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EBONY

SPECIAL SECTION:

THE LIVING KING

AMERICAN BLACK ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS:

**EBONY Honors The
Brightest and Best**

- THE REAL MEANING OF THE KING HOLIDAY
- THE LEGACY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. *by Coretta King*
- HIS SISTER RECALLS 'THE YOUNG MARTIN'
- MEMORABLE PHOTOS FROM THE KING YEARS
- 10 TELL WHAT HE STILL MEANS TO THEM



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teach one to think intensively and to think critically. But education which stops with efficiency may prove the greatest menace to society. The most dangerous criminal may be the man gifted with reason, but with no morals. . . . We must remember that intelligence is not enough. Intelligence plus character—this is the goal of true education.

EXCELLENCE

Doors are opening now that were not open in the past, and the great challenge facing minority groups is to be ready to enter these doors as they open. No greater tragedy can befall minority groups at this hour than to allow new opportunities to emerge, without the concomitant preparedness and readiness to meet them.

Whatever your life's work is, do it well. . . . If it falls your lot to be a street sweeper, sweep streets like Michelangelo painted pictures, like Shakespeare wrote poetry, like Beethoven composed music; sweep streets so well that all the host of Heaven and earth will have to pause and say, "Here lived a great street sweeper, who swept his job well."

HOPE

Only when it is dark enough, can you see the stars.

The universe is on the side of justice. . . . There is something in this universe that justifies Carlyle in saying, "No lie can live forever." There is something in this universe which justifies William Cullen Bryant in saying, "Truth crushed to the earth will rise again." There is something in this universe that justifies James Russell Lowell in saying:

*Truth forever on the scaffold
Wrong forever on the throne
Yet that scaffold sways the future
And behind the dim unknown stands
God
Within the shadows keeping watch
above his own.*

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

A man who won't die for *something* is not fit to live.

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

If you can't fly, run. If you can't run,

walk. If you can't walk, crawl. But by all means *keep moving*.

INTEGRATION

When I speak of integration, I don't mean a romantic mixing of colors, I mean a real sharing of power and responsibility.

LOVE

When I say love those who oppose you I am not speaking of love in a sentimental or affectionate sense. It would be nonsense to urge men to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. When I refer to love at this point I mean understanding good will.

NONVIOLENCE

Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both impractical and immoral. It is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind. It is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to annihilate rather than to convert. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. . . . It creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers.

Nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends.

As much as I deplore violence, there is one evil that is worse than violence, and that's cowardice.

PEACE

True peace is not merely the absence of some negative force—confusion, tension, war—but the presence of some positive force—justice, good will, brotherhood.

In a day when Sputniks and Explorers are dashing through outer space, and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can win a war. The choice is no longer between violence and nonviolence; it is either nonviolence or nonexistence.

The Negro must not allow himself to

become a victim of the self-serving philosophy of those who manufacture war that the survival of the world is the white man's business alone.

I've fought too long and too hard now against segregated accommodations to end up segregating my moral concerns.

POLITICS

One of the chief weapons of the Negro is the ballot. None of these other things means much unless we also get the power of the ballot.

RACISM

In indicting white America for its ingrained and tenacious racism, I am using the term "white" to describe the majority, not *all* who are white. We have found that there are many white people who clearly perceive the justice of the Negro struggle for human dignity. . . . Yet the largest part of white America is still poisoned by racism, which is as native to our soil as pine trees, sagebrush and buffalo grass.

STRUGGLE

We know from painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor. It must be demanded by the oppressed.

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

WHITE AMERICANS

We are fighting for the white man as well as the Negro. We want to improve him, too. The truth is that segregation limits the Negro and the white man.

The Negro community cannot win this victory alone; indeed, it would be an empty victory if the Negroes *could* win it alone. Intelligent men of good will everywhere must see this as their task and contribute to its support.

In the final analysis the white man cannot ignore the Negro's problem, because he is a part of the Negro and the Negro is a part of him. The Negro's agony diminishes the white man, and the Negro's salvation enlarges the white man.

Readers interested in additional insights from Martin Luther King Jr. should consult the King books listed on page 26 and the authoritative book, *The Words of Martin Luther King Jr.* (Newmarket Press), edited by Coretta Scott King.