

To the distinguished president of Southern Methodist University, Dr. Tate, members of the faculty and members of the student body, ladies and gentlemen. I need not pause to say how very delighted and honored I am to be on the campus of this great institution of learning and to be a part of your lecture series. And I certainly want to express my personal appreciation to Mr. Moore and Mr. Cox and all of you for extending the invitation.

It is always a very rich and rewarding experience when I can take a brief break from the day-to-day demands of our struggle for freedom and human dignity and discuss the issues involved in that struggle with college and university students and concerned people of goodwill all over the country and all over the world. And so it is a delightful pleasure to be here with you today. I come with a deep appreciation for the rich and noble heritage of this marvelous institution of learning.

I would like to have you think with me this afternoon on the subject of the future of integration. I guess probably more than any other question, the one that I get over and over again as I journey around our nation is the question whether we are making any real progress in race relations. It is a poignant and desperate question on the lips of thousands and millions of people all over this nation. And I guess the only answer that I can give to that question is what I consider a realistic one. It avoids the extremes of both a deadening pessimism and a superficial optimism. I would say that we have come a long, long way in our struggle to make justice a reality for all men, but we have a long, long way to go before the problem is solved. And it is this realistic position that I would like to use as the basis for our thinking together this afternoon as we think of the future of integration and as we think of progress in race relations. We have come a long, long way, but we still have a long, long way to go.

Now let us notice first that we have come a long, long way, and in order to illustrate this, a bit of history is of this nation. They were brought here from the soils of Africa. Unlike the Pilgrim fathers, who landed at Plymouth a year later, they were brought here against their will. Throughout slavery, the Negro was treated in a very inhuman fashion. He was a thing to be used rather than a person to be respected. He was merely a depersonalized cog in a vast plantation machine.

The famous Dred Scott decision of 1857 well-illustrated the status of the Negro during slavery. For in this decision, the Supreme Court of our nation said in substance that the Negro is not a citizen of the United States. He is merely property subject to the dictates of his owner. It went on to say that the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect. With the growth of slavery, it became necessary to give some justification for it. It seems to be a fact of life that men cannot continue to do wrong without eventually reaching out for some thin rationalization to clothe an obvious wrong in the beautiful garments of righteousness. This is exactly what happened during the days of slavery. Even religion was used, or I should say misused, to crystalize the patterns of the status quo and to justify the system of slavery. And so it was argued from some pulpits that the Negro is inferior by nature because of Noah's curse upon the children of Ham. The Apostle Paul's dictum became a watchword: That servants be obedient to your master.

Then one brother had probably read the logic of the great philosopher Aristotle. You know Aristotle did

bleakness of nagging injustice.

Then something else happened in 1954. After examining the legal body of segregation, the Supreme Court pronounced it constitutionally dead on May 17 of that year. It said in substance the old Plessy doctrine must go, separate facilities are inherently unequal, that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law.

Then along with that we saw other developments.

The same thing has happened, and the numbers are probably larger, in the state of Mississippi. And so these things continue to exist. We mount our movements trying to get a little justice. We still see homes being bombed. We still see churches being burned down. Over the last 18 months, more than 52 Negro churches have been burned in the state of Mississippi alone. It seems they have a slogan there now which doesn't say "Attend the Church of your Choice" but "Burn the Church of your Choice."

Oh, how tragic this is. This reveals we still have a long, long way to go if the equal administration of justice is to be a reality.

\$700 billion can solve the problems so that nobody will have to live with poverty. We must see that still by the millions, we have many, many people perishing on the lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of prosperity. And so this reveals that we have a long, long way to go in the economic area.

Now I mentioned that we have made numerous strides in breaking down the barriers of legal segregation. And I would like to say that something else is happening that all people of goodwill must be concerned about. Massive resistance has given way in the South to a sophisticated kind of resistance embodied in tokenism. If we are to have a truly integrated society, it will never develop through tokenism. We get a few Negroes in formerly all-white schools and say we have integrated schools. We get a few Negroes in fairly good jobs in plants, and we begin to say we have equal job opportunities in plants. And then it goes right on down the line in other areas.

The fact is that this kind of tokenism is much more subtle and can be much more depressing to the victims of the tokenism than all-out resistance. And so we have a long, long way to go in dealing with this problem, but it is not only a Southern problem that we face, it is a national problem.

The ghetto in the North is not being dispersed; if anything it is being intensified. Segregation in schools in the North is not decreasing; it is increasing. And so it means that there must be a national movement, a national coalition of conscience to solve a problem that pervades our nation. So it may be true that, figuratively speaking, Old Man Segregation is on his deathbed, but we must always realize that social systems have a great last-minute breathing power, and the guardians of the status quo are always on hand with their oxygen tents to keep the old order alive. And so segregation is still with us. We still have a long, long way to go before the problem is solved. May I say to you this afternoon that I am convinced that if democracy is to live, segregation must die.

Segregation is a cancer in the body politic which must be removed before our moral and democratic health can be realized. We don't have long to solve this problem. There is a bit of urgency about it. The shape of the world today no longer affords us the luxury of an anemic democracy. There is a revolt all over the world against colonialism, imperialism and racism. And all over the world people are saying racism and colonialism must go.

I've talked with leaders in Asia, Africa, South America and even Europe who said to me over and over again that if America does not solve the great problem of racial injustice, she can become a second-rate power in the world with no moral or political voice. And so the hour is late, and the crux of destiny is kicking out. We must act now before it is too late. But I would not like to leave you with the impression that we must solve this problem merely to appeal to Asian and African peoples. I would not like to leave you with the impression that we must solve this problem merely to meet the communist challenge, as important as that is.

In the final analysis, racial injustice must be uprooted from American society because it is morally wrong. We must solve this problem not merely because it is diplomatically expedient, but because it is morally compelling. We must solve this problem because it is sinful to segregate any of God's children and to trample over them with the iron feet of oppression. And so the challenge in the days ahead is to work passionately and unrelentingly for the solution to the problem and to go that additional distance necessary to make justice a reality for all people.

Now if we are to solve the problem, it is necessary to develop a massive action program to get at it on a continuing basis North and South. Now in order to develop the kind of action program that will really solve the problem, we must get rid of one or two myths that are constantly disseminated.

One is what I refer to as the myth of time. I'm sure you have heard this. It is a strange notion that there

is some miraculous quality in the very flow of time that tends to heal all ills. You've heard it from those who said to the Negro and his allies in the white community, "Just be nice and patient, and in 100 or 200 years the problem will work itself out." They contend that only time can solve the problem. It is my contention that there is an answer to that myth and that is that time is neutral. It can be used either constructively or destructively. And I am absolutely convinced that the forces of ill will in our nation, the extreme right in our nation, have often used time much more effectively than the forces of goodwill. We may have to repent in this generation not merely for vitriolic words and the violent actions of the bad people who bombed a church in Birmingham, Alabama, but for the appalling silence and indifference of the good people who sit around and say wait on time.

Somewhere we must come to see that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the time and persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be co-workers with God. Without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of social stagnation and irrational emotionalism. We must help time, and we must realize the time is always right to do right.

Now there is another myth that is constantly disseminated. It is the notion that legislation cannot solve the problems of racial injustice. Those who argue on the basis of this myth contend that you've got to change the heart. Well, as I said earlier this afternoon to many of my fellow clergymen here in Dallas, I'm with anybody who believes in changing the heart. I have nothing against changing the heart. I happen to be a preacher, and I am in the heart-changing business. And I preach Sunday after Sunday, week after week, about regeneration, conversion and the new birth. I believe in getting hearts changed.

And I believe also that it is true that if we are to solve the problem ultimately, the white person must see the Negro as his brother. And he must treat him right because it is natural and because the Negro is his brother and not merely because the law says it. If we are to solve the problem ultimately, every person must rise to the majestic heights of being obedient to the unenforceable. I recognize this.

But after saying this, I think we must see the other side and see the wrongness of the notion that legislation can't help. It may be true that you can't legislate integration, but you can legislate desegregation. It may be true that morality can't be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. It may be that the law cannot make a man love me, but it can restrain him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important also.

It may be true that the law cannot change the heart, but it can restrain the heartless, and over and over again we see this. While the law may not change the hearts of men, it does change the habits of men. I can say to you that things are different all over the South as a result of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. I can say to you this afternoon that things are different all over the South as a result of the 1965 Voting Rights Bill.

certainly can't be telling us to love these people who are oppressing us and who are killing our children and who are bombing our churches. And I always have to stop and try to explain what I mean when I talk about love in this context.

I'm not talking about emotional bonds. I'm not talking about some sentimental or affectionate feeling. And I think it would be nonsense to urge oppressed people to love their violent oppressors in an affectionate sense.

Fortunately the Greek language comes to our aid in trying to describe the meaning of love in this context. There are three words in Greek for love. One is the word Eros. Eros is sort of an aesthetic love. Plato used to talk about it a great deal in his dialogues, the yearning of the soul for the realm of the divine. This comes 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 the beauties of literature.

In a sense, what Poe was talking about was Eros when he was talking about his beautiful Annabel Lee with the love surrounded by the halo of eternity. And Shakespeare was talking about Eros when he said, "Love is not love / Which alters when it alteration finds, / Or bends with the remover to remove / O no, it is an ever-fixed mark / That looks on tempests and is never shaken." You know, I can remember that because I used to quote it to my wife when we were courting. That was Eros.

And then the Greek language talks about Philia, which is a kind of intimate affection between personal friends. This is a very beautiful love. This is the kind of love that you have for the people you like. This is the kind of love you have for your roommate and those people that you get along with very well and that you go out with. This is Philia. This is friendship.

Then the Greek language came out with another word. This is the word Agape. Agape is more than romantic or aesthetic love. Agape is more than friendship. Agape is understanding, creative, redemptive

And so we need maladjusted men and women where these problems are concerned. It may well be that our whole world is in need of the formation of a new organization, 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 injustices of his day cried the words that echoed across the centuries, "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln,