

10. JFK's inaugural address is considered to be a masterpiece of inspirational rhetoric, a call for a new generation to make its way in the world—to make this world a better place for everyone, in America and beyond. Is this a call to which modern Americans would respond, or do you believe that such inspiration to selflessness is a thing of the past?

For Writing & Discussion

11. Research the relationship between the United States and the USSR in 1961. In an essay, explain which portions of JFK's address were, in the context of the Cold War, a warning to the Soviets. How do such warnings then compare with recent warnings presidents have given to other nations—such as President George W. Bush's warnings in 2003 (and on) to Iran and North Korea regarding their nuclear programs?

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Born in Atlanta, Georgia, Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968) became an ordained minister by age 18 and a doctor of theology by 26. Minister of a Baptist church in Montgomery, Alabama, he led a boycott of segregated bus lines in the mid-1950s and went on to organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization of black churches aligned to challenge racial segregation. Advocating nonviolent protests, King was arrested several times in the 1950s and 1960s, believing people had a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. Lauded for his inspirational public speaking and personal commitment, King was recognized as the leader of the civil rights movement. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. By the mid-1960s, however, his status as the unquestioned black civil rights leader started to wane as other black leaders argued that King's nonviolent approach and moral idealism weren't effective. King was assassinated by a sniper in 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, and news of his death caused shock and outrage throughout the nation and world. James Earl Ray, an escaped convict and lifelong criminal, admitted to the murder. Since his death, King has come to symbolize nonviolent civil rights activism, and his influence has expanded worldwide.

His "I Have a Dream" speech was delivered in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, before more than 200,000 people. King and other black leaders organized a march on Washington, a massive

civil rights protest. The march built on previous demonstrations and helped lead to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned both segregation in public buildings and discrimination in education and employment.

I Have a Dream

∞ Prereading Question

The 1960s were a time of great change in America, socially, politically, militarily, and technologically. Why, in such a time of change, would a civil rights leader such as Martin Luther King, Jr. be secretly investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Delivered August 28, 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity

of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger

one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by a sign stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest—quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, 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, I say to you today, my friends.

And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat 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 of their character.

I have a *dream* today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification"—one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a *dream* today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day—this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

*My country 'tis of thee, sweet
land of liberty, of thee I sing.
Land where my fathers died,
land of the Pilgrim's pride,
From every mountainside, let
freedom ring!*

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

*And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.
Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.
Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.
Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.
Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.
But not only that:*

*Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.
Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.
Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.
From every mountainside, let freedom ring.*

And when this happens, when we allow freedom [to] ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when *all* of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

*Free at last! Free at last!
Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!*

Textual Questions

1. How, in the opening of his speech, does MLK refer to President Abraham Lincoln both directly and indirectly?

2. What banking imagery does MLK use to describe the condition of African Americans and the promise of America to them?
3. According to MLK, what will the cashed check deliver to African Americans?

Rhetorical Questions

4. How does MLK construct his argument so that it will appeal to members of different religions, racial groups, and socio-economic classes?
5. Where and how does MLK refer to both the events of the past and of the present as he constructs his argument about equality and African Americans?
6. For MLK, the image of the check waiting to be cashed, the image of the bad check, was at the heart of this speech—not the repetition of the declaration “I have a dream.” Why is this repetition so powerful that it, rather than the uncashed/bad check, has come to characterize—and give title to—this speech?

Intertextual Questions

7. In what ways is MLK's appeal to African Americans and those who support equal rights similar to JFK's appeal to all Americans of this same generation (earlier in this chapter)? How does MLK's presentation of the plight of African Americans compare/contrast to Stanton's description (earlier in this chapter) of the marginalized status of women?
8. In 1867, Frederick Douglass appealed to Congress for impartial suffrage for African American men. In 1961, MLK appealed to America for equal treatment of all African Americans. How are their appeals (both printed earlier in this chapter)—separated by nearly a century—similar to one another? How are they different? Explain your answer to both questions in an essay.

Thinking Beyond the Text

9. Research the social status of African Americans in 1961, paying special attention to the existence of Jim Crow laws and the politicians, such as George Wallace, who supported them. Considering this mountain of discrimination, do you believe that MLK's actions, along with those of the other civil rights activists, could have ended institutionalized discrimination? Or was something more required, such as President Lyndon Johnson's package of Great Society initiatives?