attention from the middle class to working people in a book that seeks to understand political changes in the society as a whole.

By shifting from a concentration on how to define "progressives" to an examination of what the respectable classes were worried about, I have found the links of that time with our own as well as a dark strand--very much part of the turn of the twentieth century--that is familiar in our own and in human history as a whole: a fear of the lower orders.

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: FROM ISSUES OF RACE TO CLASS

*David J. Garrow

Fifteen years have passed since Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis on April 4, 1968--more time than the 12 years of his own life that King gave to "the Movement" between the onset of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in December 1955 and his death. Far more progress was made in those 12 years than in the 15 that have followed.

Those twelve years witnessed significant changes in America, the South, the Movement, and King himself. Racism was confronted as a central theme of American life. Public segregation--of lunch counters, water fountains, city parks, and city buses--largely vanished from the South. The Movement evolved from the student sit-ins, the Freedom Rides, and Bull Connor's Birmingham to the divisive controversy over "Black Power" and the unsuccessful effort to use southern activists to launch a "Freedom Movement" in Chicago's ghettos. Martin Luther King grew from a naive optimist who had told Montgomery's protesters that their passive withdrawal from the buses would persuade white southerners of segregation's immorality to a sagacious, worn down realist who knew that the central injustice of American society lay not simply in its racial practices but in its entire economic structure. Only by confronting "class issues,...the problem of the gulf between the haves and the have nots" and by openly advocating democratic socialism, King came to believe, could the Movement begin to combat the widespread economic injustice that underlay American racism, American militarism, and American materialism.

To King and to many others, the years 1963 to 1965 had seemed particularly promising. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked legislative milestones in

American political history and seemed to herald a "Second American Revolution" or "Second Reconstruction" throughout the South. Nonetheless, King gradually realized that those acts of Congress, no matter how comprehensive they might be, really did very little to improve the daily lives of poor black people in northern ghettos or impoverished black people across the rural South. Those bills did little, if anything, to provide better jobs, better housing, or greater economic power for the millions of people north and south who long had been the exploited victims of the American economy. These views had been voiced several years earlier by Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph, but those men's insistence on an economic rather than racial focus for the 1963 March on Washington had been overwhelmed by a preoccupation with winning congressional approval of John F. Kennedy's civil rights bill.

The first attempt by King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference to confront the economic issue, as well as mount a campaign outside the South, was the Chicago Freedom Movement begun in late 1965. The original intent of the Chicago effort was to concentrate not on street demonstrations or protests but on grass roots organizing of slum dwellers. While protest tactics had worked well in the South because of state and local resistance, different methods were needed to confront the economic exploitation experienced in Chicago--the dilapidated rental housing, overpriced food, and lack of job opportunities. However, after six months of unsuccessful attempts to organize the Chicago ghettos, King and his assistants reverted to a confrontational protest strategy and adopted a new goal and new tactics for the Chicago movement. The goal was "open housing" and the tactics were street marches through Chicago's segregated white neighborhoods. This strategy extracted from city officials and business leaders a promise that housing discrimination and other forms of racism would be attacked in Chicago, and the marches ended.

King knew this outcome was a less than overwhelming success and attributed it in part to the fact that much of his time and energy that summer had been consumed by the Meredith March in Mississippi and SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael's call for "Black Power." King thought the slogan's anti-white implications were a serious mistake for the movement, although he firmly agreed with the calls for black cultural pride and political empowerment. Within the context of the movement's need, and King's own need, to find a method for attacking the entire economic structure of America, the rhetorical controversy over "Black Power" was necessarily a secondary issue. King knew that, but after the disappointment of Chicago he did not know how the movement could get a clear handle on America's pervasive economic injustice. It was a depressing time, and on occasion King flirted with despair. "I venture to say this morning that western civilization is lost; I venture to say this morning that America is lost," King told his surprised parishioners at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church one Sunday morning. "I am still searching myself; I don't have all the answers," he confided to his staff. The movement to date had done much for the black middle class, but little for the black underclass, and that had to change. "We are now dealing with class issues,...with issues that relate to the privileged as over against the underprivileged....Something is wrong with the economic system of our nation," King stated, and "something is wrong with capitalism....There must be a better distribution of wealth, and maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism."

By August 1967, King began to articulate for the first time a plan for bringing about "a radical redistribution of economic and political power." He believed that the Movement had to change from a "reform movement" to a "revolutionary movement" and that the evils of racism and economic exploitation could not be erased without changing the structure of American society.

King now argued for the first time that the Movement must practice massive civil disobedience that would "cripple the operations of an oppressive society." It was a radical vision, King knew, a vastly different type of political action than what he had advocated twelve years earlier in Montgomery or even four years earlier at the seemingly triumphant March on Washington. But, by 1967, Martin King appreciated how naive he and most of his movement colleagues had been throughout the ten years from 1955 to 1965. "We really thought we were making great progress," he confessed at a meeting in Chicago. "We somehow felt that we were going to win the total victory, before we analyzed the depths and

dimensions of the problem." In the beginning he had thought that "a great number of white southerners are ready to do what is right" if simply the movement would confront their consciences. Twelve years later he knew he had been wrong. "There aren't enough white persons in our country who are willing to cherish democratic principles over privilege," he remarked less than three weeks prior to his death. "Truly America is much, much sicker," King confided to one close aide, "than I realized when I first began working in 1955."

After his assassination, however, the increasingly radical goals and nonviolently disruptive tactics advocated by King were not tested. In fact, the "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington shortly after his death was a faint shadow of what he had privately envisioned. The articulated goals were vague and modest and did not speak of transforming American life or restructuring the economic order.

Little of what Martin Luther King, Jr., wanted to change in American society in 1968 has changed over the past 15 years. Some things, of course, have been altered for the better. Prominent examples from all across the South show the electoral strength that black citizens now possess in many places in the region. Black politicians have been elected mayors of Atlanta, New Orleans, and Birmingham. In many smaller cities, and in some rural counties, blacks have won positions on local governing boards. However, the transformation of the South is often overstated. Although many Southern cities are vastly different places than they were 20 years ago, black political power is diluted in many small towns and rural counties by "at large" election schemes that allow white majorities to prevent the election of black candidates. In neither the larger cities nor the rural areas has there been even the beginning of the sort of shift of economic power and wealth needed to put blacks on a par with whites. Despite the advance symbolized by black elected officials, such electoral triumphs in the 1980s represent the same sort of incomplete and potentially misleading victory that the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act were in the 1960s.

All in all, the basic economic changes in America that Martin King dreamed of in 1968 have not come to pass. Although some of the evils he denounced are

weaker, the "radical restructuring" of American society he fervently sought has not begun.

One other thing that is in drastic need of change is the image many Americans have of Martin Luther King, Jr., himself. Unfortunately, King today oftentimes is portrayed as simply a prototypically successful American reform leader whose message and achievements comport perfectly with the most reassuring myths about American society and politics. If King is not pictured as the gentle minister who achieved desegregated seating on Montgomery's buses, then it is his "I Have a Dream" oration that is cited to represent him. The incessant implication is that America in the 1960s made King's dream come true. Rarely if ever quoted is a line that King used many times between 1966 and his death: "The dream I had in Washington back in 1963 has too often turned into a nightmare."

Frequently nowadays it seems as if the last two and one-half years of Martin King's life conveniently have been forgotten, that the civil rights movement ended when Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law, just before Watts, before Martin King went north to Chicago, before Martin King spoke out against the Vietnam war, and before Martin King began speaking about democratic socialism and massive nonviolent disruption. King was very serious about how the movement, and he himself, had to move forward from "reform" to "revolution" and challenge American society at its core rather than simply at its most flagrantly unjust edges. Martin King's goal was not simply to win thoroughgoing racial integration throughout American society, it was to transform that entire society from the ground up. That would entail both a "radical restructuring" and very basic changes in American values, the creation of a society and an economy "more person-centered than property-centered and profit-centered."

Today, and for the past fifteen years, King's challenge rarely has been confronted and only infrequently has been pursued.

Author's note: This article is based upon talks given at IRSS in January and at Duke University in

April 1983. A fuller version has also appeared in several newspapers. Garrow is author of Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Yale University Press, 1978), and The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From "Solo" to Memphis (W.W. Norton, 1981), as well as the forthcoming Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1955-1968 (Yale University Press, 1984).

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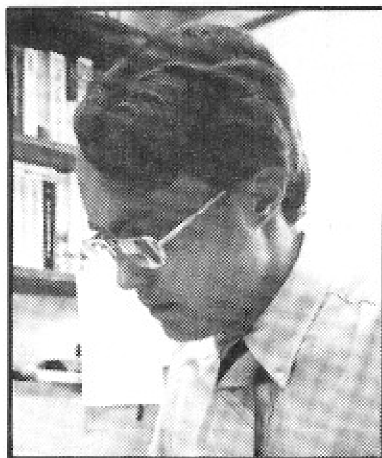

NOTES AND NEWS

JAMES L. MORRISON has been appointed chair of the publications committee of the Association for the Study of Higher Education. MORRISON also received the 1981 Outstanding Paper Award from the Southern Association for Institutional Research at the annual conference of the North Carolina Association for Institutional Research.

ANTHONY R. OBERSCHALL, Professor of Sociology, will be on leave for the spring semester to participate as a resident scholar in an international research project sponsored by the Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Bielefeld University, West Germany.

DONALD L. SHAW, Professor of Journalism and Director of the Media and Instructional Support Center, has been appointed associate editor of Journalism Quarterly.

NATIONAL RESPONSES TO POLITICAL TERRORISM

*Nehemia Friedland

In recent years groups such as the Baader-Meinhof, the Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army, and the Weather Underground have involved democratic societies in a new form of social conflict. The realization that the actions of such groups constitute unprecedented forms of political or, more adequately termed, *ideological* terrorism is often masked by definitional problems as well as by difficulties inherent in the analysis of terrorism. The difficulty is due in part to the fact that much of the relevant data are classified. Additional difficulty stems from the clouding of analyses with value judgments and disciplinary biases. Thus, psychiatrists and criminologists tend to approach ideological terrorism as if it were a form of crime. At the other end of the disciplinary spectrum, sociologists and political scientists conceptualize terrorism as a variant of revolution or insurgency. Yet ideological terrorists fit neither the criminal nor the revolutionary mold. There is little similarity between criminals and ideological terrorists beyond the fact that both violate laws. Whereas ordinary crimes are motivated by passion or profit, acts of terrorism are premeditated, carefully planned and executed, and rarely committed for sheer profit.

Ideological terrorism is somewhat more difficult to separate from acts of revolution or insurgency. Nevertheless, several important distinctions can be drawn. First, unlike the "typical" revolutionary, if there can be one, ideological terrorists usually assume vague and incoherent political objectives. It is quite impossible to discern what long-term political objectives ideological terrorists actually hold. Their actions, in other words, appear to be aimed at undermining established social orders or political systems without offering viable, realistic alternatives. Second, lacking the ability to