

# Humane Letters 9: The American Tradition

May 18 - 22

*Time Allotment: 80 minutes per day*

Student's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Teacher's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Packet Overview

Date	Objective(s)	Page
Monday, May 18	1. Compare and contrast the various paths to happiness presented in American literature.	2
Tuesday, May 19	1. Describe the leapfrogging strategy. 2. Describe how MacArthur and Nimitz used leapfrogging to defeat the Japanese.	3
Wednesday, May 20	1. Describe the rise of fascism in post-WWI Europe as the stage for the outbreak of WWII. 2. Identify the political geography of the European Theater in World War II. 3. Describe the events of D-Day.	6
Thursday, May 21	1. Describe the goal and impact of the Holocaust 2. Define fascism and its tenets. 2. Evaluate the effects of the detonation of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the WWII.	9
Friday, May 22	1. Take the minor assessment	13

### **Additional Notes:**

**Next week we will be having optional seminars on Letter from Birmingham Jail by Martin Luther King Jr. Please read the letter, which is attached at the end of this packet, even if you cannot attend seminar. There is more information in Friday's lesson.**

Please check the schedule posted on Google Classroom or the parent portal for your seminar’s day/time. Seminar days/times differ by class. Make sure to have your annotated book with you so that you can reference the text. I hope you’ll log on! These great books deserve to be read and discussed with good company. If you cannot join the seminar on Zoom, no worries! You should still complete all assignments. If you do participate in the seminar, you do not need to complete certain assignments; those assignments will be marked. In lieu of those assignments, you will be evaluated on your engagement in the seminar. Reach out if you have questions.

**Academic Honesty**

I certify that I completed this assignment independently in accordance with the GHNO Academy Honor Code.

*Student signature:*

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**Academic Honesty**

I certify that my student completed this assignment independently in accordance with the GHNO Academy Honor Code.

*Parent signature:*

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**Monday, May 11**

**Literature Unit: Literature Review  
Lesson 10: Reflecting on the Semester**

**Lesson Socratic Questions:** Keep these questions in mind as you study this lesson!  
What ingredients are necessary for happiness? What characters achieved happiness in any of the books we have read? Did their beliefs in what happiness consists of change?

**Objectives**

1. Compare and contrast the various paths to happiness presented in American literature.

**Introduction**

We have reached the end of our year of reading great books together! You should feel proud of your accomplishment. We have read through a vast swath of American literature spanning geographically from Lake Superior down to the banks of the Mississippi River and on into the Gulf of Mexico; out in both directions across the Great Plains, and back to the East Coast. We have read novels that reached back to the great westward migrations of the 1870s and into the Roaring 20s, and the Jazz Age. We underwent the scathing critique and diagnosis of the aristocratic Tocqueville, returned to the Founders, and gazed, filled with wonder, into the future, with our backs against the current like Jay Gatsby. Now it is time, to cast, in the words of Whitman, “a backwards glance o’er roads traveled.” It is time to think back over the works we have read and try to identify the various paths to happiness that we have encountered. Think of Antonia, throwing herself into work and family or Lena seeking economic independence. Or

think of Huck, seeking freedom and independence and finding himself involved in a much larger web of moral consequences. Finally, of course, there's Santiago and Gatsby...

Today you will be choosing two characters from different novels that we have read to compare. What did they think would make them happy? Were they correct? If not, why? Did any of the characters you encountered make you rethink what you think about what will make you happy?

### **Option 1: Seminar on Zoom 1**

Your first option for today's assignment is to participate in a seminar on Zoom over the question:

**“What are the paths to happiness presented in American literature?”**

Simply join my Guided Instruction using the link posted on Google Classroom or on the Remote Learning page of the school's website. Be sure to check whether you have Monday/Wednesday or Tuesday/Thursday seminar on your schedule.

Have your annotated books from the semester with you so you can reference them. Feel free to write down any questions you want to discuss.

### **Option 2: Writing exercise 1**

*If you are unable to join our Zoom seminar, you must complete the following writing assignment. If you participate in the Zoom seminar you do not need to complete this writing assignment.*

Use a similar prompt to the one above to write a 1-page, double spaced essay:

**“What are the two of the paths to happiness presented in American literature?”**

Write a minimum of two paragraphs of five sentences each examining two characters from any book we read in second semester. You can use your thesis from last week to get started, but make sure to use two different novels. Good luck!

## **Tuesday, May 19**

### **History Unit: World War II**

#### **Lesson: The Pacific Theater**

**Objectives:** Be able to do this by the end of this lesson.

1. Describe the leapfrogging strategy.
2. Describe how MacArthur and Nimitz used leapfrogging to defeat the Japanese.

#### **Introduction**

*Leapfrogging was the strategy championed by General Douglas MacArthur, commander of command US ground forces (think Marines) in the Pacific. Alongside Admiral Nimitz, commander of the unified Pacific fleet (thin Navy), MacArthur's leap frog strategy moved*

*the front closer and closer to Japan's homeland, the Island of Japan (rather than its outlying territories). If you are wondering where folks like General Patton and General (later President) Eisenhower are in all this, they're in Europe. Thus far, we are focusing on the Pacific Theater. In August 7, 1942, the First Marine Division landed on Guadalcanal (in the southern Solomon Islands) and seized the airstrip Japan planned to use to attack Allied supply routes to Australia. Now, America could move on to New Guinea (a little north of the Port Moresby at the heart of the Battle of the Coral Sea) and the Philippines. The leapfrogging strategy (or you can think of it like a ladder) focused on stretching Japan's fighting force and supply lines as thin as possible by making them travel far and travel frequently to fight. The Americans would capture (or recapture on behalf of other countries in the Allied Forces) island by island, outpost by outpost, and leapfrog its way across those victories to Japan's homeland. With each jump (or ladder rung), MacArthur argued, Japan would have a weaker force and a weaker supply line and America would be one jump/rung closer to the main island. To get an idea of the progression of the leap frog strategy, examine the map below. Notice the blue lines (the lines moving north toward Japan, if your map is black and white).*

*General MacArthur pushed to control New Guinea because it was the first jump/ladder step to the Philippines. Without access to the supply line through the Philippines, the Japanese navy would be crippled. These New Guinea battles were fought through some of the hottest, most humid, and most mosquito-infested swamps in the world. American losses were substantial, both from disease and battle. As February 1943 approached, however, MacArthur and his troops held northern New Guinea. Keep in mind that MacArthur's forces are always pushing north and west from Australia to try to approach Japan's homeland.*

*At this point, the US adopted two strategies simultaneously. General MacArthur, headquartered in northern New Guinea, was working to leapfrog from New Guinea to the Philippines to Tokyo. Admiral Nimitz, headquartered at Pearl Harbor, pushed through the central Pacific to Formosa and China. The goal, in part, was the force the Japanese to fight a two-front war. America, of course, was forced to fight a two front war with enemies both in the Pacific and across the Atlantic.*

### **Two Disasters for Japan: The Bismarck Decision and Yamamoto's Death**

*In the Battle of Bismarck (March 2-3, 1942), American bombers sank eight Japanese troopships and ten warships. Those losses were bad enough, but the aftermath was the true disaster. After the Battle of Bismarck, Japan's leadership decided to withhold reinforcements from points under siege for fear of losing them in transit. This was a devastating strategic mistake. By refusing to reinforce their holdings under attack, Japan allowed the Allied Forces to strike once and strike hard, knowing full well the Japanese installation would never be rebuilt. This made the American leapfrogging tactic all the more powerful. Americans could arrive, attack, and quickly move on. America no longer needed to dedicate military energy to maintaining victories. In addition to stopping reinforcements, Japan suffered a shattering blow to morale when American pilots shot down Admiral Yamamoto's plane in April 1943, killing the man who orchestrated the*

*attack on Pearl Harbor and served as a unifying figure for Japan's fighting force. See picture in Wednesday's lesson.*

### **While MacArthur moves Northwest, Nimitz Secures the Mariana Islands for the Allies**

*Admiral Nimitz's moved first across the Pacific (marching nearly due East) toward the small islands of Makin and Tarawa. First, he bombed the islands to weaken their defenses. On November 20, 1943, two hundred American ships overtook Makin beaches delivering Army infantrymen and Marines. Tarawa, however, was a different story. Tarawa was one of the most heavily protected islands in the Pacific. On this small, but fortified island, nearly 1,000 American soldiers, sailors, and marines lost their lives rooting out Japanese soldiers who refused to surrender. Next, Nimitz moved on to the Marshall Islands in January 1944, the next jump (step up the ladder) to Japan's homeland. American forces took Saipan, in the Marianas, on June 15, bringing the new American B-29 bombers within striking distance of Japan itself. In the Battle of the Philippine Sea, fought mostly in the air on June 19–20, 1944, the Japanese lost 3 more aircraft carriers, 2 submarines, and over 300 planes. The battle secured the Marianas, and soon B-29s were winging their way from Saipan to bomb the Japanese homeland. Defeat in the Marianas convinced General Tojo that the war was lost. On July 18, 1944, he and his entire cabinet resigned. Japan had now lost not only strategic territory, but Tojo and Yamamoto, two luminous figures in Japan's culture.*

### **The Next Step: Take Back the Philippines**

*With New Guinea and the Mariana Islands all but conquered, President Roosevelt met with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz in Honolulu on July 27–28, 1944. They decided next to liberate the Philippine Islands from Japanese control.*

### **Examine the Map**

Circle the following locations/battles on the map below.

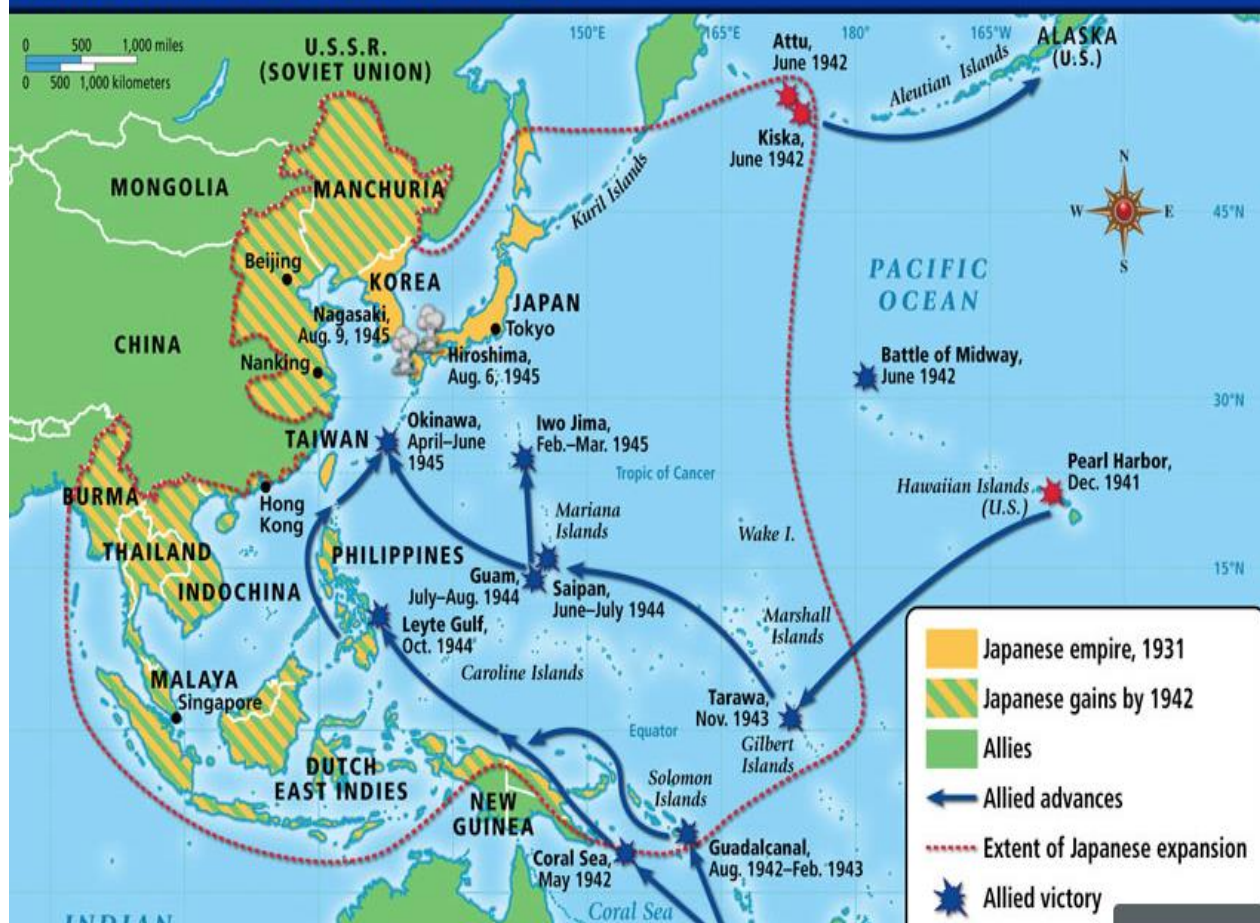
- a. Coral Sea
- b. Guadalcanal (recapturing the airstrip that provided ready access to Australia)
- c. Leyte Gulf (we'll study this battle tomorrow)
- d. Mariana Islands
- e. Midway
- f. New Guinea
- g. Philippines (Battle of the Philippine Sea)
- h. Tarawa (Makin isn't picture because Tarawa proved the most perilous for the Allies)

### **Retrace/Draw**

Retrace/draw Admiral Nimitz's leapfrog from Pearl Harbor, his headquarters, to meeting General MacArthur in the Philippines.

In a difference color, retrace/draw General MacArthur's leapfrog from Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands to meeting Admiral Nimitz in the Philippines.

## World War II in the Pacific 1941–1945



REMEMBER, America used two simultaneous plans of attack in the Pacific Theater, each commanded by a different official. These plans worked together under the leapfrog strategy, but they moved troops to different places (in different directions) and pursued separate, yet symbiotic short term goals.

### Wednesday, May 20

#### History Unit: World War II Lesson: The European Theater

**Objectives:** Be able to do this by the end of this lesson.

4. Describe the rise of fascism in post-WWI Europe as the stage for the outbreak of WWII.
5. Identify the political geography of the European Theater in World War II.
6. Describe the events of D-Day.
7. Describe the goal and impact of the Holocaust.

## Introduction - The Rise of Fascism: Locating the Conflict

*Transport yourself to 1939. The entire world is watching Europe – this will come to be called the European Theater – and hoping that Nazi Germany will be content to retake its pre-WWI territory. Surely, European leaders tell each other, the aggression of Nazi Germany's bombastic chancellor, Adolf Hitler, would dwindle with the reclamation of the Rhineland and the Sudetenland. Last week, we explored maps to understand the characteristics of Fascism. Now, let's take a look at maps as depictions of a conflict's geographic component. In all wars, both combatants must deal with the political geography (e.g., national borders, locations of capitals, access to trade routes, natural resources accessible to each side, etc.). In addition, both combatants must come to terms with the physical geography of the fight (e.g., transporting thousands of soldiers across an ocean and the challenges of fighting in different climate zones). The following map shows you the political geography of the European Theater shortly before America entered World War II.*

### Examine the Map

Examine the 1939 map of Europe below. Pay close attention to national borders and the following country locations: England, France, Germany, Poland, Italy, Spain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russia), Turkey, and Greece.



### **Review Reading and Notes or Outline**

Review pages 977-985 of *America: A Narrative History*. Review your outline of the chapter OR your notes from seminar.

### **Option 1: Seminar on Zoom 2**

Your first option for today's assignment is to participate in a seminar on Zoom over the history reading. We will be discussing, among other things, America's reasons for entering the war. It will also be a chance to reflect on some of the mythic interpretations America has had of itself. For instance:

**The City Upon a Hill • The Empire of Reason • Nature's Nation:** America as a nation uniquely in harmony with nature • **Novus Ordo Seclorum:** America as the new order of the ages • **Redeemer Nation:** America as redeemer of a corrupted world • **The New Eden:** America as land of newness and moral renewal • **The Nation Dedicated to a Proposition:** America as land of equality • **The Melting Pot:** America as blender and transcender of ethnicities • **Land of Opportunity:** America as the nation of material promise and social mobility • **The Nation of Immigrants:** America as a magnet for immigrants • **The New Israel:** America as God's new chosen nation • **The Nation of Nations:** America as a transnational container for diverse national identities • **The First New Nation:** America as the first consciously wrought modern nation • **The Indispensable Nation:** America as guarantor of world peace, stability, and freedom.

Simply join my Guided Instruction using the link posted on Google Classroom or on the Remote Learning page of the school's website. Be sure to check whether you have Monday/Wednesday or Tuesday/Thursday seminar on your schedule.

Have your annotated books from the semester with you so you can reference them. Feel free to write down any questions you want to discuss.

### **Option 2: Comprehension Questions**

Use the following questions to guide your review. Answer them if you have time. If you're out of time, review the reading and note the answers as you go along. Do what you can!

1. Who commanded the American ground forces during D-Day?
2. List the three nations and their leaders that participated in the Yalta Conference.
3. Describe the strategic goals of D-Day and how the battle accomplished those goals.
4. What terms did these leaders agree to at Yalta?
5. Nazis doggedly pursued policies of "racial purity" before and during WWII. Which groups of people did the Nazis try to eliminate? How? Why?



## **Thursday, May 21**

### **History Unit: World War II**

#### **Lesson: Fascism and the Rise of the Nuclear Age**

**Objectives:** Be able to do this by the end of this lesson.

1. Define fascism and its tenets.
2. Evaluate the effects of the detonation of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the WWII.

#### **Read and Annotate: Class Notes**

By 1939, both Italy and Germany had succumbed to fascist movements. Italy was led by Benito Mussolini and Nazi Germany by Adolf Hitler. Japan was technically an empire, but its aggressive imperialism mimicked a tenant of fascism. In short, the Allies faced enemies set on conquering and oppressing the known world. Keep this in mind when we begin to discuss the use of nuclear weapons against Japan. For now, though, we must define fascism. Thinking about political ideologies comparatively is helpful, so you'll see comparisons to the United States frequently. Fascism is a political ideology (belief system) featuring the following commitments.

1) Fascists believe the nation (as a historical, geographic, and cultural entity) can justly demand absolute and total loyalty from its citizens. As such, fascists believe the nation may control all aspects of the economy and individual lives. Fascism is a type of nationalist totalitarianism. Fascists believe the nation itself is the supreme authority. In contrast, in the United States, we believe the Constitution is our supreme secular authority. For example, at his inauguration, the President of the United States takes an oath to support the Constitution (see Article II of the COTUS) and members of the US Armed Forces swear or affirm to support and defend the Constitution. In contrast, Nazis swore a personal oath to Hitler as the supreme leader of the Reich. This also serves as support for item 6.

2) Fascist's believe in "military citizenship" – that is, every citizen is coercively mobilized as some part of the national military force. This is typically an aggressive, conquest-based military force, but it does not mean all "military citizenship" requires individuals to participate in combat. Instead, "military citizenship" will often require individuals to take jobs in defense production (e.g., making ammunition) and support (e.g., working as a secretary in the party headquarters). "Military citizenship" extends to businesses, too. As such, businesses in a Fascist nations are expected to devote their efforts to support the military-industrial complex, whether this means converting your dress factory to a military uniform factory, or relinquishing your profits to the nation's war effort. In contrast, the United States military is organized under the Department of Defense (key word, Defense) and its military has, for most of the nation's history, been a volunteer army.

3) Fascism does not allow multiple political parties or any form of political competition. While a Fascist nation may hold so-called elections, these nations have one political party, so there are no meaningful alternatives for voters. We see this devotion to a single party (usually under a single

leader) in all fascist propaganda and policies. For example, the Nazi Party slogan was "One People, One Empire, One Leader" (*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*).

4) This is a bit of restatement of the first component, but it merits reiteration. Fascists prioritize the nation – particularly the protection and increase of its imperial glory – above all else, including individuals, laws, freedom, and religion, to name a few. In contrast, the United States prioritizes the rule of law and individual liberty above all else.

5) Fascists are imperialists. Their goal, which is expressed explicitly in their propaganda, is to rule the entire world permanently. For example, the goal of the National Socialist Worker's (Nazi) Party was to establish a thousand-year realm (*Reich*) in which only the German language, racial heritage, and culture were permitted. To put that into perspective, the Roman Empire existed for roughly 400 years (another 400 as a republic).

6) Fascist regimes mobilize around single leaders (e.g., Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini). These leaders create titles (and nicknames) that reveal their total control of the national party, absolute political power over the nation's policies, military, and laws, and their demand for the unquestioned, personal loyalty of each citizen. Hitler, for example, was the Chancellor of the German Reich from 1933 to 1945, but he adopted the title *Führer* (as an abbreviation of *Führerprinzip*, supreme leader) as opposed to the title of Chancellor. In Italy, Benito Mussolini was technically the Prime Minister of Italy from 1922 to 1943, but he styled himself His Excellency, *Duce del Fascismo* and used the nickname *Il Duce*.

Understanding the rise of fascism in Europe is key to understanding the causes and perils of WWII. As we learned above, fascists see no difference between themselves and their state; this state pursues offensive imperial policies with the goal of conquering all non-fascists.

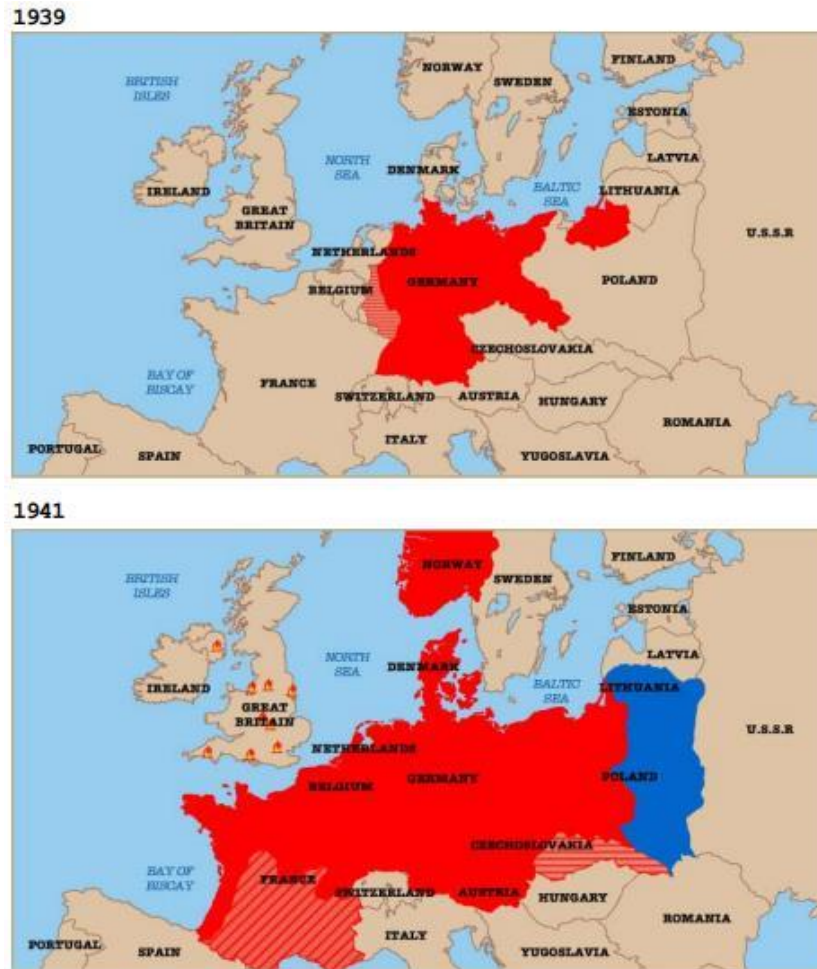
### Examine the Map, 1

Compare the Germany territory in 1933 (brown) to the territory acquired under Hitler's Germany in by 1939 (various reds). What tenant(s) of Fascism do(es) this map help illustrate?



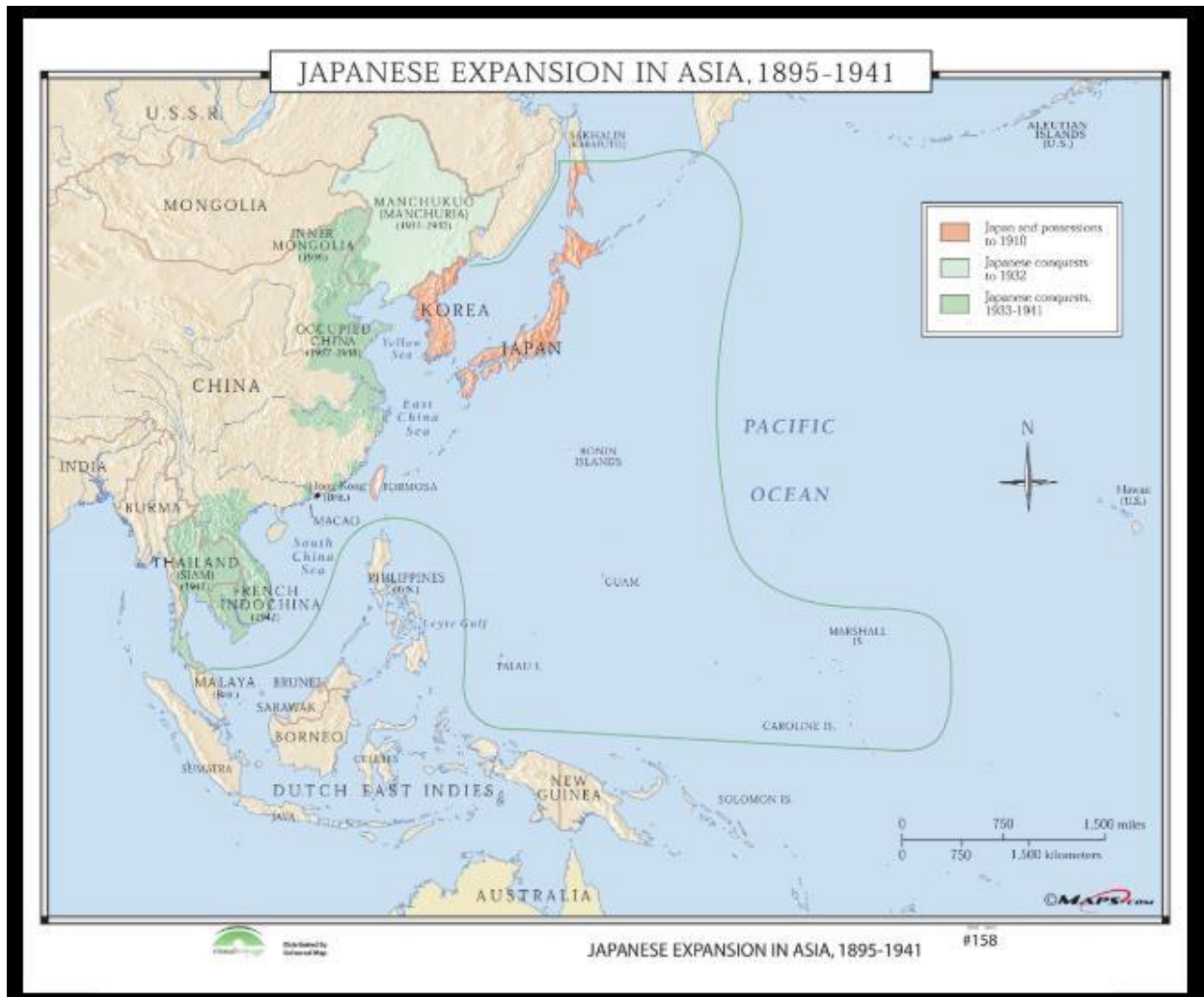
### Examine the Map, 2

Now, compare the Germany territory in 1939 to the territory acquired under Hitler's Germany in by 1941. What do you see? Reflect on these two maps as context not only for the tenets of Fascism, but as context for America's entry into World War II.



### Examine the Map, 3

Examine the map of Japanese territory from 1895 to 1941. 1. What changed about Japan's territorial (sea and land) holdings from 1895 to 1941? In short, does Japan control more territory in 1941 than it did in 1895?



The maps above reveal the impact of imperialism (as an tenant of fascism or an orienting political goal) on political geography. The Holocaust shows us the human cost of fascism. Many, including Churchill, considered the Holocaust the greatest crime in history, although similar cruelties inflicted by the Soviet Union challenge that view. Now, we will learn about the other horrific catastrophe of World War II: The destruction of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American atomic bombs.

### Review Reading and Notes/Outline

Review your *outline* of *America: A Narrative History* from p. 985 to 993. Use the following questions to guide your review.

1. Why would the use of nuclear weapons be considered a viable military strategy?
2. Name the US president responsible for deploying the nuclear weapons.
3. Name the two Japanese cities destroyed by the nuclear weapons.
4. Why would the use of nuclear weapons be rejected as a viable military strategy?

## **Friday, May 22**

### **History Minor Assessment**

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Instructions:** Please answer each question *concisely*. You may type your answers under each question OR you may write your responses long-hand on a separate sheet of paper.

1. What was D-Day? Your response should be no longer than two sentences.
2. List the three nations and their leaders that participated in the Yalta Conference.
3. In a minimum of two sentences, what were the terms of Yalta?
4. In a minimum of two sentences, what is fascism?
5. Nazis doggedly pursued policies of “racial purity” before and during WWII. Which groups of people did the Nazis try to eliminate? How? Why? Your response should be no longer than three sentences.
6. What is leapfrogging? Who used it and where? Your response should be no longer than three sentences.
7. Why would the use of nuclear weapons against Japan be considered a viable military strategy? Your response should be no longer than three sentences.
8. Name the US president responsible for deploying the nuclear weapons.
9. Name the two Japanese cities destroyed by the nuclear weapons.
10. Why would the use of nuclear weapons against Japan be rejected as a viable military strategy? Your response should be no longer than three sentences.

### **Conclusion and seminar information**

Congratulations on finishing 9<sup>th</sup> Grade Humane Letters! We sincerely hope that you have enjoyed learning about American history and reading great American literature. We also hope that you will continue to join us in our next seminars on Martin Luther King Jr.’s Letter from a Birmingham Jail. It is a short reading, but it echoes Lincoln, Jefferson, and many other voices from the tradition in an eloquent plea for justice that serves as a capstone for our year of study together.

**Week 10 Seminar 1:** Read to nearly the bottom of page three, ending with “I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.” Log in as usual on through the guided instruction link on the day and time you would ordinarily have your first seminar of the week (Monday/Tuesday).

**Week 10 Seminar 2:** Finish the Letter, starting from the bottom of page 3 at “I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers.” Log in as usual on through the guided instruction link on the day and time you would ordinarily have your second seminar of the week (Wednesday/Thursday).

AUGUST 1963

## Letter from Birmingham Jail

by Martin Luther King, Jr.

*From the Birmingham jail, where he was imprisoned as a participant in nonviolent demonstrations against segregation, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote in longhand the letter which follows. It was his response to a public statement of concern and caution issued by eight white religious leaders of the South. Dr. King, who was born in 1929, did his undergraduate work at Morehouse College; attended the integrated Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, one of six black pupils among a hundred students, and the president of his class; and won a fellowship to Boston University for his Ph.D.*

WHILE confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the South, one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible, we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct-action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here.

Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth-century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their hometowns; and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Greco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular hometown. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

IN ANY nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive, negotiation, self-purification, and direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of them, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants, such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises, Reverend Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstration. As the weeks and months unfolded, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences of the past, we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We

started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" and "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?" We decided to set our direct-action program around the Easter season, realizing that, with exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Conner was in the runoff, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstration could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the runoff.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We, too, wanted to see Mr. Conner defeated, so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action, why sit-ins, marches, and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has consistently refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So, the purpose of direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Conner, they are both segregationists, dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but, as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct-action movement that was "well timed" according to the timetable 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 a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our God-given and constitutional rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say "wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she cannot go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos, "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodyness" -- then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

**Y**OU express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: there are just laws, and there are unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law, or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I - it" relationship for the "I - thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow, and that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because it did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote, despite the fact that the Negroes constitute a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians, who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a Communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

**I**MUST make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens Councillor or the Ku Klux Klanner but the white moderate who is more devoted to order than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time; and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because His unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to His will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.



I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said, "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but is it possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be coworkers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

YOU spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and, on the other hand, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable devil. I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need not follow the do-nothingism of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is a more excellent way, of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged, I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble-rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized.

But as I continued to think about the matter, I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love? -- "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice? -- "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ? -- "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist? -- "Here I stand; I can do no other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist? -- "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a mockery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist? -- "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist? -- "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate, or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice, or will we be extremists for the cause of justice?

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some, like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, and James Dabbs, have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They sat in with us at lunch counters and rode in with us on the freedom rides. They have languished in filthy roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike many of their moderate brothers, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

LET me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Reverend Stallings, for your Christian stand this past Sunday in welcoming Negroes to your Baptist Church worship service on a nonsegregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions, I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say that as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say it as a minister of the gospel who loves the church, who was nurtured in its bosom, who has been sustained by its Spiritual blessings, and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some few have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and with deep moral concern serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshipers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say, follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sidelines and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues which the gospel has nothing to do with," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which made a strange distinction between bodies and souls, the sacred and the secular.

There was a time when the church was very powerful. It was during that period that the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was the thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven" and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now. The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I meet young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson scratched across the pages of history the majestic word of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our foreparents labored here without wages; they made cotton king; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation -- and yet out of a bottomless vitality our people continue to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys, if you would observe them, as they did on two occasions, refusing to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been publicly "nonviolent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends.

I wish you had commended the Negro demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two-year-old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity, "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience's sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage.

Never before have I written a letter this long -- or should I say a book? I'm afraid that it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

*Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood,*

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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