States of America, in order to deal with the problems that I have mentioned. Now, in order to develop these massive action programs, we've got to get rid of one or two false notions that continue to exist in our society. One is the notion that only time can solve the problem of racial injustice. I'm sure you've heard this idea. It is the notion almost that there is something in the very flow of time that will miraculously cure all evils. And I have heard this over and over again. There are those, and they're often sincere people, that will say to Negroes and their allies in the white community, that we should slow up and just be nice and patient and continue to pray. And in 100 or 200 years, the problem will work itself out because only time can solve the problem. I think there is an answer to that myth, and it is that time is neutral. It can be used either constructively or destructively. And I'm absolutely convinced that the forces of ill will in our nation, the extreme rightists in our nation, have often used time much more effectively than the forces of goodwill, and it may well be that we will have to repent in this generation, not merely for the vitriolic words of the bad people and the violent actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence and indifference of the good people, who sit around and say, wait on time. Somewhere, we must come to see that social progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and the persistent work of dedicated individuals, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of social stagnation. And so we must have time, and we must realize that the time is always right to do right. Now, there's another notion that gets out. It's around everywhere. It's in the South, it's in the North, it's in California and all over our nation. It's the notion that legislation can't solve the problem, it can't do anything in this area. And those who project this argument, contend that you've got



to change the heart, and that you can't change the heart through legislation. Now, I'll be the first one to say that there is real need for a lot of heart changing in our country. And I believe in changing the heart. I preach about it. I believe in the need for conversion, in many instances, and regeneration, to use theological terms. And I would be the first to say that if the race problem in America is to be solved, the white person must treat the Negro right, not merely because the law says it, but because it's natural. Because it's right. And because the Negro is his brother. And so I realize that if we are to have a truly integrated society, men and women will have to rise to the majestic heights of being obedient to the unenforceable. But after saying this, let me say another thing, which gives the other side. And that is that although it may be true that morality cannot be legislated, behavior can be regulated. Even though it may be true that the law cannot change the heart, it can restrain the harvest. Even though it may be true that the law cannot make a man love me, it can restrain him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important also. And so while the law may not change the hearts of men, it can and it does change the habits of men. And when you begin to change the habits of men, pretty soon the attitudes will be changed. Pretty soon, the hearts will be changed. I am convinced that we still need strong civil rights legislation. And there's a bill before Congress right now to have a national, federal open housing bill. A federal law declaring discrimination in housing unconstitutional. And also a bill to make the administration of justice real, all over our country. Now, nobody can doubt the need for this. Nobody can doubt the need, if he thinks about the fact that since 1963, some 58 Negroes and white civil rights workers have been brutally murdered in the state of Mississippi alone, and not a single person has been convicted for these dastardly crimes. There have been some indictments, but no one has been convicted. And so there is a need with the whole question of the administration of justice. There is a need for our fair housing laws all over our country. And it is tragic, indeed, that Congress, last year, allowed this bill to die. When that bill died in Congress, a bit of democracy died, a bit of our commitment to justice died. If it happens again in this session of Congress, a greater degree of our commitment to democratic principles will die. I can see no more dangerous trend in our country, than the constant developing of predominantly Negro-central cities, ringed by white suburbs. This is only inviting social disaster. And the only way this problem will be solved is by the nation taking a strong stand and by state governments taking a strong stand against housing segregation and against discrimination in all of these areas. Now, there's another thing that I'd like to mention, as I talk about the massive action program, and time will not permit me to go into specific programmatic action to any great degree. But it must be realized now that the Negro cannot solve the problem by himself. There again, there are those who always say to Negroes, why don't you do something for yourself? Why don't you lift yourselves by your own bootstraps? And we hear this over and over again. Now certainly, there are many things that we must do for ourselves, and that only we can do for ourselves. Certainly, we must develop within a sense of dignity and self-respect that nobody else can give us, a sense of manhood, a sense of personhood, a sense of not being ashamed of our heritage, not being ashamed of our color. It was wrong and tragic that the Negro ever allowed himself to be ashamed of the fact that he was black, or ashamed of the fact that his ancestral home was Africa. And so there's a great deal that the Negro can do to develop self-respect. There is a great deal that the Negro must do and can do to amass political and economic power within his own community and by using his own resources. And so we must do certain things for ourselves, but this must not negate the fact and cause the nation to overlook the fact that the Negro cannot solve the problem himself. Man was on the plane with me some weeks ago, and he came and talked with me, and he said, "The problem, Dr. King, that I see with what you all are doing is that every time I see you and other Negroes, you are protesting. And you aren't doing anything for yourselves." And he went on to tell me that he was very poor at one time, and he was able to make it by doing something for himself. "Why don't you teach your people," he said, "to lift themselves by their own bootstraps." And then he went on to say other groups are faced disadvantages, the Irish, the Italians, and he went down the line. And I said to him that it does not help the Negro, it only deepens his frustration, for unfeeling, insensitive people to say to him that other ethnic groups who migrated, are immigrants to this country that's 100 years ago or so, have gotten beyond him, and he came here some 344 years ago. I went on to remind him the Negro came to this country involuntarily, in chains, while others came voluntarily. I went on to remind him that no other racial group has been a slave on American soil. I went on to remind him that the other problem that we have faced over the years is that the society placed a stigma on the color of the Negro, on the color of his skin. Because he was black, doors were closed to him that would not close to other groups. And need to say to people that you are to lift yourself by your own bootstraps, but it is to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps. And the fact is that millions of Negroes, as a result of centuries of denial and neglect, have been left bootless. And they find themselves impoverished aliens in this affluent society. And there is a great deal that the society can and must do, if the Negro is to gain the economic security that he needs. Now, one of the answers, it seems to me, is a guaranteed annual income, a guaranteed minimum income for all people and for all families of our country. It seems to me that the civil rights movement must now begin to organize for the guaranteed annual income, begin to organize people all over our country and mobilize forces, so that we

can bring to the attention of our nation, this need and this something which I believe will go a long, long way toward dealing with the Negro's economic problem and the economic problem with many other poor people confronting our nation. Now, I said I wasn't going to talk about Vietnam, but I can't make a speech without mentioning some of the problems that we face there, because I think this world has diverted attention from civil rights. It has strengthened the forces of reaction in our country, and it's brought to the forefront the military industrial complex that even President Eisenhower warned us against at one time. But one of the greatest things that this war is doing to us in civil rights is that it is allowing the great society to be shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam every day. And I submit, this afternoon, that we can end poverty in the United States. Our nation has the resources to do it. National gross product of America will rise to the astounding figure of some 780 billion dollars this year. We have the resources. The question is whether the nation has the will. And I submit that if we can spend 35 billion dollars a year to fight an ill-considered war in Vietnam and 20 billion dollars to put a man on the moon, our nation can spend billion of dollars on their own two feet, right here on earth. Let me say another thing that's more in the realm of the spirit, I guess. That is if we are to go on in the days ahead and make true brotherhood a reality, it is necessary for us to realize, more than ever before, that the destinies of the Negro and the white man are tied together. Now, there's still a lot of people who don't realize this. The racists still don't realize this, but it is a fact now that Negroes and whites are tied together, and we need each other. The Negro needs the white man to save him from his fears, the white man needs the Negro to save him from his guilt. We are tied together in so many ways, our language, our music, our cultural patterns, our material prosperity, and even our food are an amalgam of black and white. And so there can be no separate black path to power and fulfillment that does not intersect white routes. There can be no separate white path to power and fulfillment, short of social disaster. It does not recognize the need of sharing that power with black aspirations for freedom and justice. We must come to see now that integration is not merely a romantic or aesthetic something, where you merely add color to a still predominantly white power structure. Integration must be seen also in political terms, where there is shared power, and where black men and white men share power together, to build a new and a great nation. In a real sense, we're all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. John Donne placed it years ago in graphic terms, no man is an island, entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. And he goes on toward the end to say any man's death diminishes me because I'm involved in mankind. Therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee. And so we all in the same situation, the salvation of the Negro will mean the salvation of the white man, and the destruction of the life of the ongoing progress of the Negro will be the destruction of ongoing progress of the nation. Now, let me say, finally, that we have difficult days ahead. But I haven't despair. Somehow, I maintain hope in spite of hope, and I've talked about the difficulties and how hard the problems will be, as we tackle them. But I want to close by saying this afternoon that I still have faith in the future. And I still believe that these problems can be solved. And so I will not join anyone who will say that we still can't develop a coalition of conscience. I realize and understand the discontent and the agony and the disappointment, and even the bitterness of those who feel that whites in America cannot be trusted. And I would be the first to say that there are all too many who are still guided by the racist ethos. And I am still convinced that there are still many white persons of goodwill. And I'm happy to say that I see them every day in the student generation, who cherish democratic principles and justice above principle, and who will stick with the cause of justice and the cause of civil rights and the cause of peace throughout the days ahead. And so I refuse to despair. I think we are going to achieve our freedom because however much America strays away from the ideals of justice, the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up in the destiny of America. Before the Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. Before the beautiful words of the Star Spangled Banner were written, we were here. For more than two centuries, our forebears labored here without wages. They made cotton kings. They built the homes of their masters, in the midst of the most humiliating and oppressive conditions. Yet out of a bottomless vitality, they continued to grow and develop. I say that if the inexpressible cruelties of slavery couldn't stop us, the opposition that we now face, including the so-called white backlash, will surely fail. We're going to win our freedom. Because both the sacred heritage of our nation and the will of the Almighty God are embodied in our echoing demands. And so I can still sing we shall overcome. We shall overcome because somehow the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice. We shall overcome because Carlisle is right. No lie can live forever. We shall overcome because William Cullen Bryant is right. Truth crushed to earth will rise again. We shall overcome because James Russell Lowell is right. Truth forever on the scaffold wronged, forever on the throne. Yet that scaffold sways the future. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair, a stone of hope, this faith. We will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nations into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to speed up the day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be

able to join hands and live together as brothers and sisters, all over this great nation. That will be a great day. That will be a great tomorrow. In the word sure to speak symbolically, that will be the day when the morning stars will sing together and the sons of God will shout for joy. Thank you.

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