

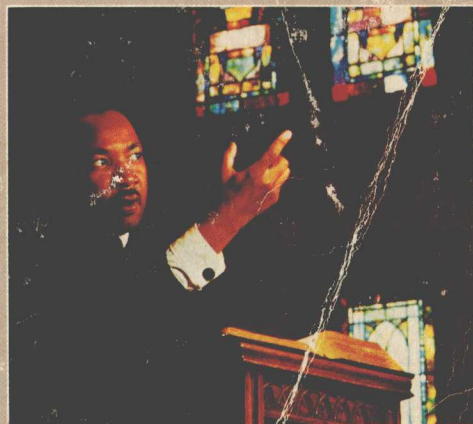
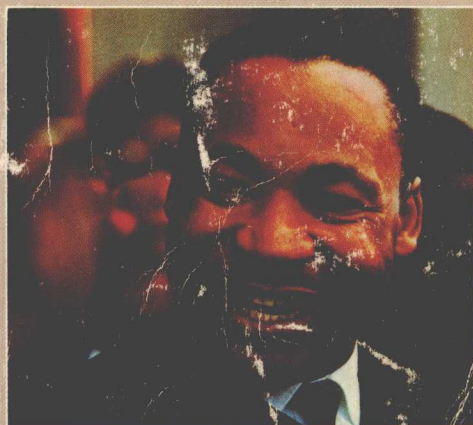
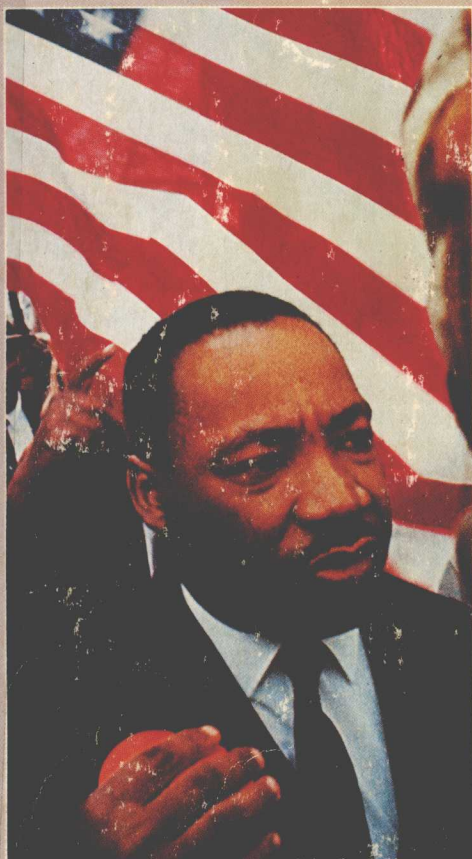
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Flip Schulke and Penelope McPhee
Foreword by Jesse Jackson

KING

Remembered

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In King Remembered
the Closest Friends and Associates
of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,
Recall His Life and Work.

"He didn't just talk brotherhood; he was a brother. He didn't just talk friendship; he was a friend. He didn't just talk change; he was a change agent. He didn't wish for changes; he changed things."

—Jesse Jackson

"He was a moment in the conscience of man."

—Harry Belafonte

"I think his important legacy is that human problems, no matter how big, can be solved."

—Andrew Young

"He made popular the idea that individuals are capable of changing their situation. . . . Women, farmers and others have seized upon nonviolent protest as a means of advancing their cause. Although Martin Luther King didn't invent sit-in demonstrations and didn't invent mass marches, he made them available to the larger body of the American population."

—Julian Bond

Flip Schulke is a photojournalist who, on assignments for *Jet*, *Black Star* and *Ebony*, was one of the few photographers to cover the entire civil rights movement. He was a personal friend of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Penelope McPhee is an author and television producer who worked with Flip Schulke on a previous book about Dr. King.

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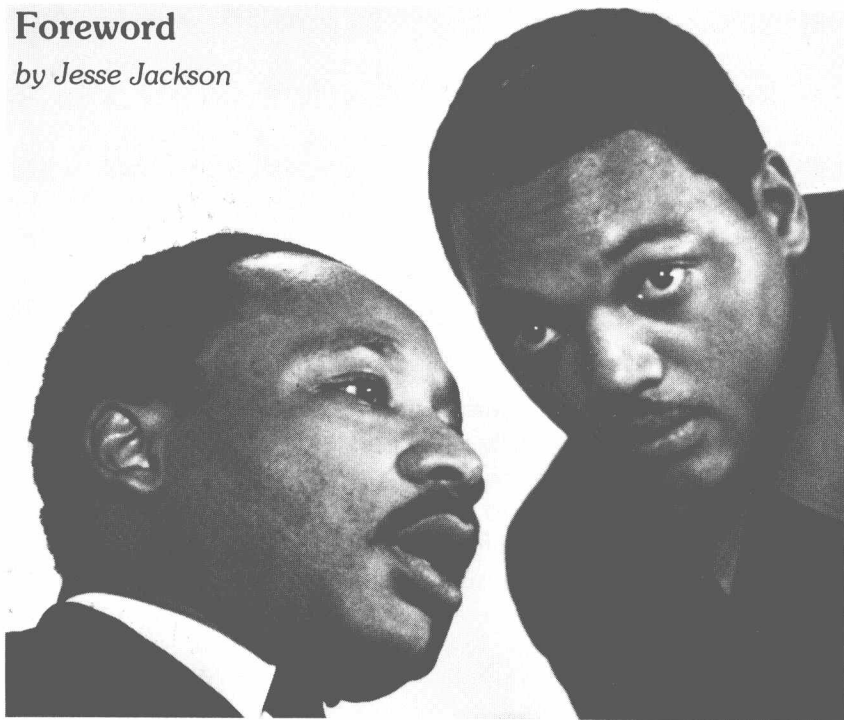
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Dedication

To the devoted colleagues of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who continue the nonviolent struggle to achieve his dream of the Beloved Community, and who so generously shared with the authors their memories of the past, their goals for the future, and the spirit of the movement.

Foreword

by Jesse Jackson



It is a special joy for me to introduce a book about my friend and mentor, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I am keenly aware that were it not for the vision and courage of Dr. King, I might not be writing these words at all, much less as someone who ran for the highest office in the land. Even today, nearly two decades after his death, doors that once were closed and locked are still being opened because of the legacy of Dr. King. → 'legasi / 遗产、遗志

Yet mixed with the joy and enthusiasm of writing about Dr. King is a sense of humility as I realize that no words I write could adequately capture the contribution that he made to world peace in his all-too-brief life. There is a saying in Spanish that roughly translates into, "Tell me who you are associated with, and I will tell you who you are." In the case of Dr. King, perhaps it is enough to say that his name is often mentioned in the same breath as Jesus Christ and Mohandas Gandhi. Those associations say most of [what needs to be said about Martin Luther King, Jr.]

These days I often lecture on college campuses. I am constantly struck by the opportunities that those fortunate enough to attend college will have upon graduation. Many will be able to afford fine cars and clothes. But will they choose personal wealth or the pub-

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lic's health? Will they choose a luxurious car, or will they give a ride to the stranger who has lost his way? Will they choose the latest in European fashions, or will they choose to clothe the naked? The Bible teaches us that we judge character by how we treat the least of these; that we judge a tree not by the bark but by the fruit it bears.

Our society has elevated greed and profit to sanctified levels. In 1984 ninety thousand corporations made a profit and paid no taxes; one hundred thousand individuals made one hundred thousand dollars or more and paid no taxes, while folks making two thousand dollars below the poverty level paid taxes.

Books make the best-seller list and classes are filled to capacity that aim to teach us hundreds of ways to avoid paying taxes. But no one can teach us how to love and to share, to care for the less fortunate. If we study the life and example of Dr. King, however, like those of Gandhi and Jesus, we learn that these values of love and generosity and unselfishness were what motivated them. They were great not because they were well known—Hitler is well known. They were great because they served the cause of peace and justice for all of the human family. Indeed, their commitment to better the human condition led them to give their very lives in such service.

The same misguided values that motivate many to seek personal wealth have also led our nation to squander precious resources. Perhaps no area of national policy better illustrates this point than our rising military budget. Our trillion dollar deficit is in no small measure related to the unbridled escalation in defense spending. What's more, we spend more on military hardware every day and yet we are less secure than ever in our history. Defense spending generates fewer jobs than other areas of spending. It produces nothing of utility to our society—no food, no clothes, no housing, no medical supplies or equipment, in short, nothing of social value. Yet each year we spend more on the military budget and cut spending on health, housing, and education to make up the difference.

These are the battles that Martin would be waging were he alive today. That is why he was one of the first to openly oppose United States' involvement in Viet Nam. He was on the right side of history. Today he would demand that we cut defense spending without cutting our defenses. It can be done. During the presidential campaign, I outlined a program that would cut defense spending by 20 percent and would have left us no less secure than we are

today. Dr. King's memory deserves a safer and a saner world.

Martin celebrated his last birthday on this earth working to achieve his vision of a caring and just society. I was with him on that day in the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, which he spent organizing the Poor People's March on Washington.

Shortly before he died, Martin reminded us what is important and what is not. "When I die," he said, "don't build a monument to me. Don't bestow on me degrees from great universities. Just say I tried to clothe the naked. Say that I tried to house the homeless. Let people say that I tried to feed the hungry." And he did. We all did. America responded to the challenge. We expanded the school lunch program for children and food stamps for poor families. We started a supplemental feeding program called Women, Infants and Children (WIC) for pregnant mothers and their babies, and we created meals programs for our elderly citizens.

Ten years later doctors went into the same states where hunger and malnutrition had been rampant a decade before. Hunger was virtually eliminated. But it is no longer the sixties or the seventies. It is the eighties, and hunger and malnutrition have returned as serious problems in America. Parents with babies, young children, and the elderly line up at soup kitchens throughout this nation because they are hungry. Think of it if you will: the embarrassing and ugly spectre of breadlines running across the wealthiest nation on earth! Today we have a crisis in America. We are a nation adrift. Our spiritual power and the power of our people is in jeopardy. And nothing better exemplifies this crisis than the presence of hunger in a nation of plenty.

Martin would remind us that now is the time for leadership. It is now that we decide whether the B-1 Bomber is more important than a child's school lunch program. Now is the time to decide whether the MX missile gives us more security than the nutrition programs which feed our families and the elderly. If we eliminate two CVN Nuclear Attack Carriers, which cost \$3.4 billion each, we can take that \$7 billion and restore every federal nutrition program cut by the Reagan Administration. We will have enough money left over to increase food stamp benefits by 25 percent and still have enough money left to expand the school lunch program. That would be a tribute worthy of Dr. King.

We do not have a resource problem. We have a priority problem that is ultimately a moral problem. We have enough resources, but we squander them on bogus security and military madness. Our security, in the final analysis, is in our people and their well-being.

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That most secure line of defense from foreign invasion and ideology, (as Dr. King would have reminded us) is a people who are well-fed and well-read.

That is really what Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., sought to tell this nation and our leaders. He recognized that we are a compassionate nation and a decent people. But sometimes our leaders do not reflect our decency and compassion in their public policies, and when they fail it is incumbent upon us to lead them back to those policies which reflect our most fundamental beliefs. This is a time when our leadership has strayed far from the best of our nation's tradition and instead has led us back to those times when racial and economic discrimination were codified in the very law of the land. Martin is no longer with us. But his example is. We must learn from it and follow it. For when it is dark outside the stars shine brightest. Let Martin be the star that shines for our nation.

A final note. In the two decades since his death, I have seen Dr. King's image all too often reshaped to conform to what some would prefer for us to remember about him. Depictions of him as a pacifist and a humanist often are tinged with the implication that he eschewed confrontation and aggressiveness. But those of us who knew him and worked with him were never confused about his goals or his tactics and strategies. Of course Dr. King promoted peace and harmony among all of God's children. Of course he preferred negotiation over confrontation and friendly persuasion over state decree. But Martin understood that change seldom comes that way. He realized that the powerful seldom relinquish privilege without a struggle. Hence, his was an active and aggressive civil disobedience. He deplored violence not only because it was un-Christian but also because he knew it was a prescription for genocide. Martin was an idealist who had his feet planted firmly in reality. Martin knew that if change was to come, he would have to suffer. But he was not afraid, because he knew that suffering breeds character, and character breeds faith. And in the end, faith will not disappoint.

Read and learn about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. But do not stop there, for he would not have. Apply the lessons of his life and his example as we rededicate ourselves to fulfilling his dream. There is much work yet to be done.

October 1985
Chicago, Illinois

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Authors' Preface

Martin Luther King, Jr., joins Christopher Columbus, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln to become only the fourth man in our nation's history to have a national holiday established in his honor. This book is written in the belief that if the holiday that commemorates Martin Luther King's place in history is to be meaningful—more than an empty tribute—it must provide us with an opportunity to study both an exceptional man who is no longer with us and a philosophy that remains very much alive. /ko'memore it. 庆祝-记

Since the publication of our first book, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Documentary . . . Montgomery to Memphis*, each of us has had many opportunities to speak about King and the civil rights movement to students from elementary school to college level. We are often dismayed to find that many younger people—both black and white—do not understand the importance of King's contribution. They know that, somehow, he was a “great man.” They do not know why! It is both a tribute and a tragedy that many of King's achievements are already taken for granted. In many places in the South, an entire generation has no concept of the extent of the segregation King encountered and eradicated. 记录 1983年 12月

The principal basis for this book is the collective memory of those who knew Dr. King, who worked beside him, who influenced him, and who were, in their turn, influenced by him. Not for one moment have these committed men and women wavered from the cause of human rights or the method of nonviolence. Today each of them continues to contribute in his own special way, but they are unified by a spiritual bond that was forged in their years of marching with Martin Luther King. They remain an inspiration to all of us to continue to work for King's dream of a Beloved Community and to communicate his teachings to others.

Their recollections of Dr. King as he actually was are an irreplaceable repository of King's legacy. As such, they are infinitely precious and frighteningly perishable. We believe that they should be recorded and communicated while they are still available to us. Should we miss this opportunity to capture the reality of Martin Luther King as he was known and remembered by his closest associates, a vital part of our national consciousness and our national conscience might be irrevocably lost to us, to our children, and to succeeding generations.

Each of us—one a photojournalist, the other an author and tele-

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vision producer—has come to this mission by separate and strikingly divergent paths.

Flip Schulke knew Martin Luther King personally and intimately. He first met Dr. King in the late 1950s on assignment for *Jet* magazine. At that first meeting, King and Schulke talked about the importance of photographing events as they happened. Schulke convinced King that it was essential to document every aspect of the civil rights movement, and subsequently, Schulke became one of the few photographers to cover the entire southern civil rights struggle. Ultimately, King gained a trust in Schulke that was never betrayed.

By contrast, Penelope McPhee never met Dr. King in person. In fact, she was still a college student when Martin Luther King was assassinated. "Black Power" had become a strong focus of the black movement, and many well-meaning whites did not know exactly where they fit in the civil rights picture. For McPhee, the answer came as she immersed herself in the teachings and philosophy of Martin Luther King, while researching and writing our first book, *Montgomery to Memphis*.

For both of us, King offered a solution to the injustices we saw around us. King believed in the goodness of man; he believed in human dignity, in individuality, in community. His concern was not only for the rights of blacks, but also for women, for the poor, for all the disadvantaged. And he demonstrated to us that we all have a positive power to change our circumstances.

Martin Luther King's dream is not yet a reality. With all of its potential, America still has not achieved "liberty and justice for all." But King believed we as a people could change. He left us a vision of what we and our society might be and a means of achieving that vision. He showed us the best we can be.

King insisted that man is essentially good and that we behave badly only when our experiences and circumstances teach us to violate the proper ethical conduct that is innate in each of us. Central to all of King's actions, writings, speeches, and sermons was the concept that by making men aware of the evil of their ways, they would change their behavior. And, therefore, it is up to all of us to continue to try to teach and to communicate. That is the challenge Dr. King left for us and the inspiration for this book.

Flip Schulke

Penelope O. McPhee

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KING

REMEMBERED



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