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A Quest for Inclusion in American Politics: Reading Speeches of Martin Luther King,

Jr.

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Letter of Recommendation

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Letter of Approval

This thesis entitled "A Quest for Inclusion in American Politics: Reading Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr." has been submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University by Bhagabat Paudel. It has approved the undersigned members of the Research Committee

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Abstract

This research draws on the theory and practice of anti-racial literary criticism, spearheaded by Paul Kevel, Thomas Jefferson, Shelby Steele, Abraham Lincoln, Genovese, Barack Obama etc. critically to analyze the speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr. The thrust of the research lies in its treatment as an embodiment of the horror, racial disharmony prevalent in America. Despite the civil war, two parallel universes of discourses that exist between the black and white communities, American political discourse refuse to accept the fact that the issue of the race is at the heart of its politics. There is discrimination, stigmatization and inequalities among the races. So, Martin Luther King articulates a quest of democracy that serves to confront and overcome injustices and foresees a platform for racial reconciliation among the communities in his speeches which ultimately transcend race as a pivotal issue in the American politics and society.

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I. Introduction

Martin Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929–April 4, 1968), a leader in the American Civil Rights Movement, became a civil rights activist early in his career. He led the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955–6) and founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1957). Serving, as its first president, his efforts led to the 1963 march on Washington where King delivered his 'I Have A Dream' speech. He raised public consciousness for the Civil Rights Movement and established himself as one of the greatest orators in US history. In 1964, King became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for his work to end segregation and racial discrimination through civil disobedience and non-violent means. His trip to India built a resistance and a commitment to the movement in a non-violence way.

He was dedicated to Gandhi's principle of non-violence. He had refocused his efforts on ending poverty from a religious perspective. King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee. He was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1977. Henry A. Giroux and Susan Searls comments that writing a year before he was assassinated, Martin Luther King, Jr. was keenly aware that the reality of racism was at odds with the principle of democracy. *Race talk and 'the Bell curve' Debate: The crisis of Democratic Vision*, taken from cultural critique, comes to outline King's vision as:

He recognized that the most explosive issue facing white America was its refusal to address its role in a history steeped in racial oppression a history of middle passage, slavery southern reconstruction, segregation, and urban utilization that has crippled the nation since its inception. Bearing witness to centuries of oppression King consistently sought to make visible the ways in which White racism was invariably

reproduced through a crisis of leadership in which white America could neither confront the legacy of its white supremacist doctrines nor, when individual conscience burned, take a firm and unequivocal moral stand against racial injustice. (qtd. in Giroux et al. 6)

With a torrent of African-American protests and leadership King seems to avoid follower of the racial emancipation. Whereas King's position in American politics is at its best remembered for his contribution in Black Emancipation, his voice incessantly gives rise of racial reconciliation.

It is arguable that Dr Martin Luther King, Jr's oratory and personal presence brought African Americans demands to the top of the nation's political agenda. Aristotle's thought on public speech and deliberation will hopefully illustrate, as King's speech was persuasive because it combined the elements of ethos, pathos, and logos. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle defines rhetorical discourse as the part of "discovering all the valuable means of persuasion in any given case" (Abraham, 180). Triadafilas writes, in *Politics, Speech and the art of Persuasion: Toward an Aristotelian concept of the Public Sphere*, three elements enter into the ability to persuade. He quotes Aristotle as:

It is not true as some writers assume in their treatise on rhetoric that the personal goodness revealed by the speaker contributes nothing to his power of persuasion on the contrary his character may all most be called the most effective means of persuasion he possesses. Secondly, persuasion may come through the nearer, when the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of persuasive argument suitable to the case in questions. (5)

It is obvious that political speech primarily concerns to audience because it deals with their common problem. Political speech is future oriented subject matter that spans the full range of domestic and international issues. Citizens share some "responsibility in deliberating" (Triadafilas,7) on these issues this joining of speech and deliberation links rhetoric to politics and constitutes the nexus of Aristotelian democratic will formation.

King was able to recognize and take advantage of emotions such as indignation shame, pity and anger. King's speech provides us with an excellent example of how the claim for justice can be presented persuasively. Speaker's ability can move the audience emotionally through the rhetorical speech. King's use of rhetorical speech is to illustrate the advantages of Aristotelian persuasion. Deliberate and agonistic forms of public speech for Aristotle seem valuable sources for contemporary theorists of the public sphere. Aristotle recognizes that persuasive political speech is reasonable, passionate and reflective of the character of the speaker.

King had a rich legacy of sermons and speeches. His writing style was slightly more formalized version of his platform style. The emotional power that is the trademark of the Negro sermon while he overcomes the flaws that hinder the utility of the sermon in the political and literary spheres. The traditional Negro sermon was derived largely from the preaching. Although loosely based on a Biblical theme, this kind of preaching emphasizes an emotional arousal to such a degree that the theme itself is relatively unimportant. Rhythm and cadence almost unaided achieve the desired effect. He develops the message through repetition. The sermon is based on a formulaic method that employs such devices as repetitive refrains and recurrent rhetorical questions, formalized dialogue, narrative etc. The rhythm thus established is

all-important. "The rhythm is the message; congregations have been moved to ecstasy by the rhythmic chanting of incoherencies"(Mott, 413). The rhetoric of Martin Luther King, Jr., avoiding its main weakness: a self-contained emotionalism that historically has encouraged the aloofness of blacks from social reform. Old-time preaching is characterized as [...] "a recurrent structural pattern in the sermons: (1) an introduction to establish a common ground of religious feeling among the audience or to establish rapport between speaker and audience; (2) a statement of the text which, of course, is almost always drawn from the Bible; (3) the body of the sermon which consists of repeated emotional climaxes; and (4) the conclusion, which resolves the emotional tension aroused by the sermon by drawing the sinners to God". (413)

It justifies the treating of the sermons as an art form. It is a measure of the artistic control that King exerts over. He creates a vivid persona aimed at arousing the sympathy of the audience. The ideal old-time preacher is a majestic, imposing figure; but King's projection of the image of a meek, suffering prisoner effectively strikes an appropriate rapport with his audience.

King remarks that the color line would emerge as the problem of the 20th century America. He had the elaborate tapestry of Jim Crow segregation in mind although one might argue that other nightmares ultimately defined the century: the Holocaust precipitated by Nazism, Staline's vision, the specter of nuclear inihilation, and host of other threats, environmental, social , economic, and civic- that continue to sound ugly alarms. King challenged 1960s White America to enact the role of a transhistorical American people guided in its contemprrory social ,political, economic practices by the founding commitment to equality as the motivating term for its national constitution African-American history is the portion of American history . Most African-Americans are the descendants of captive Africans held in the United

States from 1619 to 1865. Others who are considered African American by the US government include voluntary immigrants from Africa, South America, and the Caribbean who self identify as being of African descent. The majority of African Americans descend from slaves who were either sold as prisoners of war by African states or kidnapped directly by Europeans and Americans. The existing market for slaves in Africa was tapped into by European powers in need of labor for plantations.

The later half of the 18th century was a time of political upheaval in the United States. In the midst of cries for relief from British tyranny and oppression, several people pointed out the apparent hypocrisies of slave holders demanding freedom. The Declaration of Independence, a document that would become a manifesto for human rights and personal freedom. The considered freeing slaves to disrupt British commerce. They also removed language that included the promotion of slavery amongst the offenses of King George III. A number of free Blacks, most notably Prince Hall submitted petitions for the end of slavery. But these petitions were largely ignored.

The American Civil War (1861–1865) was also known as the war between the States. Eleven Southern slave states declared their secession from the U.S. and formed the Confederate States of America (the Confederacy). Led by Jefferson Davis, they fought against the U.S. federal government (the Union), which was supported by all the free states and the five slaveholding border states.

In the presidential election of 1860, led by Abraham Lincoln, had campaigned against the expansion of slavery beyond the states in which it already existed. The Republican victory in that election resulted in seven Southern states declaring their secession from the Union even before. Lincoln took office on March 4, 1861. Both the outgoing and incoming U.S. administrations rejected secession, regarding it as

rebellion. In September 1862, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation made ending slavery in the South a war goal, which complicated the Confederacy's manpower shortage. Lincoln was highly praised for freeing Blacks in the Reconstruction period. He gave freedom without any chance to live themselves. Blacks still had to depend on Whites on food, cloths, work, etc. however, the situation was little better than slavery. The freedom strengthened the African-american family ties. Lincoln's Reconstruction plan was further illustrated by the Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts summarized their position as: "[congress] must see to it that the man made free by the constitution is a freeman indeed; that he can go where he pleases... go into the schools and education himself and his children... and he walks the earth proud and erect in the conscious dignity of a free man". Although the Constitution banned the importation of new African slaves in 1808. In 1820, slave trade was equated with piracy, punishable by death, the practice of chattel slavery still existed for the next half century. All slaves in only the areas of the Confederate States of America that were not under direct control of the United States government were declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation. It should be noted that the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to areas loyal to, or controlled by, the Union, thus the document only freed slaves where the Union still had not regained the legitimacy to do so. Slavery was not actually abolished in the United States until the passage of the 13th Amendment which was declared ratified on December 6, 1865.

The American Civil Rights Movement refers to the reform movements in the United States aimed at abolishing racial discrimination against African Americans and restoring suffrage in Southern states. By 1966, the emergence of the Black Power Movement, which lasted roughly from 1966 to 1975, enlarged the aims of the Civil Rights Movement to include racial dignity, economic and political self-sufficiency, and

freedom from White domination. Many of those who were most active in the Civil Rights Movement, with organizations such as SNCC, CORE and SCLC, prefer the term 'Southern Freedom Movement' because the struggle was about far more than just civil rights under law; it was also about fundamental issues of freedom, respect, dignity, and economic and social equality.

The movement struggled to end race discrimination through litigation, education, and lobbying efforts. Its crowning achievement was its legal victory in the Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) that rejected separate white and colored school systems and by implication overturned the separate but equal doctrine. Since the situation for blacks outside the South was somewhat better from 1910-1970, African Americans sought better lives by migrating North and West in the millions, a huge population movement collectively known as the Great Migration.

During the period (1955-1968), acts of civil disobedience produced crisis situations between protesters and government authorities. The authorities of federal, state, and local governments often had to respond immediately to crisis situations which highlighted the inequities faced by African Americans.

Forms of civil disobedience included [Montgomery Bus Boycott](#) (1955-1956) in Alabama, [Selma To Montgomery Marches](#) (1965) in Alabama. Noted legislative achievements during this phase of the Civil Rights Movement were passage of [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#), that banned discrimination in employment practices and public accommodations; the [Voting Rights Act of 1965](#), that restored and protected voting rights; the Immigration and Nationality Services Act of 1965, that dramatically opened entry to the U.S. to immigrants other than traditional European groups.

II. Theoretical Modality

Race, a term for the classification of human beings, refers to the physically, biologically and genetically distinct groups that has the notion of the humanity which is divided into unchanging natural types and physical features transmitted through the blood. As defined in *Webster's New College Dictionary* on race is " any of the different varieties or populations of human beings distinguished by a) physical traits such as hair, eyes, skin color, body shapes, etc.... b) blood types c) genetic code patterns d) all their inheritance characteristics which are unique to their isolated breeding population". Race, at its most basic level, can be defined as "[...] a concept that signifies and symbolizes socio-political conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies. Although the concept of race appeals to biologically based human characteristics (phenotypes), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification" (winant, 172) is always and necessarily a social and historical process.

There is no biological basis for distinguishing human groups along the lines of race, and the socio-historical categories employed to differentiate among these groups reveal themselves upon serious examination to be imprecise if not completely arbitrary. Race was, first used in English language in 1508 by a poet William Dunbar during seventh century categorizing largely on facial character and skin colour. Race was investigated with anthrop-motive perspective during the most energetic period of imperial explanation in the last decades of the 19th century. While discussing on the issue of race, one of the prominent critics who discusses on the topic of race and its relation with the American population living in different racial inheritance that began before the colonization. (Ashroft,195). To state his stance over the issue he writes as:

Race is particularly permitted to the rise of colonialism, because the division of human society in this was is inextricable from the need of colonist power to establish dominance over subject people and justify imperial enterprises. Race thinking and colonist enterprises are imbued with the same impetuous to draw binary distinction between civilized and primitive and the same necessarily for the hierarchization. (198)

Race has been applied since the beginning of the colonialism, which brought the human society divided in the way of ruling the subject. This also means to state that the colonizers divided human society so as to rule the colonized people with hard and fast dominance. Since the establishment of race and its practice seemed to have begun. In this respect, it has adapted to both impulses of the imperial mission dominance and enlightenment thus resume can be defined as a concept of superior and inferior racial group, which have a constant physical characteristic, reflected on their psychological and mental characteristic. E. Sreedharan writes in *A Textbook of Historiography*:

The determining factor in the history is the race. The recognition that civilization differs because human nature is not uniform was an important advance made by Herder in the understanding of history. Human thought and behavior do not conform to a uniform pattern throughout the world and throughout the historical periods. It clearly meant that different ages and different peoples should not be judged from contemporary moral and cultural standpoints. But the game was only partial, for the racial conception of diversity of cultures was not genuinely historical. (133)

As he says the race played a great role of demarcation in the European history. The beginning of the civilization is along race. Human nature, thought and behavior do not fix to a single structure throughout the world various historical eras.

Segregation is the deadly effect of racism. African-Americans compared to Whites coupled with the racial residential segregation, have directed attention to the structural manifestations of racism as potentially important pathogens. A distinctive characteristic of residential patterns in the United States is the high degree of clustering of households based on race. Both the origins and persistence of residential segregation in the United States reflect the successful implementation of individual and institutional discrimination rooted in racism. A key characteristic of racial prejudice is an explicit desire to maintain social distance from defined out groups traces the development of deliberate policies that would create racial residential segregation and shows that the desire to avoid social contact with blacks, driven by an ideology of black inferiority, was a driving force behind the development of deliberate policies that would create racial residential segregation. A complex web of discrimination involving cooperative efforts by the real estate industry, federal housing policy, banking institutions, and vigilant neighborhood organizations ensured that blacks were restricted in housing choices to the least desirable residential areas. Therefore it has a pervasive and has devastating effects. People of the color are blamed for the social problem and attacked in all fronts. Prejudice is certainly one result of racism and it fuels of violent towards the people of color. It is the institutilization of social justice and based on the skin color, other physical characteristics, and culture and religious differences. Paul Kevil states racism as:

Racism is based on the conception – as powerful fiction enforced by power and violence. Whiteness is constantly shifting boundary

separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being White. Racism itself is a long-standing characteristic of many human societies. Justifying exploitation and violence against other people because they are "inferior" or different has a long history within Greek, Roman and European Christian traditions. (17)

The excerpt demonstrates a complex interplay of the race, which has neither psychological nor biological reality, and which carried great emotional import to 'White' people and devastating consequences to 'people of color'. It is not more than violence and exploitation against people.

Culture of a particular era was basically determined by the race not rather by the moral and cultural aspects. Race in the time of neocolonialism seems vague than it was at the beginning of the history of European imperialism. The concept of equality starts from the concept of *melting pot* in America. The myth of melting pot predates the drafting of the US constitution. Then America immigrants took as new identity with a new set of cultural myths equal members with all the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of their fellow citizens Crèvecoeur in this regards envision as:

What then is the American this new man he is neither an European or the descendant of an European ...He is an American who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced the new government he obeys and the new rank he holds here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world, however, the myths promise that all Americans has opens harmony, unity and equality were deceptive

from the beginning the force of the melting pot seems to lie in this implied promise that all Americans are indeed "created equal". The fear of difference underlies another equally powerful American myth the myth of racial supremacy he in this regard illustrates instead of the equal and harmony blending of cultural it proposes a racial and ethnic hierarchy based on the 'natural superiority' of Anglo American. Under the sway of this myth, differences become signs of inferiority and 'inferiors' are treated as childlike or subhuman. (509)

American is the pure one who reforms the old dead habits and adopts new one from the new mode of life. The duty of the new government was to assure his fellow citizens harmony, brotherhood, integration and equality. The contributions will one-day cause a change in the US history as well the history of the world. But the myth of racial supremacy imposes the colour hegemony among the people. This concept valorizes the class of ruler and ruling. One group came in the canonical political stream where as another fall behind its periphery that were treated as subhuman or the slave of the former. In Du Bois view it was precisely race that would become a problem for the metropolis of modernity the problem of the twentieth century, he said, "Is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race [...] are going to be made hereafter the basis of denying to over half the world the right sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privilege of modern civilization. (Waugh 374)

The racism and racial conflict in American history comes to focus when Thomas Jefferson opines an ambiguous expression of myth of racial supremacy he quotes Jefferson as "[...] blacks are inferior to whites in the endowments both of body

and mind they should be prevented from intermarrying and "staining the blood of the superior race" (530).

It is believed that Black Americans have failed to seize opportunities that would lead to social equality one apparent question here seems is that why black and white American have not been able to sustain the kind of dialogue that would make mutual understanding possible Steele in "*I am Black, You're White, Who's Innocent?*" explore how the blacks law claim to their racial innocence. He illustrates as:

The most obvious and unarguable source of black innocence is the victimization that blacks endured for centuries at the hands of a race that insisted on black inferiority as a means to its own innocence and own power. Like, all victims what blacks lost in power they gained in innocence -innocence that, in turn, entitled them to pursue power this was the innocence that fueled the and that gave blacks their first real power in American life -victimization metamorphosed into power via innocence". (620)

The apparent problem he finds the Blacks are also responsible for this ongoing discrimination and exploitation. Along with the history they kept on enduring the injustices and the prejudices. Because of their honesty and the lack of tactfulness lost the basic rights and the practices. The Civil War was the first step, which fueled Black Americans to protest for real power for the first time. What both Black and White American fear are the sacrifices and risks that true racial harmony demands. This fear seems to be the measure of the racial chasm. It ultimately evokes the issue of democracy and its practices.

There is no universally accepted definition of democracy. The two principles that any definition of democracy includes are; all member of the society (citizens)

have equal access to power and the member (citizens) enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties. There are several varieties of democracy, some of which provide better representation and more freedom for their citizens than others.

Democracy is a form of government in which citizens hold power indirectly in a free electoral system. It is derived from the Greek word, which means popular government. Democracy has its origins in Ancient Greece. However, other cultures have significantly contributed to the evolution of democracy such Ancient India, Ancient Rome, Europe, North and South America. Most authors of the traditional authoritative canon of western political theory have either ignored democracy or criticized it. For Plato in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Democracy* "[...] means the rule of license in which all passion of soul indiscriminately has their way. Aristotle viewed democracy in slightly more favorable light... mixture and oligarchy as best practicable regime because polity checks the tendency of the rich few to exploit the many poor as well the tendency of the many poor to exploit the few who are rich". (132) Democracy has been called the "last form of government" and has spread considerably across the globe. In political theory, democracy describes a small number of related forms of government. In this regard Michael Doyle in *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts* opines "the law, free speech, and other civil liberties, private property and elected representation are fundamentally against war" are some of the strategies of the democracy in the contemporary worldwide context. He further states as:

Furthermore, citizen appreciates that the benefits of trade can be enjoyed only under the condition of peace. Thus every existence of the liberal states, such as the Japan, US, and the European democracies, make for peace...Realists contest the connection between peace and

liberalism and the alleged monopolization of peace, liberty and democracy by the liberals. It claims to liberty and democracy. (22)

Promoting freedom can only produce peace which can only make a foundation of a respect for the individual liberty and new hopes for the more stable, more opportunities and more prosperous America. However, if any democracy is not carefully legislated to avoid an uneven distribution of political power with balances, such as the separation of powers, then a branch of the system of rule could accumulate power and become harmful to the democracy itself. The majority rule is often described as a characteristic feature of democracy, but without responsible government it is possible for the rights of a minority to be abused by the tyranny of the majority. Furthermore, freedom of political expression, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are essential. Popular sovereignty is common but not a universal motivating philosophy for establishing a democracy. In some countries, democracy is based on the philosophical principle of equal rights. In the United States, separation of powers is often cited as a supporting attribute.

In this stand, Jefferson in "The Declaration of Independence" depicts the fundamental premises of democracy. He announced and defended the colonies decision to throw off British rule he found it is a political right to dissolve the political bonds, which have connected them with another. He finds:

"[...] these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that among these are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life , Liberty , and the pursuit of Happiness– That to secure rights , Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the general ... to institute new government, laying its foundation such principles and

organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness".(685)

Thus, Jefferson had advocated the human right. This view advocates for freedom and civil right, which challenges racism. The history of African-American man had been a series of protest. Proclamations of dignity, equality, freedom, and Justice have almost been the African-American man's most personal confrontation with the speaking platform. His view further develops the American peoples' dedication to the principle of individual liberty. The numbers and varieties of the African American writers and spokesmen suggested the energy expanded in the effort of African - American liberation. The African- American writers evoked a concern over the presence in today's society of the same racist tendencies that have existed in the nation since 1619. While they were aware of the changes, they see the need for an even greater commitment on the part of the American society for liberty and justice for the African-Americans. There has never been significant movement by African-Americans to overthrow the American government. To the contrary, African-Americans have sought to bring about more authentic changes in the American political, social and economic system through Black Consciousness Movements. On the one hand, they sought to redress the negative self-image created in many African American people by their long history of enslavement and discriminatory treatment, treatment made inescapable by the visibility of their perceived differences.

The period from 1820s to 1850s was the time of reform and reconstruction of Blacks in America. During this period, the definition of democracy broadened and people began to expect more from the political system. Jefferson's dire of the unalienable right is further illustrated by the Civil War activist, Abraham Lincoln. In September 1862, Lincoln's 'Emancipation Proclamation' made an end of slavery on the political

level and by law it became illegal. His famous political address *Gettysburg Speech* illustrates as:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war... It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us -- that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion -- that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. (Gettysburg Address)

It strongly opines that the non-slave-holding states were proclaiming the debasing doctrine of equality of all men, irrespective of race or color, and that the African race were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race. Abraham Lincoln's changing relation to the African American community is a mean of addressing unresolved problems of the race. The supreme chapter in American history is union and emancipation to some extent. Abraham Lincoln put his trust in God and spoke the word, which gave freedom to a race. Lincoln's determining, reflecting, or corresponding tasks are the changing realities of American race relations. This became the back up for the Civil Right Movement and the various racial liberation movements along with the different periods of history and still in the contemporary America.

The present President of the United States of America Barack Obama repeats the same motto of Lincoln and King. During his election campaign, he appealed for the union to all Americans. He spoke of creating opportunity by empowering every American to fulfill their dreams. He spoke "not of liberal America and a Conservative America' but of a "United States of America". The political heart of his is a call to Americans of all races to come together, on the basis of hopes and concerns that unite them. His dream is for the trans racial America. He further proclaims as, " we can come together, we are one, and the time has changed for-The time for change has come!" (The Great Speeches of Barack Obama, p197) This is what the mission of the perfect union among the races in America. He further clarifies the pervasive racism in contemporary America as:

Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty-year after Brown v. Board of Education, the inferior education they provided, then and now helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white student. Legalized discrimination- where were prevented, often through violence, from owning properties was not granted to African-American business owners, or Black homeowners. Blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments- that Black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations.... And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods- parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick up, and building code of enforcement- all helped create a cycle of violence, blight, and neglect that continuous to haunt us. (201)

Obama, in one hand, exposes the revised form of racism in America and on the other hand discusses the importance of empathy and inclusiveness in politics and how the ideals of its democracy can be renewed. His focus seems to transform power that will inspire people the over. America is now a multicultural, multiracial state. He further clarifies in *The Audacity of Hope* as:

[...] are the people who make our economy run and our democracy flourish— the teachers, mechanics, nurses, computer technicians, assembly-line workers, bus drivers, postal workers, store manager plumbers, and the repairmen who constitute Americas vital heart. And yet, for all the progress that's been made in the past four decades, s stubborn gap remains between the living standards of black, Latino and the White workers The average black wage is 75 percent of the average of white wage. (242)

The simple notion that is central to the understanding of America is the commonplace for all. The unfinished business, here, of the Civil Right Movements is enforcing nondiscrimination in such basic areas as employment, housing and education. The role of the government is to play achieving that goal. So, the most important tool to close the gap is to solve the problem of race. Discrimination should be abolished in the distribution of the nations wealth, health care, childcare, and retirement system as well.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Luther King seemed outspoken Christian theologian against injustices and sufferings in twentieth century. King, an African American Baptist, raised the issues of their time and situation and their ability to use these injustices in their sowbellies to challenge the "[existing] religious meanings.

(140) King seems to have" courage to speak out against wrong, especially the evil of

white supremacy. Core expresses his disagreement towards Europeans" and further ads imposed their racist value system on people of color and these by forced them to think that the only way to be human and civilized was to be white and Christian."

(141) King's "struggle[ed] mightily to redeem the soul of America so that all colors and religious orientations could create the bonded community, core further expands his problem as:

Racism is particularly alive and well in American. It is American original sin and it is institutions dazed all levels of society. It is its most persistent and intractable evil. Through racism inflicts massive sufferings, few American theologians have bothered to address white supremacy as a moral evil and as a racial contradiction of our humanity and religious identities. White theologians and philosophers write numerous articles and book on theology asking why God permits massive suffering but they handily ever mention the horrendous crimes white have committed against people of color in the modern world. Why do white theologians ignore racism this is a hunting questions... especially for a few white scholars. Engage with the phenomenon of racism why not theologians? Shouldn't they be the first to attack this evil? (142)

Thus, King questions the 'silence of race' in theology religion is for social welfare and has an equal perspectives to all people White, Black, Jews, Hispanic... etc here. King concludes the 'White supremacy as a moral evil', which brings fusion in the humanity and the identity through the eye of a religion. It's seems that Whites were using the Christianity as a mean of oppressing Blacks who instinctually prefers nature as God king in steal brooders the horizon and picks out the drawbacks of White Christianity.

King seemed to use the Whites racial silence as a fuel for Civil Right Movement. Regarding Black theology, King come brings king in a humanitarian ground. He further seems to find King as an unifying figure as: "we are one people what happens to one happens to all so even if we are not directly responsible past injustices we are responsible for the present exploitation. It is our responsibility to create a new future for all." (149)

Thus, King further justifies emergence of black power the language of the unheard. King's moving struggle was to find God and a Christian World View. In particular, it revealed a young man determined to substitute a religious faith grounded in science and reason for what he perceived as the naive orthodoxy of the black Baptists among whom he grew up. He showed considerable uneasiness with the theological liberalism he was embracing and a tendency to veer back toward the faith of his ancestors and neighbors. One of the most important things Whites can do in fighting White supremacy is to support Black empowerment in the society, in church and theology. Black empowerment is Blacks thinking, speaking and doing for themselves. The Black church and Black theology are empowerment in religion. The centrality of religion was King's political career and to an understanding of the strength it imparted to his politics. King, combined religious fervor with a commitment to social justice, seemed predestined to become a Baptist preacher churches, the early response of southern blacks to desegregation, and much else. "Great men, more often than not, commit great sins and must be prepared, even more readily than others, to go to their death as Pushkin's Boris Goudonov went to his, crying out, "Forgive a poor sinner." The unfolding tragedy lies elsewhere" (Genovese, 3). Those who foolishly think they protect his memory by denying or explaining away his lapses from his own highest moral standards, render difficult a sober assessment of his

legacy as a guide to present and future struggles. The scandal of King's well-documented plagiarism reveals only part of the even greater scandal of an academic career that will not bear scrutiny, which had documented the plagiarism in excruciating detail.

Simultaneously, King incessantly wrestled with difficult subject matter, displaying a deep thirst for knowledge of God and making an effort to understand His nature and His will. This provide ample evidence that he was thinking hard and trying to find Christian ground on which to stand formulating a good deal of work and reflection. Eugene D. Genovese further writes in *Review: Martin Luther King, Jr.: Theology, Politics, Scholarship*

King focused on the work of those liberal theologians who bent theology to the exigencies of philosophy. Too bad. For a religion based on the relation of each individual to a God who has promised to render judgment cannot readily surrender its basic concepts of God, nature, man, sin, and salvation to a discipline based solely on human reason. Christians may argue endlessly over the specific meaning of the Word, but when they are brought to question whether the Word, as manifested in the Bible, constitutes revealed Truth, they risk restricting themselves to arbitrary ethical pronouncements that atheists could readily share (3).

King's liberalism in religion was based on the relation individual to a God. The concepts of God, nature, man, sin, and salvation to a discipline fundamentally are the output of human thinking. When the moral ground is needed they come at risk whether the Word reveals Truth. White scholars of religion of today who are aware that all is not well on the racial front. They know what White supremacy is a

horrendous evil that must be destroyed before humanity can create a world of free of White arrogance. The sinners too are a very important point to make but often hard to hear, especially when it is made by the oppressor. The ever-present violence in the poor communities is at least partly due to the sins of the oppressed. We must never assume that God is the side of the oppressed because they are sinless but rather because of Gods solidarity with weakness and heart– the inability of poor people to defend them against violent oppressors.

Black theology cannot accept a view of God which does not represent God as being for oppressed blacks and thus against white oppressors. Living in a world of white oppressors, blacks have no time for a neutral God. The brutalities are too great and the pain too severe. Therefore, God is doing in the revolution. There is no use for a God who loves white oppressors the same as oppressed blacks. What Black's need is the divine love as expressed in black power, which is the power of blacks to destroy their oppressors, here and now, by any means at their disposal. Unless God is participating in this holy activity, we must reject God's love.

III. Speeches of Counter Race: An Exploration of Martin Luther King's Spirit of Inclusion in American Politics.

Working on racial analysis, the focus in this chapter is to uncover the meanings and messages that Martin Luther King portrays in his speeches and how robustly they find their relevance when merged with the context. His speeches about race and appeal for racial reconciliation are significant in fermenting counter-racial currents in his time. The artifacts that will be analyzed in this chapter are the speeches from five of Martin Luther King's speeches entitled, "I Have A Dream–Address at March on Washington" (1963), "The Quest For Peace and Justice" (1964), "The Promised Land,"(1964) "Noble Prize acceptance Speech (1964)," "Letter From Birmingham Jail" (1963).

"I Have A Dream–Address at March on Washington"

King, Baptist Minister, was a driving force in the push for racial equality in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1963, King and his staff marched and protested non-violently, raising ire of local officials who sacked water canon and police dogs on the marchers. Thrust into the national spotlight in Birmingham, where he was arrested and jailed, King organized a massive march on Washington, DC, on the August 28, 1963. On the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, he evoked the name of Lincoln in this speech "I Have a Dream", upon the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation which is credited with mobilizing supporters of desegregation and prompted the 1964 Civil Rights Act. With some exceptions of conservative of Critiques, King's Speeches posit a frame for the racial reconciliation. For most of the critics, Elizabeth Vandarlei and Keith D. Miller come in forefront to analyze the impact of Martin Luther Kings and his speeches on American societies: He critically opines in his essay from *College*

*English "Martin Luther King, Jr's " I Have a Dream " in context: Ceremonial protest
an African-American Jeremiad:*

King extends this comparison later in I Have A Dream when he attributes to governor Wallace, which vocabulary was simple and homespun, the sophisticated words and doctrines of John C. Calhoun, the eloquent defender of slavery: I have a dream that one day down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the word of interposition and nullification, one day right there in Alabama little black boys and little black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers(84).

King argues that justice and full equality for African Americans will be achieved only when they can participate in the life of an integrated society. In this section, King's idea of the integrated society can be understood as desegregated society, as well as notion of a well-ordered democratic society, and discuss how each of these ideals attempts to order its major social, political, and economic institutions to promote certain aspects of human freedom. According to King, the desegregated society with its commitment to the principle of non-discrimination in the use of public facilities, mainly protect citizens from unwarranted interference by other individuals and public authorities, well ordered society represents an improvement over the merely desegregated society in that. It takes a broader view of freedom and recognizes that citizens require certain material means and institutional support in order to sustain it. Justice may require, for example, that all citizens have a right to participate in political deliberations, but it does not require that all citizens have a similar right to

participate in the decision-making processes of society's social and economic institutions. In this regard King delivers as:

In a sense we have come to our nation capital to cash a cheque. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent word of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence they were singing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men –yes, Black men as well as White men – would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of Life, Liberty and the pursuit of the Happiness (155).

On the other hand, King argues that a truly just modern society will be one that promotes “life-quality freedom” and enables individuals to flourish as full agents in many different social spheres. This would include protecting the personal integrity of its citizens. In the time of civil rights movement when the protesters were burning the streets demanding equality and respect, the speech became an anthem of the 1960s civil rights movement. Kings rhetorician deliverance urges the value of now. He finds the situation is getting worse because of the on going violence and stigmatization.

This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquil drug of gradualism. *Now* is the time to make real the promises of democracy. *Now* is the time to from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlight path of racial justice. *Now* is the time to loft our nation from the quicksand of racial injustices to solid rock of brotherhood. *Now* is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children (155-6).

The political heart of the speech is a call to American of all races to come together, on the basis of hopes and concerns that unite them, especially political one. He spoke of

black Americans to the larger aspiration of all Americans. His anaphora highlights the urgency of the problem such as "[...] Go back to Mississippi, and go back to Alabama. Go back to South Carolina. Go back to Georgia. Go back to Louisiana. Go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair" (157). King correctly recognized that organized, nonviolent protest against the system of southern segregation known as Jim Crow laws would lead to extensive media coverage of the struggle for Black equality and voting rights. His vision was for change that was more revolutionary than mere reform. He protested systematic flows of racism, poverty, militarism, and materialism and argued that recantation of the society is itself the real issue. King recalls the American dream again in into the veil of the racial harmony. His dream of black power and the racial reconciliation is further exceeded in the following lines as:

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of creed We hold these truth to be self evident, that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day, on the red hills of Georgia; sons of dormer slave owner will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dram that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the hate of injustice, sweltering with the hate of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content by their character. (157)

This is obvious today that America has defaulted that promissory note insofar as her citizen of color is concern instead of honoring this sacred obligation. America has

given the Negro; a bad cheque which marked as insufficient funds. But it is refused to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. There are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So King justifies his mission as "[...] we have come to cash this cheque: a cheque that will give us upon demands the riches of freedom and the security of justice". (155) King uses rhetorical and literary techniques to convey his message, by formatting the song in the following stanza:

My country, 'tis of thee
Sweet land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride. (157-8).

The "Letter From Birmingham Jail"

The spring of 1963 was the one of the most significant documents in the history of the American Civil Right Movement: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter From Birmingham Jail". It has been compared with Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, Emile Zola's Letter in Defense of Dreyfus, and John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address. Like many great political documents, the "Letter From Birmingham Jail" was composed during a time of crisis. Throughout April and May 1963, national attention was focused on Birmingham, Alabama as King and his followers led a series of demonstrations that resulted in the overthrow of the city's segregation ordinances. Martin Luther King's, notably Letter from speeches, it may seem inappropriate to emphasize the oral tradition behind Letter from Birmingham Jail, is a testament to the man's ability to transcend the fickle currents of history. The Letter is one of the most frequently collected items and has proved the most popular reading among Blacks and

Whites. But the Letter has proved to be one of King's most eloquent utterances; arises from the same rhetorical elements that he employed in his oral addresses. In the Letter King retains the emotional power that is the trademark of the Negro sermon while he overcomes the flaws that hinder the utility of the sermon in the political and literary spheres. The traditional Negro sermon derives largely from the preaching of such evangelists. Although loosely based on a Biblical theme, this kind of preaching emphasizes emotional invitation. The preacher relies upon stock phrases and passages, and develops the message through repetition.

King's campaign of nonviolent direct action was a far-reaching success. The events in Birmingham proved to be a turning point in the battle for civil rights, after which the forces of segregation in the South began to crumble. Birmingham aroused the nation's conscience by exposing the evils of racism. While the demonstrators remained committed to nonviolence, scenes on television shocked millions of Americans. The open letter is both a social manifesto and a religious testament. King is arguing for a religious life that translates vision into practice and that finds the spiritual life enriched by communal efforts for justice as:

Christian Negroes would tolerate injustice because whites would ultimately develop sympathy for those who demonstrated patience. King always saw that such procrastination was a disguise for either cowardice or velvet-gloved racism. He had felt early that the true witness of a Christian life is the projection of a social gospel. (156)

In the midst of the campaign, King was arrested for violating a state court injunction forbidding demonstrations. Summoning up great courage, he secretly wrote his famous letter, a compelling statement of his philosophy of nonviolent direct action, and an eloquent presentation of his dream of justice and equality for black Americans.

Not only is the "Letter From Birmingham Jail" the best exposition of King's method and goals, but it also exerted great influence in winning broad support for the Civil Rights Movement. The letter helped to focus greater international attention upon what was happening in Birmingham. And it was this worldwide attention that furthered the Civil Rights cause. King continued: "And I am sure that without Birmingham, the march on Washington wouldn't have been called - which in my mind was one of the most creative steps the Black struggle has taken". (157) It was also the image of Birmingham, which, to a great extent, helped to bring the Civil Rights Bill into being in 1963. Because the letter is such a powerful expression of King's views, and because it articulates the aspirations of blacks in the 1960's better than any other document, it is fitting that today, more than twenty years later, we recall the circumstances of its composition, and analyze its contents. For instance:

But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid. (158)

This Letter was written in response to an appeal for law and order and common sense published by eight White Alabama clergymen in the Birmingham News, charging that the recent direct actions in the city had been unwise and untimely. As the leading "outsider," the statement was clearly directed at Martin Luther King, Jr. When King saw the published statement, his first inclination may have been not to respond. But

because the criticism came from fellow clergymen - of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths - King realized that even sincere people of good will might misunderstand him and the civil rights movement. Moreover, with widespread attention aroused by the events in Birmingham, he saw the value in presenting his case to the entire nation. Unless protesters were purged of all feelings of bitterness towards their oppressors, unless they were prepared to love their enemies, unless they were willing to suffer both verbal and physical abuse without retaliating, their movement would degenerate into violence. As King reveals:

We repeatedly asked ourselves: 'Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?' 'Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?' Over the past few years I have consistently preached that 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.

(159)

King's belief was that it was impossible to achieve a moral end by immoral means without harming the soul and making oneself unworthy of the end. He did not abandon the genre for the sake of social engagement: he used the emotional power of the tradition to serve the protest movement. Letter from Birmingham Jail is convincing largely because it has an appealing emotional depth, which is rare in argumentative writing. History will decide whether Martin Luther King, Jr. died at the peak of his effectiveness as a reform leader. Letter from Birmingham Jail has a timeless eloquence that finally transcends such concerns.

One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked: "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?"

The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one, before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boatel as mayor will bring the millennium to Birmingham. (159)

He reveals about his arrest in Birmingham. The only answer was that he could give to this query for the new Birmingham administration.

Although the details of King's program remain open to challenge from reactionary and radical points of view, the vision itself is virtually above criticism in the context of the letter. Having established his text, with its justification of the active Christian life, King's persona subtly exposes the timid inaction of the eight clergymen as an ungodly denial of the necessary fruits of the religious life. To the religious man, "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere... Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial outside agitator idea". He further remarks as:

We know through painful experience that the oppressor never voluntarily gives freedom; it must be demanded by the oppressed.

Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was well timed in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied. (160)

What better metaphor than this, not only for a recapitulation of theme, but also for what King has achieved stylistically. The torrent Probably the most memorable

passage in Letter from Birmingham Jail is that in which King explores the familiar injunction to Wait for civil rights rather than to provoke turmoil. (83-4) Here King's greatest rhetorical assets operate simultaneously. He curtly states, 'Wait' has almost always meant 'Never.' His definition is not that of a skilled grammarian: it provides an adverb as a synonym for a verb. But the meaning rings clear. In a painful, powerful paragraph, King presents the numerous abuses that black people have endured for generations. But he does more than enumerate complaints: in the merging of content and style, he also achieves great artistry of adverbial clauses capturing the agony of waiting literally pours over the simple little cup of the main clause, moving us emotionally while convincing us intellectually that waiting can no longer be expected. King concludes the paragraph with another masterly stroke of understatement: "I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience." (85) The speech is finally more than a self-defense; it is a challenge to recognize real justice, real truth, and ultimately a challenge to act. The next to last paragraph is an eloquent reminder that, however conciliatory and brotherly his tone has been, he has in no way conceded merit to the charges of the clergymen:

If I have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that understates the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me. (161)

King thus gives historical and philosophical justification to his movement. He proceeds to handle deftly more specific and gnawing criticism from both the clergymen and black nationalists. He stays as:

but more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just

as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid. (163)

King rejects the clergymen's charge that his action is extreme. He warns them that his extremism has been the last stopgap between responsible protest and violence; for white Birmingham to ignore his movement is to invite a frightening racial nightmare. Essentially, then, King redefines himself as a moderate trying to stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community: complacency and black nationalism. He cites towering authorities: Jesus, Amos, Paul, Luther, Bunyan, Lincoln, and Jefferson - all extremists in the cause of truth. The relentless parallelism with which he alternates rhetorical questions with quotations from his authorities gives an air of inevitability to his self-defense. King has here resolved attacks from white racists, white moderates, Uncle Toms, and Black Muslims. On one level, he has simply and eloquently rediscovered the kind of extremism that is always latent in Christianity. On another level, he has cleverly defended his method of social action against sharp injustices.

King releases us from the repeated emotional climaxes of Letter from Birmingham Jail in the final three paragraphs, a kind of apology (in the sense of justification) for the Letter and a benediction urging Christian brotherhood. The next to last paragraph is an eloquent reminder that, however conciliatory and brotherly his tone has been, he has in no way conceded merit to the charges of the clergymen. "If I

have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that understates the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me."(164) The Letter is more than just a defense of non-violent direct action; it is a debunking of the American dream of equality and freedom. Poetic, persuasive, and passionate, the Letter is designed to disturb its readers and to reverse their expectation by King's calculated use of contradiction. One who breaks an unjust law "[...] is in reality expressing the highest respect for law". (164) The Letter from Birmingham Jail was an eloquent indictment of the White South for its treatment of Blacks and of White moderates for counseling wait and for placing order above justice. In the Letter King went to great lengths to explain and to justify his philosophy of non-violent resistance and refusal to cooperate with unjust laws. In the Letter from Birmingham Jail, King reached the mountaintop of his literary achieves.

The Quest of Peace and Justice

On December 10, 1964, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the youngest man to receive the award; he was 35 years of age. Many literary works have been written about legal issues as lofty as civil disobedience. This is one of the classics in the literature of civil disobedience. King wrote a letter from his prison cell on the margins of a newspaper. This to obtain a parade permit from the Birmingham city commission and for disobeying a court order forbidding civil rights leaders from taking part in or encouraging demonstrations. This is a call to arms without violence, a plea for freedom, and a cry for communal brotherhood. King uses the force of language to accomplish his goal. He states as:

This is a dazzling picture of modern man's scientific and technological progress. In spite of these spectacular strides in science and technology and still unlimited ones to come, basic is missing. There is a sort of poverty in the spirit, which stands in glaring contrast of our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we have become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually. We have learned to fly like birds and swim the sea like fish, but we have not learned to simple art of living together as brothers (6).

This is the best exposition of King's method and goals, but it also exerted great influence in winning broad international support. It articulates the aspirations of Blacks in the 1960's better than any other document, it is fitting that today, more than twenty years later, we recall the circumstances of its composition, and analyze its contents. There is problem in the mentality of Whites; poverty in the spirit, which stands in glaring contrast of our scientific and technological achievements. America is rich in every dimension but is poor morally and spiritually. The richer it has become materially, the poorer in morally and spiritually.

King's speech is to address several important questions: What does nonviolent civil disobedience entail? Does civil disobedience stem from a coherent philosophy? Is it moral for Blacks to disobey laws? Does civil disobedience breed anarchy? Why should Black Americans not continue to wait patiently for civil rights? Is King an extremist? If he could answer these questions effectively, King would diffuse much of the criticism of himself and his methods, and increase support for the Civil Rights Movement throughout the United States.

This problem of spiritual and moral lag, which constitutes modern man's chief dilemma, expresses in the three larger problems, which

grow out of man's ethical infantilism. Each of these problems, while appearing to be separate and isolated, is inextricably bound to the other. I refer to racial injustices, poverty, and war... I would like to maintain is racial injustice. (7)

Out of those problems, racial equality is the major one. The major struggle is to eliminate the racial struggle to make freedom and equality in reality. He states the theological tool, "[...] Moses stood in Pharaoh's court centuries ago and cried, "Let my people go." to evoke the pain of oppressed. He further says as:

This development should not surprise any student of history. Oppressed cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning of freedom eventually manifests itself. The Bible tells the thrilling story of how Moses stood in Pharaoh's court centuries ago and cried, "Let my people go." This is the king of opening chapter in the continuing story. The present struggle in the United States is a later chapter in the same unfolding story. Something within has remained the Negro of his birthright of freedom, and something without has remained him that can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, the Zeitgeist has caught him, and with his Black brothers in Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency towards the promised land of racial justice (7).

Development is slow motion of history. Oppressed manifests freedom eventually. The Bible tells the same thing. The present struggle in the United States is a later chapter in the same unfolding story. Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency towards the promised land of racial justice. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. All segregation states are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and

damages the personality. This is the reflection of the troubled world. The main section of the Civil Right Movement in the United State is the demand of dignity, equality, job and citizenship. However all this have been postponed. So the African-American wants to resist the White canoe being unafraid. The movement does not seek to liberate African-American at the expense of humiliation and enslavement of Whites. It seeks no victory over anyone. It seeks to liberate American society and to share in the self-liberation of all people. King is against the violence and finds it impractical and vicious. His belief on the nonviolence is strongly illustrated as:

Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both as impractical and immoral. I am not unmindful of the fact that violence often brings about the momentary results. Violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem; it merely creates new and more complicated ones...it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. Violence ends up defeating itself. (7)

In a real sense nonviolence seeks to redeem the spiritual and moral lag, which is the dilemma of the modern man. In one hand, King is laughing over the government imposition and in the same time he displays the power of truth and the thirst of brotherhood and peace reflected by the non-violence protest. Nonviolence is powerful and just weapon. Indeed, it is a weapon unique in the history, which cuts the network of racism and White hegemony without wounding. Kings protest of the nonviolence strategy was too first to disobey the unjust laws and the unjust practices being peace, open, cheerful because the aim is to persuade. First he seems to persuade with his words and if words failed then try to persuade with acts. African-American are always

willing to talk and seek fair compromise. He ends his speech with a philosophical note mingled with an expression of anger. He depicts as:

The richer we have become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever.

But in spite of temporary victories, violence never brings permanent place. (7)

For the African-American community the proper path is to embrace the burden of the past not being the victim of it .It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspects of American life; the better health care, better schools better jobs by avoiding the challenges and the discrimination. All Americans can write their own destiny. King reviews long history of racism and the unfulfilled promises given to the civil rights movement. He concludes that blacks had no other alternative but to demonstrate at this time because the white power structure gave them no options. King further demonstrates the systematic steps, including information gathering, negotiation, self-purification and direct action, taken by the civil rights movement in order to prepare itself for nonviolence. King retorts that negotiation cannot take place until the white community perceives that there is a problem of racial inequality. The white community must be forced to confront the issue. King believed that negotiation would never take place unless the demonstrators forced it to happen by creating a tension producing a crisis in the community. He wanted to force individuals to rise from the bondage to rise from the dark depths of prejudice to the majestic heights of brotherhood.

Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech

King accepted the Nobel Prize for peace at a moment when twenty-two million Negroes of the United States of America were engaging in a creative battle to end the shadow of racial injustices. The Alabama cities of Birmingham and Selma have given their names to the most effective campaigns of nonviolent protest. The Birmingham demonstrations paved the way for the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which swept away segregation in public accommodations. The Selma protests of 1965 engendered the Voting Rights Act, a measure that cut away the political basis of white supremacy by ending the disfranchisement of blacks. It is beyond doubt that the man who led the Birmingham and Selma protests, Martin Luther King, Jr., made a mighty contribution. Therefore, King gives the credit of the prize to the all non-violent protests. He further delivers as " I accept this award in behalf of a civil right movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish reign of freedom and a rule of justice'. (84) The plea is for a more open, constructivist position, which can make it possible to ask questions about overlap of nonviolence over violence. He further remarks as:

Civilization and violence are antithetical concept Negroes of the United States; following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force, which make for the social transformation. Sooner or later all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. (85)

King tries to shake middle class whites into the realization that blacks are victims of discrimination and racial inequality. But he launches his nonviolent attack on complacency persuasively through subtlety and the art of understatement.

King's word play is structured on the principles of similarity and difference. Stated simply, the message contained is the racial difference is nothing more than similarity disguised. The speech deconstructs the myth that racial equality exists in America by first confirming racial differences and then rejecting the notion of difference made legal a concept which King considered to be the basis of unjust laws. For this he uses the technique of anaphora, and the repetition of the words and the phrases such as:

I refuse to accept despair as the final response to the ambiguous history. I refuse to the idea that "is ness" of man's present nature makes him morally, incapable of reaching up for the eternal "ought ness" that forever confronts him. I refuse to accept the idea that man is mere flotsam and the jet some in the river of life unable to influence the unfolding events, which surround him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright day break of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality. (86)

Literary language is characterized by the high frequency of coded symbols, which attract the reader's attention because the symbols emphasize form rather than content. The reader who sees the form (e.g. a metaphor, a metonymy, an understatement) may be a bit puzzled by its meaning and then naturally moved to figure out the significance of the coded message. When readers read the speech, they are immediately captured by its persuasive and poetic style. King plays a clever game with his readers, and the name of this game is 'differentiation and equalization'. The game is based on the principles of similarity and difference. King emotionally make people move by the frequent emphasize of some particular words of phrases. He uses of metaphor, metonymy, and symbols. He delivers as:

The tortuous road, which has led from Montgomery, Alabama, to Oslo bears witness to his truth. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are traveling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new Civil Right bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a super highway of justice. (86-7)

How does the reader know when an important message is hidden between the lines? Issues having significance are signaled to the reader by repetition, emphatic language and by the clustering of rhetorical figures such as metaphor, metonymy, comparison, antithesis, allusion, irony, which King applies in his speech and which are the author's vehicles for the communication of his messages. In other words, King's messages are transmitted indirectly through a literary and rhetorical communication system requiring decoding or interpretation in order to understand their significance. Once the reader has determined what the symbols actually refer to, meaningful communication among the author, the reader, and the text takes place. The 'road' here, stands for fatigueless struggle for the racial liberation and hope for perfect future. This attempt had been starting for one hundred years ago but it is still narrow. Therefore the movement will change it into a 'superhighway'. The traveling is for the peace, justice, dignity and brotherhood. He ends this deliverance by expressing a heartfelt gratitude to the Nobel Prize Committee and finds that all African-Americans are the same shareholder of this honor. So for him, trust is for its true owners. He adds as "[...] all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty— and in those eyes the beauty is genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds, or silver or gold". (87) His motive is apparent here in a poetic way. The beauty for African-American is

the racial liberation and justice. This is what the truth for them. It is more valuable than any earthly matters such as diamond, silver and gold.

The American Dream

King delivered this speech on June 6, 1961 at Lincoln University, where he received an honorary degree of doctor of Law. King was ahead of his time. His goal of a utopian community of brothers based on human dignity and respect was not fulfilled. King attempted to jolt the conservative white community out of its state of indifference to the obvious injustices suffered by the blacks. He further opines as:

I should like to discuss with you some aspects of American dream. For in a real sense, America is essentially a dream, a dream as yet not fulfilled. It is a dream of a land. Where men of all race, all nationalities, and have all creeds can live together as brother.

The substance of dream is expressed in this sublime words, words lifted to the cosmic portions: We hold these truths to be expressed is expressed in this sublime words- We hold these truth to be self evident, that all men are created equal- that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This is the dream."(113)

He criticized conservative Christianity's preference for law and order over justice and freedom. Hopeful and optimistic, King replaced the conservative evangelical conception We hold these truths to be expressed is expressed in this sublime words, of a fundamentally evil human nature with the view of man as fundamentally well. King advocated individual non-violent direct action and permitted a struggle for the goal of community. He encourages his readers to participate in a sameness/difference game, which is based on the frequent use of identity and contradiction. In the course

of playing this game, King's legal theories about civil disobedience and racial inequality, which are expressed throughout King's earlier writings, are never more poetically and persuasively. Truth will be self evident, that all men are equally created. So, some fundamental rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness bound them. This dream is an amazing universalism. It does not say some men but it says all men including Blacks, including Jewish, including Catholics. It ultimately dreams a perfect democracy in the United States. The dream reminds its citizen that every man is heir to the legacy of worthiness. King found the segregation and the discrimination in its social and cultural level. He further remarks as: "Segregation is now based on sociological and the cultural grounds. The Negro is not culturally ready for integration and integration comes into being it will pull the White race back a generation. It will take fifty or seventy years to raise the standard". (114-5) It is because of the government which has failed to address poverty, disease, ignorance. King further emphasizes the value of the nonviolent movements. He further remarks as: I believe in the power of the nonviolence resistance It has a moral aspect to tie it up. It makes possible for the individual to secure moral ends through moral means. This has been one of the great debates in the history. People have felt that it is impossible to achieve moral ends through moral means". (116) It is obvious that destructive mean cannot bring about constructive ends. The practical aspect of the non-violence movement is that it exposes the moral defense of the opponent. Not only that it breaks down his moral. This movement was the one of the most magnificent expression in those days. It is seen in the movement-taking place among students in the South. King does not seem in favor of the Black supremacy. It would be more dangerous than Whites. He further illustrated as:

Black supremacy is as dangerous than White supremacy, and god is not interested merely in the freedom of the Black men and brown men and yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and in the creation of the society where all men can live together as the brothers, where every man will respect the dignity and the worth of the human personality. (117)

By law, public facilities and government services such as education, were divided into separate and unequal white and colored domains.

Conclusion

The history of African-American men in American has been a series of protests. Proclamation of dignity, selfhood, equality, freedom, and justice has almost been the African-American man's most personal confrontation with the speaking platform. The numbers and varieties of the African-American writers and the spokesmen suggest the energy expended in the effort of African-American liberation. The African-American evokes the presence in the today's society the same racist tendencies that have existed in the nations since 1619. While they are aware of some changes, they see the need for even greater commitments on the part of the American society for liberation and justice for the Black men.

There has never been signified movement by African-American to overthrow the American White government, to the contrary, African Americans have sought to bring about more authentic changes in the American political, social and economic system through Black Consciousness Movement. On the other hand, they also sought to redress the negative self images created in many African American people by thesis the long history of enslavement and discriminatory treatment, treatment made inescapable by the visibility of their perceived differences. African American writers, political activist, and leaders were created mostly by need rather by the desire. Throughout the centuries, the specific issues have varied: protest against slavery, biographical or historical presentation of the cultural achievements of African American men, protest against lynching, arguments about education, job opportunities, voting rights, legal rights, civil rights, housing etc. This is the price and the promises of the citizen of America. This is the foundation of the today perfect America. This is its liberty and the creed. Men and children of every race and the every faith can join in the complete celebration i.e. a celebration of a perfect union.

Lincoln and King ultimately laid down their lives in the service of perfecting an imperfect union. It discloses the importance of empathy and inclusiveness in politics, new hopes for a different America with different policies, and how the ideals of its democracy can be renewed. This will inspire people the world over. The heart of his all critics is a call to Americans of all races to come together, on the basis of hopes and concerns that unite them. Today's urgent need is to settle the identity politics that has cost its major status since 1960s. This is a time to talk about the men and women of every color and creeds that serve together, and fight together, bleed together under the same proud flag. Americans should show their patriotism by caring for them, their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned. Kings speeches are the foundation and quest for the inclusion of identity politics, which made to realize over the course of two hundred years since Philadelphia document, that is where the perfection begins. To wrap up, it is relevant to remember Langston Hughes,

"O, let America be America again—

The land that never has been yet—

And yet must be —the land where everyman is free."

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