# Handout A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mohandas K. Gandhi</th>
<th>Martin Luther King, Jr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born on October 2, 1869, Porbandar, India</td>
<td>Born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assassinated on January 30, 1948</td>
<td>Assassinated April 4, 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer; received his training in England</td>
<td>Minister; received his training at Morehouse College, Crozer Theological Seminary, Boston University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devoted Hindu</td>
<td>Christian, Baptist Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked in South Africa for over 20 years, witnessing racial prejudice</td>
<td>Leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Returned to India in 1914</td>
<td>Travels to India to deepen his understanding of nonviolence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protested British colonial rule over India and mobilized Indians to practice noncooperation</td>
<td>Participates in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and delivers the “I Have a Dream” speech in 1963</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leader of the Salt March (1930) in which he protested the unfair government Salt Acts</td>
<td>Receives the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964</td>
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Handout B

My Trip to the Land of Gandhi
Author: King, Martin Luther, Jr.
Date: July 1, 1959 to July 31, 1959

For a long time I had wanted to take a trip to India. Even as a child the entire Orient held a strange fascination for me—the elephants, the tigers, the temples, the snake charmers and all the other storybook characters.

While the Montgomery boycott was going on, India’s Gandhi was the guiding light of our technique of non-violent social change. We spoke of him often. So as soon as our victory over bus segregation was won, some of my friends said: “Why don’t you go to India and see for yourself what the Mahatma, whom you so admire, has wrought.”

[...] But every time that I was about to make the trip, something would interfere. At one time it was my visit by prior commitment to Ghana. At another time my publishers were pressing me to finish writing Stride Toward Freedom. Then along came Mrs. Izola Ware Curry. When she struck me with that Japanese letter opener on that Saturday afternoon in September as I sat autographing books in a Harlem store, she not only knocked out the travel plans that I had but almost everything else as well.

After I recovered from this near-fatal encounter and was finally released by my doctors, it occurred to me that it might be better to get in the trip to India before plunging too deeply once again into the sea of the Southern segregation struggle.

I preferred not to take this long trip alone and asked my wife and my friend, Lawrence Reddick, to accompany me. Coretta was particularly interested in the women of India and Dr. Reddick in the history and government of that great country. He had written my biography, Crusader Without Violence, and said that my true test would come when the people who knew Gandhi looked me over and passed judgment upon me and the Montgomery movement. The three of us made up a sort of 3-headed team with six eyes and six ears for looking and listening.

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation made a grant through the American Friends Service Committee to cover most of the expenses of the trip and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Montgomery Improvement Association added their support. The Gandhi Memorial Trust of India extended an official invitation, through diplomatic channels, for our visit.

And so on February 3, 1959, just before midnight, we left New York by plane. [...]
Orient
-regions or countries lying to the east of a specific point; formerly understood to include regions (such as the Middle East) lying to the east and southeast of southern Europe but now usually understood to refer to regions and countries of eastern Asia

Montgomery boycott
-a mass refusal to ride public buses in Montgomery, Alabama. Beginning in December 1955, the African American citizens of Montgomery stopped using city buses to protest segregation (division and discrimination based on race). The boycott lasted 13 and ended with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that segregation on public buses is unconstitutional.

non-violent social change
-changes in community/society that happen without use of force or violence, e.g. Montgomery bus boycott

Mrs. Izola Ware Curry
-was a mentally disturbed woman, who on September 20,1958, stabbed Martin Luther King, Jr., while he was signing copies of his book, Stride Toward Freedom, at Blumstein’s Department Store in Harlem, New York. https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/curry-izola-ware

autographing
-writing one’s signature on something, signing

segregation struggle
-ongoing effort to end division and discrimination bases on race

Crusader
-person who vigorously and actively campaigns or fights for social or political changes;

Christopher Reynolds Foundation
-a private grant-making foundation since 1952
https://www.creynolds.org/

American Friends Service Committee
-founded in 1917, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization that promotes lasting peace with justice, as a practical expression of faith in action.
https://www.afsc.org
https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia.american-friends-service-committee.afsc

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
-an African-American civil rights organization founded in 1957
http://nationalsclc.org
Lesson Plan: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Pilgrimage to India, Part 1:
3. Classroom Activity


Montgomery Improvement Association
- an organization formed in December 1955, which played an instrumental role in guiding the Montgomery bus boycott
https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/montgomery-improvement-association-mia

Gandhi Memorial Trust of India (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi)
- funds and promotes the manifold constructive activities with which Mahatma Gandhi was associated and any other activities in furtherance of his ideals.
https://www.gandhismaraknidhi.org
Handout C

Pilgrimage to Nonviolence
Author: King, Martin Luther, Jr.
Date: April 13, 1960
https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/pilgrimage-nonviolence

[...] Then I came upon the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of *satyagraha* (*satya* is truth which equals love, and *graha* is force; *satyagraha* thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. At this time, however, I had a merely intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position, with no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation.

The experience in Montgomery did more to clarify my thinking on the question of nonviolence than all of the books that I had read. As the days unfolded I became more and more convinced of the power of nonviolence. Living through the actual experience of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual assent; it became a commitment to a way of life. Many issues I had not cleared up intellectually concerning nonviolence were now solved in the sphere of practical action.

A few months ago I had the privilege of traveling to India. The trip had a great impact on me personally and left me even more convinced of the power of nonviolence. It was a marvelous thing to see the amazing results of a nonviolent struggle. India won her independence, but without violence on the part of Indians. The aftermath of hatred and bitterness that usually follows a violent campaign is found nowhere in India. Today a mutual friendship based on complete equality exists between the Indian and British people within the commonwealth.
"My Trip to the Land of Gandhi"
Author: King, Martin Luther, Jr.
Date: July 1, 1959 to July 31, 1959

The trip had a great impact upon me personally. It was wonderful to be in Gandhi’s land, to talk with his son, his grandsons, his cousin and other relatives; to share the reminiscences of his close comrades; to visit his ashram, to see the countless memorials for him and finally to lay a wreath on his entombed ashes at Rajghat. I left India more convinced than ever before that non-violent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. It was a marvelous thing to see the amazing results of a non-violent campaign. The aftermath of hatred and bitterness that usually follows a violent campaign was found nowhere in India. Today a mutual friendship based on complete equality exists between the Indian and British people within the commonwealth. The way of acquiescence leads to moral and spiritual suicide. The way of violence leads to bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers. But, the way of non-violence leads to redemption and the creation of the beloved community.[...]

I was delighted that the Gandhians accepted us with open arms. They praised our experiment with the non-violent resistance technique at Montgomery. They seem to look upon it as an outstanding example of the possibilities of its use in western civilization. To them as to me it also suggests that non-violent resistance when planned and positive in action can work effectively even under totalitarian regimes. We argued this point at some length with the groups of African students who are today studying in India. They felt that non-violent resistance could only work in a situation where the resisters had a potential ally in the conscience of the opponent. We soon discovered that they, like many others, tended to confuse passive resistance with non-resistance. This is completely wrong. True non-violent resistance is not unrealistic submission to evil power. It is rather a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love, in the faith that it is better to be the recipient of violence than the inflictor of it, since the latter only multiplies the of violence and bitterness in the universe, while the former may develop a sense of shame in the opponent, and thereby bring about a transformation and change of heart. Non-violent resistance does call for love, but it is not a sentimental love. It is a very stern love that would organize itself into collective action to right a wrong by taking on itself suffering. [...]

[...] India is about a third the size of the United States but has almost three times as many people. Everywhere we went we saw crowded humanity—on the roads, in the city streets and squares, even in the villages.

Most of the people are poor and poorly dressed. The average income per person is less than $70 per year. Nevertheless, their turbans for their heads, loose flowing, wrap-around dhotis that they wear instead of trousers and the flowing saries that the women wear instead of dresses are colorful and picturesque. Many Indians wear part native and part western dress.

We think that we in the United States have a big housing problem but in the city of Bombay, for example, over a half million people sleep out of doors every night. These are mostly unattached, unemployed or partially employed males. They carry their bedding with them like foot soldiers and unroll it each night in any unoccupied space they can find—on the sidewalk, in a railroad station or at the entrance of a shop that is closed for the evening.

The food shortage is so widespread that it is estimated that less than 30% of the people get what we would call three square meals a day. During our great depression of the 1930's, we spoke of "a third of a nation" being "ill-housed, ill clad and ill fed." For India today, simply change one third to two thirds in that statement and that would make it about right.

As great as is unemployment, under-employment is even greater. Seventy per cent of the Indian people are classified as agricultural workers and most of these do less than 200 days of farm labor per year because of the seasonal fluctuations and other uncertainties of mother nature. Jobless men roam the city streets.

Great ills flow from the poverty of India but strangely there is relatively little crime. Here is another concrete manifestation of the wonderful spiritual quality of the Indian people. They are poor, jammed together and half starved but they do not take it out on each other. They are a kindly people. They do not abuse each other—verbally or physically—as readily as we do. We saw but one fist fight in India during our stay.

In contrast to the poverty-stricken, there are Indians who are rich, have luxurious homes, landed estates, fine clothes and show evidence of over-eating. The bourgeoisie—white, black or brown—behaves about the same the world over.

And then there is, even here, the problem of segregation. We call it race in America; they call it caste in India. In both places it means that some are considered inferior, treated as though they deserve less. [...]
Handout E  
*My Trip to the Land of Gandhi*  
Author: King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
Date: July 1, 1959 to July 31, 1959  

- **Untouchables**

“[...] We were surprised and delighted to see that India has made greater progress in the fight against caste "untouchability" than we have made here in our own country against race segregation. Both nations have federal laws against discrimination (acknowledging, of course, that the decision of our Supreme Court is the law of our land). But after this has been said, we must recognize that there are great differences between what India has done and what we have done on a problem that is very similar. The leaders of India have placed their moral power behind their law. From the Prime Minister down to the village councilmen, everybody declares publicly that untouchability is wrong. But in the United States some of our highest officials decline to render a moral judgment on segregation and some from the South publicly boast of their determination to maintain segregation. This would be unthinkable in India.

Moreover, Gandhi not only spoke against the caste system but he acted against it. He took "untouchables" by the hand and led them into the temples from which they had been excluded. To equal that, President Eisenhower would take a Negro child by the hand and lead her into Central High School in Little Rock.

Gandhi also renamed the untouchables, calling them "Harijans" which means "children of God."

The government has thrown its full weight behind the program of giving the Harijans an equal chance in society—especially when it comes to job opportunities, education and housing."

- **Poverty/Employment: India’s Leaders**

“India’s leaders, in and out of government, are conscious of their country’s other great problems and are heroically grappling with them. The country seems to be divided. Some say that India should become westernized and modernized as quickly as possible so that she might raise her standards of living. Foreign capital and foreign industry should be invited in, for in this lies the salvation of the almost desperate situation.

On the other hand, there are others—perhaps the majority—who say that westernization will bring with it the evils of materialism, cut throat competition and rugged individualism; that India will lose her soul if she takes to chasing Yankee dollars; and that the big machine will only raise the living standards of the comparative few workers who get jobs but that the greater number of people will be displaced and will thus be worse off than they are now.”
Lesson Plan: Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Pilgrimage to India, Part 2:
2. Classroom Activity

- Poverty/Employment: Prime Minister Nehru

“Prime Minister Nehru, who is at once an intellectual and a man charged with the practical responsibility of heading the government, seems to steer a middle course between these extreme attitudes. In our talk with him he indicated that he felt that some industrialization was absolutely necessary; that there were some things that only big or heavy industry could do for the country but that if the state keeps a watchful eye on the developments, most of the pitfalls may be avoided.

At the same time, Mr. Nehru gives support to the movement that would encourage and expand the handicap arts such as spinning and weaving in home and village and thus leaving as much economic self help and autonomy as possible to the local community.”

- Poverty/Employment: Bhoodanists (Land distribution advocates)

“There is a great movement in India that is almost unknown in America. At its center is the campaign for land reform known as Bhoodan. It would solve India’s great economic and social change by consent, not by force. The Bhoodanists are led by the sainted Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, a highly sensitive intellectual, who was trained in American colleges. Their ideal is the self-sufficient village. Their program envisions

Persuading large land owners to give up some of their holding to landless peasants;

Persuading small land owners to give up their individual ownership for common cooperative ownership by the villages;

Encouraging farmers and villagers to spin and weave the cloth for their own clothes during their spare time from their agricultural pursuits.

Since these measures would answer the questions of employment, food and clothing, the village could then, through cooperative action, make just about everything that it would need or get it through barter or exchange from other villages. Accordingly, each village would be virtually self sufficient and would thus free itself from the domination of the urban centers that are today like evil loadstones drawing the people away from the rural areas, concentrating them in city slums and debauching them with urban vices. At least this is the argument of the Bhoodanists and other Gandhians.”
India Trip Itinerary, Feb 9 - March 10

February 9: King arrives in Bombay

February 10: New Delhi
- Arrival at Palam Airport
  - Welcomed by G. Ramachandran and Sucheta Kripalani
- Press conference at the Janpath Hotel
- Luncheon with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
- Reception at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi
- Tea with Dr. Radhakrishnan/Conversation with Vice-President
- Reception at the Quaker Centre
  - Students, diplomats, prominent people
- Dinner with Prime Minister Nehru
  - Included Lady Mountbatten

February 11: New Delhi
- Laid a wreath on the Samadhi at Rajghat (cremation site and memorial dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi)
- Lunch with Sucheta and Acharya Kripalani at their home
- Coretta King was at tea with Shri Jairamdas Daulatram
- Public meeting at Sapru House
  - King’s first major address in India
- Dinner with Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister
  - Including Sushila Nayar and U.N. Dhebar
  - Discussion of Gandhian principles

February 12: New Delhi
- Visit to the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi
  - Discussion with Ramachandra about Gandhi etc.
- Luncheon with Kaka Kalelkar
- Open meeting with students at Ramjas College by Delhi University students
- Tea with Dr. Rajendra Pras at the Rashtrapati Bhavan
- Met with Sarvodaya workers at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi/Coretta talked to African Students assembled at the Quaker Centre

February 13: Patna
- Early flight for Patna
- Address to student gathering at the University
- Train ride to Gaya (w/ Jayaprakash Narayan)
- Jeep ride to reach J.P.’s Ashram

February 14: Gaya
- Visit to the Bhooidi Buddhist monastery and the historical Buddhist temple at Budh Gaya
- Visited small Ashram, established by Vinoba Bhave
- Jeep ride to reach J.P.’s Ashram
February 15: Shantiniketan
- Drove to Shantiniketan in a truck
- Spoke at a gathering in the afternoon
- Left for Calcutta

February 16: Calcutta
- Interview with individuals who were close to Gandhi and involved in the Indian Independence Movement
  - Came to the hotel
- Press conference at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi offices
- Open meeting
- Dinner with Ben and Emily Polk, Calcutta Quakers
  - 25 of Calcutta’s leaders in the field of social interests and concerns (including Nirmal Kumar Bose)

February 17: Calcutta
- Student meeting
- Meeting with labour union leaders over tea
- Public meeting
- Coretta was taken to the All India Radio studios to hear some Indian music

February 18: Madras
- Meeting with students
- Public meeting (best meetings)
- Raj Bhavan accommodations - Governor House

February 19: Madras
- Visit to rajagopalachari and Mahabalipuram
- N.E.S blocks for community development
- Tea with Joint Development Commissioner of Madras State

February 20: Gandhigram
- Made a devotional message at the end of the Gandhigram prayers
- Major address by King translated for audience
- Music entertainment by people at Gandhigram and an evening meal

February 21: Madurai and Gramdan Villages
- Visited 3 villages
  - 1st Gramdan village
    - Engaged in long and instructive discussion
    - N.E.S. Block workers were providing technical skill and help
  - 2nd Gramdan village
    - Guests for lunch
  - Harijan village
- Madurai
  - Saw the ancient Hindu temple
  - Public meeting at the new gandhi smarak nidhi museum

February 22: Trivandrum
Lesson Plan, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Pilgrimage to India:
Part 2: 3. Classroom Activity; Part 3: 1. Opening Activity

- Royal welcome when plane landed at the Trivandrum airport
- Luncheon with Mr. Namboodiripad, chief minister of Kerala
  - 1st woman to be appointed as a High Court Judge in India
- Cape Comorin
  - Sufficient number of crowds gathered
- Gandhi Shrine

**February 23: Trivandrum**
- Attended the legislative assembly for a short time at the end of the morning
- Full afternoon of
  - Personal interviews
  - Good press conference
  - Tea with Governor
  - Public meeting at night

**February 24: Bangalore**
- Visit in the home of the Chief Minister of the Mysore State
- 2 Bangalore factories
- Institute of World Culture

**February 25: Bangalore**

**February 26: Bangalore (Arrival in Bombay at 6pm)**
- King meets with Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, the governor of Mysore,
- All-India Cattle Show

**February 27: Bombay**
- Garden of Shantilal Shah home
- Public meeting at Green’s hotel

**February 28: Bombay**
- Early morning meeting
- King saw the Voice of India film
- Interview with the governor of bombay/Mr. Diwakar
  - Discussion of nonviolence and reliance
- Chief Minister of Bombay state
- Luncheon with younger members of Congress party
- Press conference
- Met with African students of Bombay

**March 1-3: Sabarmati Ashram**
- Sabarmati Ashram (starting point of Gandhi’s Salt March to the Sea)
- All-India Shanti Sena Conference was being held at a small village
  - Mid-way between Ajmer and Kishangarh
  - Met with Vinoba Bhave
- Lunch with Jayaprakash Narayan
  - Coretta and King returned to Kishangarh

**March 3**
- King joins Vinoba on a three mile march back to Kishangarh.
• King interviews Vinoba
• additional meeting with Vinoba in the evening

March 4: Agra
• Taj Mahal
• Punjab Mail

March 5: Delhi
• King spends his day at the Quaker Center before attending a South Indian circus in New Delhi

March 6: Delhi
• Dinner at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi as guests of G. Ramachandran

March 7: Delhi
• Nidhi
• Quaker Center
• Farewell reception by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi
• Musical recital in Ramachandran’s home
• R. R. Diwakar presided at the reception
• Coretta provided a beautiful ritual
• Luncheon at Rajkumari Amrit Kaur’s beautiful home
• Returns to the circus
• Visit Sushila Nayar, Gandhi’s doctor’s, house
• Pyarelal Nayyar
  o Meeting with people who had known Gandhi

March 8: Delhi

March 9: Delhi
• Press conference held at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi
  o Press conference with the following statement

• Evening: Home of Acharya Kripalani (Dinner)

March 10: Delhi
• Early departure from the airport
Handout F

Account by Lawrence Dunbar Reddick of Press Conference in New Delhi on 10 February 1959
Author: Reddick, Lawrence Dunbar
Date: February 10, 1959 to July 31, 1959

Details
On 3 February King departed for India from New York’s Idlewild Airport in the company of his wife, Coretta, and his biographer, Alabama State College history professor Lawrence D. Reddick. They arrived in New Delhi two days behind schedule due to a missed flight in Europe and were greeted at the airport by a group of reporters and well-wishers, as well as James Bristol of the Quaker Centre, who would serve as King’s travel guide along with Swami Vishwananda of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. This excerpt from an unpublished manuscript describes King’s press conference at the Janpath Hotel the day of his arrival in New Delhi.

We finally made it to our hotel where, after checking in, a press conference was set up. Present were some twenty-odd Indian newspaper men and women, a man from the New York Times and another from the Baltimore Afro-American. Martin pulled out his prepared statement and said:

My Friends,
For a long while I have looked forward to visiting your great country. To other countries I may go as a tourist, but to India I come as a pilgrim. This is because India means to me Mahatma Gandhi, a truly great personality of the ages. India also means to me Pandit Nehru and his wise statesmanship and intellectuality that are recognized the world over. Perhaps, above all, India is the land where the techniques of non-violent social change were developed that my people have used in Montgomery, Alabama and elsewhere throughout the American South. We have found them to be effective and sustaining—they work!
Accordingly, I bring greetings to the people of India—greetings and thanks for what your freedom movement has meant to ours. During our brief stay here, we hope that you will receive us as friends, will share with us your problems and aspirations and will let us share ours with you. We hope and pray that the bonds of friendship will be strengthened between us and among all men who dedicate their lives and possessions to justice, peace and brotherhood.
In the name of my people and my country, America, I salute you and extend the hand of a brother.

After King had read this statement, I passed around copies of it to everyone. After a pause for a moment or two, the questions started coming. First, he was asked about the bus boycott. He told that story, at least as much of it as he could squeeze into a two-minute statement.
Then he was asked how the desegregation of buses in Montgomery had affected transportation services in other cities. King answered that some thirty-three cities had desegregated their buses, Atlanta, Georgia being the latest. The following question-answer sequence ensued:

Q. How many Little Rocks are there in the U.S.?
A. In a sense Little Rock is symbolic of the whole non-complying South. This is not to say that the whole South is not complying but that those communities in the South that do not wish to implement the Supreme Court’s desegregation decision are watching Little Rock and cheering from the side lines.

Q. Do you think that the Gandhian technique can work in Africa?
A. When I was visiting in Ghana, West Africa, Prime Minister Nkrumah told me that he had read the works of Gandhi and felt that non-violent resistance could be extended there. We recall that South Africa has had bus boycotts also.

Q. Can you say that you have transformed the hearts of the white people of Montgomery?
A. I wish that I could say that our movement has transformed the hearts of all of Montgomery—some, no doubt; but there is a degree of bitterness and a refusal to accept a new way of human relations.

Q. How far would your movement have been successful without the Supreme Court decision?
A. This is a difficult question but even aside from the court rulings, our movement gave the Negro people a deeper sense of dignity and destiny; gave new morale all over the South and America.

Q. Does your conception of non-violence include vegetarianism?
A. No.

Q. Is non-violence with you a creed or a policy?
A. I have come to believe in it as a way of life. Perhaps most people in America still treat it as a technique.

Q. Have many Negroes married white Americans?
A. Not many.

Q. Is intermarriage illegal in all Southern states?
A. Yes.

Q. Do American Negroes look down upon Africans?
A. Maybe in times past but today there is a great deal of pride, mutual pride between Africans and Negro Americans, real sympathy in the common struggle.

Q. What is the number of Negroes moving North every year?
A. Sorry, I don’t have the statistics. I may say, however, that the motivation
Lesson Plan: *Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Pilgrimage to India*, Part 3:
2. Classroom Activity

is principally economic. Usually there are more jobs, for the major industries are in the North; also, greater civil liberty in the North.

Q. What is the position of Paul Robeson in America and in the Negro community?
A. There are mixed views. He has some supporters, many admire his artistry as an actor and singer and also his integrity but do not accept his political views. ³

Q. What is your personal view of Robeson?
A. No comment.

Q. Do you note any marked leftist views among American Negroes or do they still believe in free enterprise? On the basis of their mistreatment, we should have expected a larger shift to the left.
A. My guess is that not more than one per cent of American Negroes have embraced definite extreme leftist views. Even during the depression the percentage was not very large. Negroes, like many other Americans, do want a wider distribution of wealth but the Negro still believes that he can get his economic and political rights under democracy without turning to other ideologies. ⁹

Q. Now that you have won your case on the buses are you going to consolidate your gains and expand the movement.
A. It is my hope that the philosophy of non-violence will carry over into the general struggle for full and complete rights for all. We have organized the *Southern Christian Leadership Conference* along this line. It is composed of major Negro leaders of the South and we will have a South-wide institute during the coming summer [1959] to discuss the theory and techniques of non-violent resistance. ¹⁰ We have had three such institutes in Montgomery. ¹¹

Q. Will non-violence be a permanent part of the struggle for justice in America?
A. I hope so and hope that it will be successful. Some of us believe in it strongly and you know that it is usually the creative minority at work who stand against the general trend.

Q. Do you function through political parties or churches?
A. Our movement is non-political in terms of any particular party. Our approach is through mass action as a majority of our people are affiliated with some church.

Q. What are the next burning issues in the Negro struggle in America?
A. It is difficult to say but school integration seems to be the biggest issue just now. There is also the question of voting throughout the South.

Q. Don’t you have the vote already?
A. According to the federal Constitution and recent federal civil rights legislation in support of the 14th and 15th Amendments, theoretically there should be no denial of voting rights on the basis of race or color. But in
the South today while more than fifty-per cent of the white people of voting age do vote only twenty-five per cent of the Negroes vote. The Civil Rights Commission is now making investigations of the nature and extent of disenfranchisement and will report to the President, Congress and the public on its findings.\(^1\)

1. The King party had flown from London to Paris, where they visited Richard Wright, an expatriate African American novelist and friend of Reddick’s. When the flight they expected to board in Zurich bypassed the city due to fog, the travelers flew to Istanbul, Beirut, and then Bombay before reaching New Delhi on 10 February.

2. Reddick, Draft, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s trip to India, 1959. Following King’s death in 1968, Reddick wrote “With King through India: A personal memoir.” For coverage of King’s press conference, see “Martin Luther King, Negro Leader, Pays Tribute to Gandhi,” American Reporter, 13 February 1959.

3. Reddick added a footnote at the bottom of the page: “For detailed account, see Stride Toward Freedom or Crusader Without Violence.”

4. King met Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah during Ghana’s independence celebrations in March 1957 (see Introduction in Papers 4:7-8).

5. In 1957, over 60,000 South Africans participated in a bus boycott in Alexandra, a township near Johannesburg. For three months, protesters challenged the rising cost of bus fares until employers agreed to subsidize the transportation costs of their employees.

6. The U.S. Supreme Court ordered Montgomery’s buses desegregated on 17 December 1956, and the MIA called off the boycott a few days later (Gayle v. Browder [352 US.950] and King, Statement on Ending the Bus Boycott, 20 December 1956, in Papers 3:485-487).

7. The U.S. Supreme Court declared “antimiscegenation” laws illegal in 1967; at that time, interracial marriage was illegal in sixteen states (Loving v. Virginia [388 U.S. 1]).

8. An outspoken supporter of the Soviet Union and critic of racial segregation, Robeson was forced to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1956. At the hearings, Robeson refused to provide names of Communist Party members or to divulge his relationship with the organization.

9. According to the American Reporter, King replied that “the basic reason is that the American Negro has faith that he can get justice within the framework of the American democratic set-up” (“Martin Luther King, Negro Leader,” 13 February 1960).

10. SCLC, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) co-sponsored the Southwide Institute on Nonviolent Resistance to Segregation, which was held in Atlanta from 22 to 24 July. For more on the institute, see Resolutions, First Southwide Institute on Nonviolent Resistance to Segregation, held on 22 July-24 July 1959, 11 August 1959, pp. 261-262 in this volume.


Vocabulary:

**Little Rock – Little Rock School Desegregation**
- refers to an historic series of events during which nine African American students attempted to attend Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. Although school segregation was against the law, the city and school officials hindered the African American students from entering the school. As the situation drew national and international attention, Martin Luther King Jr. wrote President Dwight D. Eisenhower requesting a swift resolution allowing the students to attend school.

https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/little-rock-school-desegregation

**Supreme Court’s desegregation decision**
- On May 17, 1954 in the historic case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared all laws establishing segregated schools to be unconstitutional.


**Paul Robeson**
- American musician and actor who became famous both for his cultural accomplishments and for his political activism. Robeson was a civil rights supporter and a critic of US policies.

**Leftist views**
- in politics, a position generally associated with approval of state (government) control over major institutions of political and economic life. Socialism and Communism are ideologies that are considered leftist.

**Free enterprise**
- an economic system in which private businesses operate in competition and are mostly free of state (government) control.

**Southern Christian Leadership Conference**

http://nationalsclc.org


**Legislation**
- laws

**14th and 15th Amendments**
- an addition or change in a legal document, here the US Constitution. The
14th Amendment (from 1868) addresses citizenship rights and equal protection of the laws for all persons. The 15th Amendment (from 1870) prohibits discrimination in voting rights of citizens.

**Civil Rights Commission**
-an institution of the United States government created in 1957, in charged of investigating, reporting on, and making recommendations concerning civil rights issues in the United States. Civil rights is a term for a group of rights that protect personal freedom.

**Disfranchisement**
- the state of being deprived of a right.
Son Retraces King's '59 India Pilgrimage
U.S. Civil Rights Activist Honors Gandhi
By Rama Lakshmi
Washington Post Foreign Service, Wednesday, February 18, 2009
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/02/17/AR2009021703040.html?noredirect=on

NEW DELHI, Feb. 17 -- Fifty years after his parents, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and Coretta Scott King, traveled to India to study Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence, Martin Luther King III is in India to retrace his late father's footsteps.

"It is really a special mountaintop experience to be here," King said. "My parents had often shared with me how moving their experience in India was. My father said he came to many countries as a tourist, but he came to India as a pilgrim."

King Jr. came to India in February 1959, four year after Rosa Parks sparked the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and 11 years after Gandhi was assassinated. He drew powerful lessons about the way the bony, bare-chested Gandhi had deployed the weapon of nonviolence in his fight to free India from more than 200 years of British rule. Gandhi's philosophy of peaceful resistance had a lasting impact on how King Jr. shaped the U.S. civil rights movement.

In India, King Jr. and his wife visited sites where Gandhi had lived, struggled and held prayer meetings. King Jr. gave a national address on All India Radio, met freedom fighters and stayed in a room where Gandhi had slept. He was draped with garlands in the traditional Indian style everywhere he went.

King III, his eldest son, now leads a delegation including civil rights leaders Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) and Andrew Young, as well as the jazz musician Herbie Hancock. King said this tour during Black History Month is more than nostalgia and pilgrimage. "Gandhi's work is not complete. Today, the world needs the message of nonviolence more than ever," King said after visiting New Delhi's Rajghat, a memorial to the Indian nationalist leader.

Recently, the U.S. House passed a resolution recognizing Gandhi's influence on King Jr. and the civil rights movement. In New Delhi, King III sat under a tree and listened to Gandhi's favorite hymn; visited museums on Gandhi's life, planted a sapling of India's Ashok, known as the "sorrow-less tree"; answered questions from students; and opened an exhibition about his father and Gandhi. He will retrace his father's journey to Sabarmati Ashram in the western city of Ahmedabad, along the Sabarmati River, the starting point of Gandhi's Salt March, a 200-mile walk with only a bamboo staff in hand to dig up handfuls of sea salt in defiance of British salt laws. King will also travel to Mumbai, the scene of recent terrorist attacks.

In a lecture at the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, King denounced the war on Iraq and the Mumbai attacks. But violence, he said, is not always physical. It
can often be structural and institutional and can breed the powerlessness, poverty, racism and militarism that his father battled against, he said.

The New Delhi exhibition, "Journeys Towards Freedom," weaves the story of two journeys -- Gandhi’s struggle for dignity, which began when he was thrown off a train in South Africa for not being white, and the Montgomery bus boycott, which gave momentum to the U.S. civil rights movement. The exhibit includes a replica of Gandhi’s spinning wheel, a handwritten note by Scott King from her visit, archival photographs and an old black-and-white Indian postage stamp with King Jr.’s picture.

A few Indian college students gathered around a photograph of King Jr. giving the "I Have a Dream" speech. The photo showed two African American men wearing white, pointed caps in the style of Gandhi. "This visit is a wake-up call for young Indians, too," said Varsha Das, director of the National Gandhi Museum. "It reminds us once again that Gandhi was not just restricted to India."

Das presented the visiting dignitaries with a photograph of an old cartoon from a Chicago newspaper showing King Jr. and Gandhi meeting in heaven. The text under it read: "Our assassins think that they have killed us."

King III said he had a team of professionals at the King Center in Atlanta studying the possibility of collaboration with various Gandhi museums.

Long before King Jr.’s visit in 1959, Gandhi had reached out to African Americans in 1929, with a message in the publication "The Crisis," a civil rights journal.

"White liberals saw Gandhi as mystical," said Vijay Prashad, director of international studies at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., whose recent paper explored what Gandhi meant to blacks worldwide. "In the radical black community, led by W.E.B. Du Bois, the view of Gandhi was far more interesting. He was seen for his political skills, his ability to move millions into concerted, nonviolent struggle. This appeals to the black leadership, which pined for their Black Gandhi."

Another name arose in all the talk about King Jr. and Gandhi this week -- that of President Barack Obama. The exhibition, the talks and other events were peppered with questions about what Obama meant to the continuing legacy of shared struggles. "If it hadn’t been for Martin Luther King and Gandhi, there would have been no Barack Obama today," said Lewis, the civil rights veteran, who was arrested about 40 times during the 1960s. "Many years ago, Gandhi showed the world that nonviolence was one of those immutable principles in the struggle for justice. Today, everybody in the world feels, ‘If Barack Obama can do it, so can I.‘"

The New Delhi exhibition ends with a picture of Obama, titled "The March Continues."

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