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civilization and had evolved beyond "the prevailing barbarism of the East, where might is right." She saw the Finnish war neither as a civil war nor a socialist revolution, but as a justifiable defense against an inferior invader. In the end, her evolutionism and a traditional Swedish distrust of Russia proved firmer than her pacifism.

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Cheri Register

KING, Martin Luther, Jr. (15 January 1929, Atlanta, GA—4 April 1968, Memphis, TN). *Education*: B.A., Morehouse Coll., 1948; B.D. Crozer Theological Seminary, 1951; Ph.D., Boston Univ., 1955. *Career*: pastor, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, AL, 1954-60, co-pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, GA, 1960-68; president, Montgomery Improvement Association, 1955-60, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1957-68; civil rights leader and proponent of nonviolent protest; outspoken opponent of American militarism and the Vietnam War.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s quick rise to national and international prominence as leader of the American civil rights movement began with the advent of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in December, 1955, and with the selection of King as primary spokesman for the black protest organization. With a strong family heritage in the Baptist church, and superb educational training in philosophy and theology, the young minister brought both excellent oratorical skills and a familiarity with intellectual arguments for peace and social justice to his new role.

Counseled by both Bayard Rustin of the War Resisters League and Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the early weeks of the Montgomery protest, King melded their exposition of nonviolent resistance with his religious commitment to the Christian ethic of love and forgiveness to produce a powerful new statement of black Americans' desire to free themselves from racial oppression and discrimination by peaceful but aggressive efforts.

Influenced by the writings of Walter Rauschenbusch and *Reinhold Niebuhr more so than by *Henry David Thoreau or *Gandhi, King moved forward in the wake of the success of the Montgomery protest to found the Southern Chris-

tian Leadership Conference (SCLC), dedicated to pursuing the struggle against racial segregation on a wider basis. Arguing in his many writings and public addresses that black Americans and their white allies could combat the evils of racism, poverty, and militarism more successfully through mass action than through the slower and more elite-oriented channels of legal redress favored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, King symbolized a new stage in the black freedom struggle. When the student sit-in movement burst forth across the South in the spring of 1960, signaling a renewed effort to end legalized segregation through nonviolent means, the American press focused upon King as the spokesman and symbol of the black struggle in the South.

Disappointed by the reluctance of the Kennedy administration to act on civil rights issues, and distressed by the lack of success in a major SCLC-assisted black protest movement in Albany, Georgia, in 1961-62, King decided early in 1963 to launch a major and uncompromising assault on one of the south's most rigidly segregated cities, Birmingham, Alabama. The effort was aimed not only at forcing changes in Birmingham, but also at prodding the federal government to pass legislation eliminating legalized segregation and racial discrimination throughout the United States. When peaceful black protest marchers were met by policemen using snarling dogs and high-powered fire hoses, King's anti-segregation effort made headlines throughout the world and impelled the Kennedy administration to put forward a major civil rights bill that later would emerge as the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The national outrage also forced concessions upon the segregationists of Birmingham.

The worldwide attention given King's effort was magnified by his cogent "Letter From a Birmingham Jail," (1963) a powerful statement about both the goals of the "Negro revolution" and King's commitment to pursue them in a nonviolent but persistent fashion. Three months later King's "I Have a Dream" oration at the March on Washington was heard by millions of Americans and brought more white support to the black cause while also further increasing his worldwide prominence. Late in 1963 *Time* magazine chose King its "Man of the Year," and eight months later King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent leadership of the American civil rights struggle.

Receipt of the Nobel Prize accelerated a broadening of King's vision and goals that had been underway since at least 1958. King's initial focus upon the evil of bus segregation during the Montgomery protest had been expanded into both a broader and more aggressive assault upon all manifestations of American racism and into areas beyond race. Racism was only one of several pressing evils in the world, and nonviolent protest could be used to combat these other scourges as well. Poverty and economic injustice could destroy human spirit much as racial oppression could, and King believed that thoroughgoing changes were needed both in American society and in the international economic order. King had spoken out against colonialism as early as 1956, and over time he increasingly

coupled such attacks with denunciations of any sort of war as a means of resolving conflict and with warnings about the growing danger of nuclear annihilation.

The year 1965 brought King's most successful civil rights campaign, an effort designed to win federal legislation guaranteeing southern blacks' constitutional right to register and vote. SCLC-sponsored demonstrations in Selma, Alabama, evoked a violent police response much like that in Birmingham two years earlier, and led to swift congressional approval of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. With that effort behind him, King increasingly turned his attention, and his voice, to the issues of economic injustice in America and the United States' militaristic foreign policies.

King confronted the economic issue by launching SCLC's first major effort outside the South, a "war against slums" in Chicago. When SCLC staffers experienced only modest success in organizing poor ghetto residents, King shifted the focus to open-housing marches in all-white neighborhoods of the city. An inconclusive agreement with city authorities led most observers to judge King's first foray into this new area less than a success.

Beginning as early as the summer of 1965, King spoke out explicitly against the United States' military involvement in Vietnam. He amplified and strengthened his critique in the spring of 1967, and drew harsh criticism from many who previously supported his civil rights initiatives. Many whites, plus some notable black leaders, asserted that King had no expertise in the foreign policy arena, that his advocacy of nonviolence in the international realm was foolish, and that his outspokenness on Vietnam was costing the civil rights movement much of its support. King responded that he had a moral and prophetic responsibility to preach the truth as he saw it, regardless of short-term political consequences.

In the last year of his life, prior to his assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968, King's beliefs about American society became increasingly radical. Early in his public career he had been very much an optimist, believing that great racial progress could be obtained in several years' time, and that most significant ills in American society could be cured through political reform. As he matured, King increasingly realized not only the tenacity of racism but the depth and breadth of changes that American society needed to undergo before social justice would prevail. This growing realism, coupled with a judgment that nonviolent tactics would have to become more obstructive, was manifest in King's plans for a massive "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington, an effort that did not come to fruition until after his death.

King and the civil rights movement transformed the American South, and forever altered American race relations. Though at the end of his life he was pessimistic about securing his additional goals of economic justice and the elimination of war, King's commitment and message continue to represent a living challenge.

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David J. Garrow

KINOSHITA Naoe (12 October 1869, Matsumoto, Japan—5 November 1937, Tokyo). *Education*: B.A., Tokyo Semmon Gakkō (Waseda University), 1888. *Career*: editor-in-chief, *Shinano Nippō*, *Shin kigen*; pacifist author and journalist.

After graduation from the Tokyo Semmon Gakkō in 1888, Kinoshita Naoe became interested in Christian lay activities, the Yasuhara Virtue Society, and the Matsumoto Prohibition Society. He participated in the anti-prostitution campaign. At the age of twenty-four he was baptized. In 1897 he became a member of a social problems study group and led the universal suffrage movement. As a reporter for the *Mainichi*, one of the largest newspapers in Japan, he tackled the Ashio Mine copper pollution problem in 1900. In the following year, Kinoshita joined the Socialist Alliance and helped form the Shakai Minshutō, the first socialist party in Japan. The party was immediately banned by the government. By this time, he enjoyed a reputation as a Christian socialist reformer.

In the flourish of nationalism during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) Kinoshita wrote two antiwar novels, *Hi no hashira* (*The Pillar of Fire*) and *Otto no jihaku* (*The Husband's Confession*). The former is a story of a Christian socialist, Shinoda Choōji, who fights against Yamagi Gōzō, an avaricious capitalist. Yamagi forces his daughter, Umeko, to marry Captain Matsushima who is expected to become Naval Minister, while Umeko is in a platonic relationship with Shinoda. By attacking the corrupt collusion of a capitalist and a military officer, Kinoshita advocates socialism and peace. The central theme of the latter novel is antifeudalism. Kinoshita asserted that free love between man and woman should be admitted and that land should be given to those who cultivate it by abolishing the landlord system. In both works, Kinoshita's concern was with casting off the constraints of "semi-humanity" and restructuring a "whole man."