



**Address of The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations 47th Biennial Banquet
(now the Union for Reform Judaism)**

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(Edited from a tape)

Madam Chairman, my friends of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, ladies and gentlemen. I am deeply indebted to my good friend, fellow Atlantian Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, for these eloquent, kind, and gracious words of introduction. And I am also deeply grateful to your distinguished president, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, for extending the invitation for me to be here. I had the good fortune to read excerpts from his "State of the Union" message this evening, and I am deeply indebted to him, and I am sure you are deeply indebted to him, for his powerful, dynamic, and courageous pronouncements, and I want to express my appreciation to him for his concern and support in the struggle that we face in our nation.

I would also like to take just a minute to express my personal appreciation publicly to those of you who have supported us in such a magnificent and consistent way in the struggle for civil rights. Many of you have prayed for us when we needed your prayers most. Many of you have gone down in your pockets and given generous financial contributions to the civil rights organizations, realizing that we have tremendous financial burdens and that we could no carry on in this struggle without this kind of financial support. Then some of you have been willing to make a personal witness by actually joining in demonstrations. Some of your rabbis have left their secure congregations to come down to places like Albany, Georgia; Tallahassee, Florida; Jackson, Mississippi; and Birmingham, Alabama to make a personal witness. All of these things have given us renewed courage and vigor to carry on the struggle. And I can assure you that we will remember this support and these marvelous expressions as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen.

I want to say, also, that I am deeply concerned about many of your concerns this week as you assemble here, and I was happy to read as I came in one of placards stating Protestant, Catholic, and Jew must now join to save Soviet Jewry. I want to make it palpably clear that I am deeply concerned about the indignities and the injustices that your brothers and sisters are confronting in Soviet Russia. This systematic attempt to spiritually liquidate the Jewish people of the Soviet Union must not take place, and men of good will must not allow it to take place. We must see that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. An injustice towards any individual is a threat to the justice of any other individual, and I cannot stand idly by in America, I cannot stand idly by as an American Negro, and not be concerned about what happens to my brothers and sisters who happen to be Jews in Soviet Russia, for their problem is my problem. And so I am very happy to serve on a committee in this country expressing concern and protest over the conditions that they face.

I notice that your theme is "The Pursuit of Excellence." I would like to have you think with me this evening on the subject of the pursuit of excellence in the realm of human relations. And I would like to use as a basis for our thinking together some of the great noble words from our Declaration of Independence – "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Now the first thing that we notice in this great American creed is an amazing universalism. It does not say some men; it says all men. It does not say all white men, but it says all men, which includes black men. It does not say Gentiles, but it says all men, which includes Jews. It does not say all Protestants, but it says all men, which includes Catholics.

There is something else which stands at the center of that creed which is one of the things that distinguishes our form of government from totalitarian systems: it says that there are certain basic rights that we all have that are neither conferred by nor derived from the state. They are gifts from the hands of the Almighty God. Very seldom, if ever, in the history of the world has a socio-political document expressed in such profound, eloquent, and unequivocal language, the dignity and the worth of human personality. These words remind us that every man is an heir to a legacy of dignity and worth. These are great words, but ever since the founding fathers of our nation scratched these words across the pages of history, America has been something of a schizophrenic personality tragically divided against herself.

On the one hand, we have proudly professed the principles of democracy. Yet, on the other hand, we have sadly practiced that very antithesis of those principles. Indeed, slavery and segregation have strange paradoxes more than ever before we challenged to do something about these words. The shape of the world today does not permit our nation the luxury of an anemic democracy. The price that America must pay for continued oppression of Negro and other minority groups is the price of its own destruction. The hour is late; the clock of destiny is ticking out. We must act now before it is too late.

Now I must hasten to say that we must not seek to solve this problem of racial injustice in our nation merely to meet the Communist challenge, as important as that happens to be. We must not seek to solve this problem in our nation merely to appeal to Asian and African people. In the final analysis, racial injustices must be uprooted from American society because it is morally wrong. We must recognize that racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it distorts the personality and scars the soul, so often gives the segregated a false sense of inferiority, leaves the segregator with a false sense of superiority. Segregation is wrong because it is nothing but a new form of slavery, covered up with certain niceties. Segregation is wrong, to use the words of the great philosopher Martin Buber, because it substitutes an I-it relationship for the I-thou relationship, and relegates persons to the status of things.

The underlying philosophy of segregation is diametrically opposed to the underlying philosophy of our Judea-Christian heritage, and all the dialectics of the logicians cannot make them lie down together, and men of good will must say over this nation in every village and every hamlet and city: we are through with segregation now, and henceforth and forevermore.

And so the great challenge facing our nation is to move on and achieve excellence in the realm of brotherhood, to achieve excellence in this whole area of human relations so that we will live out the true meaning of the American creed and so that we will stand up as never before and make it clear that every man is made in the image of God and every man must be respected as a child of the Almighty God. I would like to suggest some of the things that men of good will in this nation and all over the world must do in order to go this additional distance and achieve moral excellence if democracy is to be a reality in America and if brotherhood is to be a reality in the world.

I would like to suggest first, that we are challenged to develop a world perspective. We all know that the world in which we live is geographically one. Now the great challenge facing us is to make it one in terms of brotherhood. Now it is true that the geographical oneness of this age in which we live has been brought into being to a large extent through man's scientific ingenuity. Man, through his scientific genius, has been able to dwarf distance. Our jet planes have compressed into minutes, distances that once took days and weeks and months. You know it is possible because of the time difference to take a flight from Tokyo, Japan on Sunday morning, and arrive in Seattle, Washington on the preceding Saturday night, and when your friends meet you at the airport and ask when you left Tokyo, you have to say I left tomorrow. Well, this is a bit humorous, but I am trying to laugh a basic fact into all of us, and it is simply this, that through our scientific and technological genius we have made of this world a neighborhood, and now and through our moral and ethical commitment we must make it a brotherhood. We must all learn to live together as brothers or we will all perish together as fools. This is the challenge of the hour.

Every individual must learn this, and this is also true of nations. Nations must come to see in this world that they must learn to live together, must be concerned about each other. Some time ago, Mrs. King and I journeyed to that great country known as India, and I never will forget the experience of meeting and talking with the great leaders of India and with thousands and thousands of people in the cities and the villages all over that vast country. I will remember all these experiences for years and years to come, but I say to you tonight my friends that there were those depressing moments, for how can one avoid being depressed when he sees with his own eyes millions of people going to bed hungry every night. How can one avoid being depressed when he sees with his own eyes millions of people sleeping on the sidewalks at night. They have no beds to sleep in; they have no houses to go into. How can one avoid being depressed when he discovers that out of India's population of more than 400 million people, some 380 million make an annual income of less than \$90 a year. Most of these people have never seen a doctor or a dentist.

As I noticed these conditions, something within me cried out: Can we in America stand idly by and not be concerned, and an answer came, oh no. Because the destiny of the United States is tied up the destiny of India and every other nation, and I started thinking about the fact that we spend millions of dollars a day in America to store surplus food and I said to myself; I know where we can store that food, free of charge, in the wrinkled stomachs of millions of God's children who go to bed hungry at night.

All I am saying is simply this, that all life is interrelated. That we are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, it affects all indirectly and for some strange reason I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be and you can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be. This is the interrelated structure of reality.

John Donne caught it some years ago and placed it in graphic terms, "No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main." And he goes on towards the end to say "any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. Therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." We are challenged all over the world, and in this nation, to see this and live by it.

Secondly, we are challenged if we are going to achieve the ideal of brotherhood, to get rid of the notion once and for all that there are superior and inferior races. This is an idea that still lingers around in certain quarters. It has been refuted by certain intellectual disciples. The

anthropological scientists, great anthropologists like Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead and others, said over and over again that, through their studies, they have come to see that there are no superior, no inferior races. There may be superior or inferior individuals academically within all races, but there are no superior races or inferior races. Then, we know now that there are four types of blood and these four types of blood are found within all racial groups. Yet, in spite of this, there are still those individuals believing this nonsense. "Newsweek" magazine had a survey just a few weeks ago and they gave the results about two or three weeks ago. Interestingly enough, I should say it was appalling to discover that about forty percent of white Americans still believe that Negroes are biologically inferior to whites. This is tragic indeed. This is appalling. It tells us that there are still those individuals who live by this notion of superior and inferior races.

Now, there was a time that people used to try to justify this idea from biblical and religious point of view. It is tragic that so often in history men have used the Bible and religion to justify their prejudices and to crystallize the status quo. I should say they misused them. There was a time that certain individuals argued that the Negro was inferior by nature because of Noah's curse upon the children of Ham. Apostle Paul's dictum became a watchword, "Servants be obedient to your master." One brother had probably read the logic of the great philosopher Aristotle. You know that Aristotle did a great deal to bring into being what we now know as formal and informal logic. There is a big word call syllogism, which has a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. This brother decided to put his argument of the inferiority of the Negro in the framework of an Aristotelian syllogism. He said in his major premise, "All men are made in the image of God." Then came his minor premise, "God as everybody knows, is not a Negro." Therefore the Negro is not a man.

This idea still lingers around, in a sense. I read where a brother in Mississippi said just a few days ago that God is a charter member of the White Citizens Council. So they still linger around. But on the whole we are getting away from theses arguments.

The arguments are now usually on subtle sociological grounds. For example: the Negro is not culturally ready for integration, and if you integrate the schools and public facilities and other things you will pull the white race back a generation. And, you know the Negro is a criminal. The arguments go on ad infinitum. People who set forth these arguments never go on to say that if there are lagging standards in the Negro community, and there certainly are, they lag because of segregation and discrimination. These conditions are environmental and not racial. Poverty, ignorance, social isolation, and economic deprivation breed crime, whatever the racial group may be. It is a tortuous logic to use the tragic results of segregation as an argument for the continuation of it.

There is a need now to go back and discover certain basic principles and get back to the casual root and discover that there is no basis for the idea that there are superior and inferior races. There have been too many things too refuted in history, and we have too many examples of Negroes who have walked through the long and desolate night of oppression, and yet they have risen up to plunge against cloud-filled nights of affliction, new and blazing stars of inspiration, thus justifying the conviction of the poet.

Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim.

Skin may differ but affliction
Dwells in white and black the same.

Were I so tall as to reach the pole
Or to grasp the ocean at the span,

I must be measured by my soul.
The mind is the standard of the man.

There is a need to see this. This is a great challenge.

The other challenge that we face if we are to achieve excellence in this area is the challenge to develop an action program to break down all the barriers of segregation and discrimination, and to rid our nation of all the injustices that minorities confront. Now we have to get rid of one or two myths in order to do this job and in order to develop an action program. One is the myth of time. You have heard this. These are the people who argue that only time can solve the problems of racial injustice. So they say to the Negro and his allies in the white community: just be nice and patient and continue to pray and in a hundred or two hundred years the problem will work itself out. Only time can solve the problem. Those who give this argument fail to realize that time is neutral and that it can be used either constructively or destructively.

I am absolutely convinced that in so many instances in our nation the forces of ill will have used time much more effectively than the forces of good will, and it may be that we will have to repent in this generation, not merely for the vitriolic words and the violent actions of the bad people who will bomb a church in Birmingham, Alabama, but for the appalling silence of the good people who argue that you must wait on time. Somewhere we must come to see that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Evolution may be true in the biological realm – and at that point Darwin is right – but when a Herbert Spencer seeks to apply it to the holy society, there is very little evidence for it.

Human progress comes through the tireless efforts and the persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the insurgent and primitive forces of social stagnation and irrational emotionalism. We must help time and we must realize that the time is always right to do right.

There is the other idea that gets around. It is the notion that legislation cannot play a great role in social change, and you must depend on other forces because you can't legislate morals. There is at least a half-truth involved here. If we are to solve the problems that we face in this nation, we must recognize that in the final analysis attitudes must be changed and men must be obedient to the unenforceable, not just the enforceable, so there is a half-truth involved here.

There is a half-truth involved, because it is true that you can't legislate integration. Integration deals with attitudes that move into the realm of mutual acceptance, genuine intergroup and interpersonal relations, but the people who give this argument fail to see that even though it may be true that you can't legislate integration, you can legislate desegregation, and desegregation is a necessary step to get to a truly integrated society. It may be true that morality cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. It may be true that the law cannot change the heart, but it can restrain the heartless. It may be true that the law can't make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me, and I think that is pretty important also. And so there is a need for legislation in this period of social change, and if we are to achieve excellence in this nation, we must see the need for legislation.

I call upon each of you assembled here this evening to see that we face a serious issue in our nation now. The civil rights bill is before the Congress of our nation and there is an unnecessary delay, unnecessary stalling and playing around with something that might very well determine the destiny of our nation, and I hope that everybody under the sound of my voice tonight would in some way send a telegram or card or letter to the Congressmen, to the Senators of this nation and, wherever you can make it possible, send delegations from your congregations to see your Congressman, to see your Senator, and urge them to vote for strong civil rights legislation and do it now.

The hour to deal with this issue is right now, and it is an urgent matter facing our whole nation, and I think if men of good will would do that, we will be able to get this civil rights bill.

There are some very unfortunate words out now, and that is the idea that we are not going to get a civil rights bill in this session of Congress. This is tragic indeed, but we must continue to push for it, and certainly if we can't get it in this session we must make it clear that that bill must come through in the early period of the next session of Congress. If this civil rights bill fails to pass, the already ugly sore of racial injustice on the body politic will certainly turn malignant, and our nation may well be faced with an incurable cancer that will destroy our political and moral voice. I think it is urgent for people all over this country to see the urgency of the moment and the importance of this issue.

Now, I don't want to give you the impression tonight that there is nothing that Negroes themselves are able to do in this tense period of transition. I would not want to give you the impression that freedom is some lavish dish that the federal government and our white brothers will pass out on a silver platter while the Negro merely furnishes the appetite. We know that if this problem is to be solved the Negro himself must do something about it.

He must work for it. He must sacrifice for it. He must be willing to suffer for it. This is what we are trying to do in our struggle in the South and in our struggle all over the country. We are trying to engage in action programs to make it clear that we are determined to be free. We are working through the courts, through legislation, through voter registration, trying to increase the number of registered voters, working through many other channels. We are working through the channel of non-violent direct action. We know that a court order can only declare rights in many instances; it can never thoroughly deliver them. Not until the people themselves begin to act are they given life blood, and we are trying to act in order to give these great principles of our democracy life blood.

I would like to take just a minute to say something about the meaning of this non-violent philosophy, since it has stood at the center of our movement. First, this method has a way of disarming the opponent. It exposes his moral defenses. It weakens his morale, and at the same time it works on his conscience and he just doesn't know how to handle it. If he doesn't beat you, wonderful; if he beats you, you develop the quiet courage of accepting blows without retaliating. If he doesn't put you in jail, wonderful; nobody with any sense loves to go to jail. But if he puts you in jail, you go in that jail and transform it from a dungeon of shame to a haven of freedom and human dignity. Even if he tries to kill you, you develop the inner conviction that there are some things so precious, some things so dear, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for. And if a man has not discovered something that he will die for, he isn't fit, to live. This is what the non-violent disciple says and there is something about this approach that frustrates the opponent. And then another thing it says: that it is possible to work to secure moral ends through moral means. One of the great debates of history has been over the whole question of ends and means. And there have been those in the early days of Greek philosophy on through Machiavelli down through the present day who argue that the end justifies the means. This is one of the great weaknesses, along with other things, of

communism. It says so often that it doesn't matter about the means; only the goal of the classless society is important. This is where the non-violent movement, when it is true to its essence, would break with communism or any other system that would argue that the end justifies the means, because in the long run the end is preexistent in the means and the means represent the idea in the making and the end in process.

It is a wonderful thing to have a method of struggle which says that it is possible to seek moral ends through moral means. Then, there is another thing about this philosophy that says that it is possible to struggle against an unjust system and maintain an attitude of active good will for the perpetrators of that unjust system. Now this is one of the most misunderstood aspects of the non-violent philosophy, saying that the love ethic can stand at the center of the movement. Many people say, what in the world do you mean when you say love those who are oppressing you, who are threatening your children and bombing your homes? How in the world can you love anybody like that? And there is a legitimate question to be raised here. I think there is some truth in the fact that it is nonsense to tell oppressed people to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. And this isn't what I am talking about, and this isn't what the non-violent ethic means when it talks about love. It's talking about something more than a sentimental or affectionate quality. It's talking about something much deeper, and fortunately, the Greek language comes to our aid at this point.

There are three words in the Greek language for love. There is the word eros. Eros is a sort of esthetic love, the yearning of the soul for the realm of the divine. Plato uses it a great deal in his dialogues; it has come to us to be a sort of romantic love, and in this sense we all know about eros; we have experienced it and read about it in all of the beauties of literature. In a sense Edgar Allen Poe was talking about eros when he talked about his beautiful Annabell Lee with a love surrounded by the halo of eternity. In a sense, Shakespeare was talking about eros when he said, "Love is not love it is an ever which alters when it alternation finds or bends with a remover to remove, it is an ever fixed mark that looks on tempest and is never shaken, it is a star to every wandering bark." You know I can remember that because I have a quote it to my wife every now and then. That's eros.

The Greek language talks about philio, which is a sort of intimate affection between personal friends; it is a reciprocal love. On this level, you love because you are loved, you love those people that you like – this is a friendship. And then the Greek language comes out with another word, agape. Agape is more than friendship, agape is more than esthetic or romantic love, agape is understanding, creative, redemptive good will for all men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. Theologians would say it is a love on this level – he loves every man, not because he likes him, not because his ways appeal to him, but he loves every man because God loves him and he rises to the level of loving the person who does an evil deed while hating the deed that the person does. I believe this is the kind of love that can take us through this period of transition and bring us to that bright day of brotherhood.

With this kind of determination and this struggle, I believe that we will be able to get there. It will help those who are able in the midst of the struggle to go into the new age with the right attitude. We must not seek to rise from one position of disadvantage to a position of advantage. We will not substitute on tyranny for another. This is why I say, in no uncertain terms, that a doctrine of black supremacy is as dangerous as the doctrine of white supremacy. God is not interested merely in the freedom of black men, brown men, and yellow men, but God is interested in the freedom of the whole humans race and the creation of a society where all men will live together as brothers and every man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. This is what we seek and this is where we move.

I believe that, with all these forces working together, we will be able to move on and achieve that new day of brotherhood. Let us assure and let me reiterate that it will not just bring itself into being. It means that people all over America must come to see that is morally wrong to oppress another individual. It means that white people of good will in every section of the country must rise up with righteous indignation, yes, when a bus burns with freedom riders in Anniston, Alabama, or when a church is bombed in Birmingham, Alabama, or when a courageous James Meredith cannot go to the University of Mississippi without 16,000 troops.

It means that the white person of good will must rise up with as much indignation when a Negro cannot get a job in his particular firm, or when a Negro cannot live in his neighborhood, or when a Negro cannot join his professional or academic society or her sorority or his fraternity. In other words, if this problem is to be solved, there must be a sort of divine discontent and the determination to see this new day arise. Professor Bixley used to talk a great deal about the danger, the whole idea of constantly discussing the well-adjusted life, and there are words in every academic discipline that soon become stereotypes and clichés. Modern psychology has a word that is used probably more than any other word in modern psychology; it is the word maladjusted. This word is the ringing pride of modern child psychology. Certainly we all want to achieve the well-adjusted life in order to avoid neurotic, schizophrenic personalities.

I say to you, my friends, that there are certain things in our world and our nation of which I am proud to be maladjusted and to which I call upon you to be maladjusted, and all men of good will to be maladjusted, until the good societies realize I never intend to adjust myself to segregation and racial discrimination. I never intend to become adjusted to religious bigotry. I never intend to adjust myself to the madness of militarism and the self-defeating effects of physical violence, but in the days when sputniks and Explorers are dashing through outer space, and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can win a war.

The alternative to disarmament, the alternative to suspension of nuclear tests, the alternative to disarming the whole world and strengthening the United Nations, may well be a civilization plunged into the abyss of annihilation. This is why I welcome the recent test-ban treaty, for we must come to see the necessity of moving on in this area. Maybe there is need for a new organization in this world: the International Association for the Advancement of Creative Maladjustment. Men and women who will be as maladjusted as the prophet Amos, who in the midst of the injustice of his day, could cry out in words that echo across the centuries: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." As maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln, who had the vision to see that this nation could not survive half-slave and half-free. As maladjusted as Thomas Jefferson, who in the midst of an age amazingly adjusted to slavery, scratched across the pages of history words lifted to cosmic proportions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." As maladjusted as Jesus of Nazareth, who could say to the men and women of his day: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Through such maladjustment we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice.

Now there is a warning signal. This is not an easy course to follow. When one stands up against entrenched evil, he must be willing to face scorn, he must be willing to be persecuted for righteousness' sake, he must be willing to go down the path of suffering, he must be willing to even have a seven-year-old daughter stand before him with tears in her eyes saying, "Daddy, why do you have to go to jail so much?" This is the price if one is to follow this noble way of trying to make the brotherhood of man a reality and the kingdom of God a reality in our world.

But I say to you that I have a personal faith, not a faith born on flowery beds of ease, but a faith born out of the agony of living everyday under the threat of death; a faith born out of the burden of daily scorn and excessive criticism and false accusation; a faith that somehow, in spite of the darkness of this hour, the daybreak of brotherhood will come into being. I have the faith that one day we will achieve right here in America the kind of society that we have talked about in such beautiful terms in the creed of our nation. We have talked about in such beautiful terms in the creed of our nation. We have a theme song in our movement, and I join in to sing it so often because I have a faith, a faith that grows out of the words of the psalmist, "Weeping may tarry for the night, but joy cometh in the morning." A faith that comes out of the words of the old Negro spiritual, "I'm so glad that trouble don't last always."

And out of this faith we have developed a theme song for our movement: "We Shall Overcome." We shall overcome, deep in my heart I do believe, we shall overcome. Before the victory is won some of us will have to get thrown in jail some more, but we shall overcome. Before the victory is won, some will lose jobs. Before the victory is won, some of us will be called bad names – dangerous rabble rousers, agitators, communists, and reds, simply because we believe in the brotherhood of man. Before the victory is won, some more may have to face physical death like Medger Evers and the little children in Birmingham, Alabama, but if physical death is the price that some must pay to free their children and their white brothers from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing can be more redemptive.

Yes, we shall overcome. So often we join hands to sing it behind crowded jail cells. So often we have gone before Bull Connor's police dogs to sing it. So often we've stood before the surging waters of powerful fire hoses, and yet we could sing still, we shall overcome. Strange, isn't it? I remember my brother calling me that night in Birmingham when his home was bombed and the Gaston Motel had been bombed and he was telling me that it had just happened. I had gone to Atlanta for the week-end to preach at my church, and as he was telling me about the bombings, I could hear something in the background, some music. I say, "What is that?" and he said "Listen a little more," and I could hear the words, we shall overcome, we shall overcome, deep in my heart I do believe, we shall overcome.

Strange, isn't it, that people can stand amid the smoldering ruins of their homes and their churches and still sing, we shall overcome? But there is a reason for being able to sing it. The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice. We shall overcome because Carlyle is right; no lie can live forever. We shall overcome because William Cullen Bryant is the right; truth crushed to earth will rise again. We shall overcome because James Russel Lowell is right; truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne. Yet that scaffold sways the future and behind the dim unknown standeth God, within the shadow keeping watch above His own.

Yes, we shall overcome, and with this faith we will be able to adjourn the councils of despair and bring new light into the dark chambers of pessimism. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. This will be a great day! This will be the day of the great America, and when this day comes the morning stars will sing together and the sons of God will shout for joy.