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for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15399) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; and that the House reeded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6 to the bill and concurred therein, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 16324) to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL PLACED ON CALENDAR

The bill (H.R. 16324) to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and placed on the calendar.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, within a space of less than 5 years, a short time historically, John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King have been assassinated. They were both American tragedies, senseless, vicious, and devoid of meaning.

In this troubled and violent period of our history, I hope and pray that all of our people will realize their responsibilities and work together to put into effect the rights guaranteed to all our citizens under the Constitution.

Only in this way can we overcome the inequities and the injustices which have marked too many of our people for too many centuries.

All of us, in a sense, are on trial. Dr. King was a man of moderation and hope. He was assassinated by an individual in a nation in which fear and violence are becoming more and more the norm rather than the rarity; a nation in which all too often events are decided by the gun and the mob.

This is a time for understanding, not violence; a time to pray and a time to hope; a time for awareness and reassessment; a time to weep but not to despair; a time to look at ourselves and not to turn away; a time to re-read the Declaration of Independence; a time to put into effect that which the founders of this country said and meant.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all are created equal; that all have equal protection under the laws; that they have certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It is a time for stability and maturity and understanding among all our people.

It is a time which will test us all, and in testing us, will test this country.

We are one nation. We are one people.

Let us act accordingly.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, there are moments in the life of a nation when grief and outrage strike its people dumb, when words will not come because no words can express the agony in the Nation's soul.

Such a moment came on November 22, 1963; such a moment has come again on April 4, 1968, with the death of Martin Luther King, like the murder of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, tears from us a noble and irreplaceable leader. No nation can sustain such a loss without feeling abrupt shock and lasting pain.

All of us may ask what fool or villain, what manner of man could possibly have committed such an act of savagery. What mind could have overflowed with such hatred that it was moved to destroy such a man of peace?

No answer to these questions will suffice. The answer must be brought to justice. But, Mr. President, punishment of the criminal will not soothe our conscience or dispel our sorrow. For the death of Martin Luther King leaves our Nation inconsolable.

We cannot assuage the loss of Martin Luther King. We can only redeem it by nourishing the spirit with which he imbued millions of Americans, both black and white. That spirit is one of conciliation and good will, of brotherly love and understanding among all our people.

The mood of America today is necessary confused and troubled. From it we must extract a new sense of direction and determination. If we are to be true apostles of this godly man, if we are to avoid the perils of division and civil strife, we must keep faith with the vision of Martin Luther King. We must not allow that vision to be shrouded in the bitterness and bigotry which moved the assassin.

This is a time for all Americans to look inward and to measure themselves. With whom will we stand: The man who fired the gun, the man who fell before it? The honest rage of this day must not be followed by any eruption of terror or of lawlessness.

There is an extra measure of duty to his country falling on every citizen today. Each of us across the land, the governing and the governed, the black and the white, the rich and the poor, must exercise his best leadership with the best that our system and the American dream can offer.

Extremism could destroy this country. Nonviolence is not dead and we must not allow it to perish.

As Dr. King's life and works so vividly show, it is a powerful and vibrant force for good. It has brought this Nation far, though not yet far enough. It has added new dimensions to social justice in this land, though other dimensions remain neglected. It will carry us forward to that promised land which Martin Luther King glimpsed, and which he wished us all to share.

His sacrifice in the service of this great ideal calls us to accept the burden he has now laid down. As Americans we can receive no greater gift; as Americans we can pursue no higher goal.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, along with millions of Americans, I am saddened that a brave and dedicated citizen of this country was shot down last night by a cowardly assassin.

Dr. Martin Luther King, prophet of nonviolence, worked night and day to achieve equality of opportunity for all people, the very core of both the American system and the American dream.

Dr. King lived and died for his conviction that no citizen of his country should be a second-class citizen because of the color of his skin.

Let each of us search our hearts and minds as to the wisdom and the justice of his stand; because the decisions we thereupon make could well determine the future security and well-being of the United States.

AN EXTRA MEASURE OF DUTY

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the heart of America is heavy and our people are filled with a sense of shame and indignation. The bullet fired by a violent, monstrous bigot has stilled the peaceful voice of nonviolence in America. That terrible criminal act—God forbid—could reap a frightful whirlwind. It may be that that is precisely what the bigot hoped for and that is precisely what he wanted to do.

There is an extra measure of duty to his country falling on every citizen today. Each of us across the land, the governing and the governed, the black and the white, the rich and the poor, must exercise his best leadership with the best that our system and the American dream can offer. It is a question of justice, in an atmosphere of peace, and for individual dignity for every citizen.

The death of Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the movement of nonviolence, must never be fed by any eruption of terror or of lawlessness.

Mr. President, bigotry is on the march in America. Bigotry must be stopped. Extremism could destroy this country.
Extremism is not indigenous to any race. Extremism does not serve the life of a peace-loving American last night. Let the law take its course. May justice be swift and sure. May the American people exalt our free society—and respect it—even as a deprived few seek to undermine and destroy it.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of the very great men of our generation. He was a man of God. He was dedicated to the cause of complete civil liberties and civil rights for all Americans. He was dedicated to the idea of achieving racial harmony, and his eloquence and irrefutable logic. The assassination in Memphis, Tenn., and the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, Tex., have been the cruellest blows to the American people since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. I fear the dread portent of the hour. I am fearful that violence is the curse of the land. We must not permit that.

It is ironic that the two greatest apostles of nonviolence since the birth of our Saviour nearly 2,000 years ago were Mahatma Gandhi and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and both suffered violent deaths at the hands of assassins. However, an assassin's bullet can never destroy the legacy of hope and freedom and peace that both of these great human beings bequeathed to men of all colors and creeds.

Those who are responsible for this violent deed have murdered an unoffending, God-fearing and innocent man of great good will. They have also killed something in the spirit and heart of America. Let us hope that out of this wanton and senseless act all Americans—Negro and white alike—will dedicate themselves anew to the ideals for which Martin Luther King lived and to which the man was dedicated to the cause of complete the great work in which he was engaged at the time of his death—the elimination of poverty from our Nation.

In a dream for a world filled with love, hope, and security he felt keenly the desperate yearning for peace of all people. His death will be mourned by hundreds of millions of men and women far from our Nation's shores as well as here at home. Good people of every shade of opinion and every creed know that they have lost a dear friend.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is gone and his voice is stilled. However, his noble spirit will not die.

Mr. President, the death of Martin Luther King has left to our Nation and to mankind. He also was a husband and a father. To Mrs. Martin Luther King and to their children I join with all Americans in extending our deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I join Senators in an expression of compassion for the widow and children of Martin Luther King. While nothing can relieve the grief that they will bear, we all hope that somehow their grief will be lessened by the resolve of our Nation to persevere in the ways of peace.

There is a grim irony and poignant in the fact that he died by the very violence that he sought to eliminate. We know from his last words and actions that he saw even his own crusade for equality among Americans menaced by the violence he deplored. For he deplored violence of every kind—violence at home, violence by whites, violence by blacks. At the moment of his death he was deeply troubled that his own long and arduous work might be subverted by persons and purposes and methods entirely foreign to what he sought to accomplish: the peaceful and nonviolent absorption of every American into the fullness of our national life.

As men and women, our reaction to the isolated deed of perverted violence must be one of sorrow for his family. As Americans, it must be one of renewed resolve that our vigorous national efforts toward full equality of opportunity and citizenship will be carried on within the flexible but peaceful framework of justice and legal order.

Mr. PROCTER. Mr. President, too many say that the Negro has lost a great leader in the murder of Martin Luther King. The fact is, America has lost a great leader.

Martin Luther King was a very great American. He was a man of peace who preached peace and who had more eloquence than anyone else.

But, in the irony of his violent death, too few are likely to note that the measure of his greatness was not—I repeat, not—his gentleness and love of peace, but his dedication to a continuous protest to the American citizenship for the American Negro.

If we are honest, we will recognize that in his life King's protest was not popular in white America, or in this body, or in Congress. By his own measure he had failed to achieve his goal.

But for the martyred death, let us pray that King's dream, that great dream—as he touchingly expressed, gave our dreams and our consciences a direction for which Mr. Martin Luther King gave his life.

Otherwise, the bad men, whatever their color, will prevail and we shall come to catastrophe—all to be plunged into a bloodbath of hatred.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, Martin Luther King is dead, a victim of man's persistent inhumanity to man. With his tragic passing, so sorrowfully reminiscent of the death of President Kennedy, we have lost the sanest and most persuasive voice for moderation and nonviolence this Nation ever had. Although I believe Mr. King is dead, we must all pray that moderation and nonviolence have not died with him.

We in this Chamber can help to make that so, but we must act now—swiftly—to build for him a lasting monument of law.

Justice and equality of opportunity were always his goals. We in the Congress must now demonstrate our rededication to those same goals, not only out of a sense of compassion for his loss, but also because honor and duty require it.

Mr. GOLDSWORTHY. Mr. President, I join the many who say that the Negro has lost a great leader in the murder of Martin Luther King. Let the House pass the open housing bill. Let us provide the funds to carry on the war on poverty. Let us pass the equal employment opportunity bill. Let us appro priate whatever is needed to bring meaningful educational opportunity to the deprived children of the slums.

Let us cut back on Headstart programs. Let us now, for God's sake, before we are visited by national tragedy again, pass the Federal Gun Control bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I speak today, as others have spoken, with a heart full of grief and tragedy.

A great man and an apostle of peace has been taken from us. This terrible tragedy has removed one of the greatest and most inspiring leaders this century has produced.

In addition to the great shock and deep feeling I have, I am sorely troubled for Mrs. King and her children—it is also a dangerous and delicate hour in our national life. The wrong lessons can be read from this terrible event, as well as the right ones. The tendency will be to read the wrong ones first, that violence, which this terrible act demon-
strates, will tend to be repaid with violence with awful consequences to follow. We have already seen some riots in New York and in other cities throughout the country.

Our leadership should be directed toward the dignity, respect, and honor which this tragedy requires. That means the continuance of peace, the use of the processes of law to their utmost to find the miscreants, and the hope of binding the wounds by the deep sorrow we manifest and by the affirmative actions which are looked for—and which Martin Luther King looked for—as the basis for the just cause with which he sought and for which he gave his life.

It requires—and I am delighted that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark] has said it—the passage by the House of the Senate civil rights bill with relation to segregation in housing and the very kinds of crimes which are involved here where we would seek to punish effectively under Federal law.

Mr. President, Martin Luther King was a very great man. He would have been the first, if he could speak to us today, to countenance this killing of the innocent.

The historic words “we shall overcome” are words of light, words of continuity, and words of optimism. That is the spirit of Martin Luther King.

There is much work for us to do. The civil rights bill now in the other body is one unfinished task. We will shortly be debating the supplemental appropriations bill, either today, or Monday or Tuesday next, which contains another kind of cause to which Martin Luther King was deeply dedicated.

There are other memorials which will keep his memory alive. There are schools, there are bridges, there are airports, and there are many other things in our Nation which should be used to remind our children that there was a Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., how he served and how he loved his country.

What all of us should have in our minds and hearts in that he was for justice for men of all races, not Just Negroes. For this he gave his life.

His silence will overcome, provided we take the appropriate lessons from his life and tragic death, as I have tried to outline, under the grief of the moment, as some of those to which we have to repair today.

So let us not just speak words of memory. Let us pass on the issue, but let us be deeply impressed by Dr. Martin Luther King’s death as by his life, with the determination that we have it within our power to bring about a realization of the things for which he gave his life. Our greatest tribute to his memory will be to make that dream come true.

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., last night was a senseless act which does immeasurable harm to the cause of improved race relations. I wish to convey to my colleagues the deep grief and shock to neighbors, coworkers, and friends.

To this end, certainly the Federal flags should fly at half-mast.

To this end, every citizen should feel no hesitation in expressing feelings of hurt and shock to neighbors, coworkers, and friends.

To this end, I would be hopeful that such a common grief might be expressed in an early memorial service, perhaps one on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial that could recapture that moving moment when Dr. King galvanized the civil rights march of 1963 when Martin Luther King spoke of his dream for America.

At this moment, the Nation is unified by its grief.

Since his death, Dr. King wrote an article that appears in Look magazine this week.

In it, he wrote:

All of us are on trial in this troubled hour, but time still permits us to meet the future with a clear conscience.

Dr. King’s life was dedicated to such a future. We must all pray that his death will strengthen—not diminish—the Nation’s drive to achieve it.
decade—from early years of hope for an integrated America to this year of self-consuming rage. In 1963 Martin Luther King, Jr., received the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in civil rights, and for his dedication to bringing peace between and among the races in our country; but Martin Luther King has also been a great leader in the peace movement in our country in respect to the problem of world peace, and he has warned, “Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

King himself, speaking here in Washington on Sunday, and despairing the response of white Americans and of Congress to programs for the poor, warned: “We cannot afford to remain asleep. There are two challenges to America. The challenges are racism and poverty.

We can pray today that the death of the nonviolent leader will not bring violence to life. In the days ahead we must act to fulfill King’s dream.

Yesterday I was able to be a part of the celebration of the life of a giant. Yesterday I was able to see and receive the argument that black America is basically dishonest and indecent. It is up to the Congress today to lend powerful support to the argument of black moderates by passing the 1968 civil rights bill, and by moving quickly to provide employment and housing opportunities for all blacks and whites.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was the voice for Senators who sat throughout the ceremony at Lincoln’s monument. In fact, the four of us literally sat at the feet of Martin Luther King, for we sat on the step of the monument just below the podium from which he made that great speech that will enter American rhetoric as one of the great orations of our times.

In the course of that speech, he uttered the following paragraphs, which I wish to quote today because I know of no greater tribute that could be paid to this great American than the inspiration of his own words, when he said:

“I say to you today, my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal.’

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification—one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to progress together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

He left us the heritage of that dream. He left us the responsibility, as free men and women across this country, to see to it that the realization for which he prayed, worked, and fought shall become the policy of the Republic. That, I think, is the essence of the dream that he left with us to carry forward into reality.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I rise today to express a great sorrow at what happened yesterday in Memphis. It need not have happened, and it should not have happened. For to take the life of a human being, except in self-defense or in the defense of others, is an awful thing to comprehend. Life comes to man, not of himself, and once it is taken away it cannot be returned again. Yet, since Cain slew his brother Abel, man has continued to violate God’s law and take that which he cannot restore. I rise today to express a sorrow everywhere, throughout the land, men die at the hands of other men. Here in the Capital of the Nation, women are made widows, and children are made orphans, because human life is taken by the gunman or the knife wielder. And only when the victim is an individual of rank, status, station, or title, or broad reputation, does the Nation mourn. Yet, life is just as precious as any other, and death’s sorrow is just as real to the loved ones of the policeman or the fireman or the young secretary whose life has been cruelly and brutally snatched away as it is to the home of the famous or the home of the great.

The Commandment says, “Thou shalt not kill,” but man defies and violates God’s law daily throughout the land, and man violated God’s law yesterday in Memphis.

If we would only learn to cherish and live according to God’s commandments and the laws of the land, ours would be a better country and a greater country and many a home would be spared of grief.

Mr. President, I was not an admirer of Dr. Martin Luther King, but I regret, as much as any Senator regrets, the tragedy that befell him, and I feel sorrow for his family. I was shocked but I was not surprised at what happened, because of the tension that existed in Memphis. Now it has happened, and it is a tragic thing. I fear that bad matters may only be made worse, that old hatreds may be rekindled, new hatreds may be born, more blood may be spilled, and more lives may be lost.

Why, Mr. President, cannot our people reverence and respect and obey the laws of the country which gave most of us birth and which we all should love?

There is a lesson to be drawn from what happened in Memphis and from what has been happening in increasing intensity throughout the Nation in recent years. That is, that mass protests, mass demonstrations, and mass marches and the like—whether labeled nonviolent or otherwise—can only serve to encourage unrest and disorder, and to provoke violence and bloodshed.
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Dr. King's profession was that of a minister. But no man is required to be a member of the clergy to be able to understand these simple passages from the scriptures, and all men would profit from obedience thereto.

This is an hour of great emotion throughout the land, Mr. President, and it is an hour of shame and remorse and sober reflection.

But it should also be a time for sober reflection by all citizens.

And out of this moment should come a spirit of reeducation to the principles of equal justice for every man, whatever his race, and a reawakening of respect for law and order on the part of every man, whatever his race.

Neither men nor mobs can continue to create disorder and disregard the laws and disrupt the orderly functioning of government at any level, without shak¬ing the very foundations of our society, tearing our country asunder, and destroying themselves in the end.

We must, if we are to avoid disaster, strive to live in peace, work together in harmony, seek redress for our grievances through established legal processes, and always for the preservation of good order.

This, I hope, will be the lesson we will all draw from the tragic events of recent days in Memphis.

Mr. President, this, as I have said, is a time of deep emotion. We may have on our hands a highly flammable situation in which passions will determine events of the day. What I am saying is difficult to say at a time like this, it may be misinterpreted by some, and it may not be considered entirely in keeping with the views being expressed by many, but I feel constrained to make this call to reason — in the hope that the reactions of all our people may be influenced by careful thought of what is needed to steer the Nation through this confused and troubled period.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, George Bernard Shaw wrote:

Some men see things as they are and ask why. I see things that have never been and ask why not.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a man who asked why not. His assassination is a sad, sad, sorrowful thing, but not only for his family. It is, Mr. President, a great American tragedy.

It is tragically ironic that a man who dedicated his life to the concept of nonviolence should himself be stricken down by violence.

Mr. President, Dr. King adhered faithfully all his life to the concept of nonviolence, and if his life and death are to have their greatest meaning, all Americans, black and white, must now renew their dedication to that principle.

He also stood for an equally great concept, the concept of hope. Throughout all his life, Dr. King, by his words and his acts, exemplified abiding hope and confidence in the American system, deep and abiding hope and confidence in the reservoir of goodness which has always existed in this country. He never faltered in his belief that Justice would triumph for all people and that America would soon commence to live up to its highest ideals.

Dr. President, at a time such as this, each of us in America must pause and take a hard and painful look at ourselves and resolve to remove from our lives, and from the life of our Nation, the ugliness which makes one man less than another.

As we view the tragic events of our time, Mr. President, we must almost want to cry out with Hamlet:

The time is out of joint: O cursed spite, That ever I was born to set it right!

But we, Mr. President, who serve in this Chamber, were born to set it right. The way is clear. And set it right we must.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the great poet Goethe once said:

Nothing is more terrible than ignorance in action.

The senseless and cowardly assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has robbed America of a brave and dedicated citizen.

The causes of freedom, individual dignity, human compassion, and decency have suffered immeasurably.

As a demonstration of the profound grief which is felt throughout this country today, I urge the President of the United States to officially proclaim a week of national mourning.

I also implore my colleagues in the House of Representatives to approve the civil rights protection bill, which was passed overwhelmingly by the Senate last month.

Martin Luther King will remain an inspiration for all Americans. His beliefs and convictions will triumph over the warped thinking of bigots and racists, and those few who are infected by their venom.

I pray that the shock of this tragic event will bring all Americans closer together, rather than destroying all reason.

All men of good will must now join, without hesitation, in fighting the battle which has fallen on the shoulders of those few who are infected by their venom.

Mr. President, at a time such as this, recriminations are easy. Violence so easily begets violence. Vengeance is a small motive in itself, but it is an indulgence for us. His vision of nonviolence and justice must not be allowed to fade.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, our land has been visited once again by the senseless violence of an assassin. All men of good will, I know, are shocked and saddened by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, the apostle of nonviolence and world-recognized advocate of peace. He has died a violent death.

Mr. President, at a time such as this, recriminations are easy. Violence so easily begets violence. Vengeance is a small motive in itself, but it is an indulgence for us. His vision of nonviolence and justice must not be allowed to fade.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, our land has been visited once again by the senseless violence of an assassin. All men of good will, I know, are shocked and saddened by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, the apostle of nonviolence and world-recognized advocate of peace. He has died a violent death.

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will. The achievement of that dream is the only fitting memorial to the leader of men who was struck down so cowardly and so senselessly in Memphis last night. Dr. King was a leader in all the aspects of American life. He personified the conviction that nonviolence could bring effective redress of all our common problems.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a despicable and cowardly act. I extend my deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

Crime and mob violence and the fear of crime and mob violence has been the most serious domestic problem in our Nation for several years. If our country is to remain strong and free with liberty and justice for all, crime and mob violence and insane acts such as the one last night must cease. It must cease.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is a great national tragedy. America has lost one of her greatest civil rights leaders and our Negro citizens a real champion.

Dr. King held steadfastly to the belief that gains in human rights could be achieved without violence. He preached nonviolence vigorously and with great conviction. He was a leading major force in the drive to improve the lot of the Negro in education, housing, fair employment, voting rights, and equal access to public facilities and accommodations.

Now we must be more determined than ever to eliminate the blight of racial discrimination in all aspects of American life and redouble our efforts to achieve the goal of full equality and freedom for all Americans.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, last night, for the second time in 5 years, a giant among us was cut down by a lurid bullet. Dr. Martin Luther King, man of God, man of peace, man of enormous courage and leadership, is dead. Let us pray for his soul and for the spirit of justice and nonviolence through which he accomplished so much. And let us see more of justice or more hate. The world has grown much too small for injustice, much too small for hate.

We may never be able to eliminate the kind of madness which struck down Dr. King, but we have no excuse for hatred or for fear or for the condition of our fellow man. Congress has it in its power to act against the ignorance, poverty, illhousing, and bad health which afflicts many of our citizens in all parts of this Nation. Congress must act.

In his last act of life, Dr. King achieved far more through nonviolence than all hate's black apostles could dream of or hate's white apostles could stop. Dr. King's militant appeal to reason, love, and justice produced the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and scores of breakthroughs for justice and decency in cities and States across the Nation. Let every American renounce hate and violence and re dedicate himself to justice and decency for every citizen.

Mr. President, I ask that the editorials appearing in today's Baltimore Sun, Washington Post, and New York Times be reprinted in Dr. King's life and achievements be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 5, 1968]

MARTIN LUTHER KING

The killing of Martin Luther King is a national tragedy, the consequences of which are not readily foreseeable. His was the voice of inspiration for millions of American Negroes. He was the model of un daunted insistence on individual rights and respect. From the 1955 days of the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott, his was the stride toward freedom that remained unbroken and drew an impressive following while others faltered or flamed out and went off in diverse directions.

White resentment of Dr. King and at times overt hostility accompanied his every move. Even those in full sympathy with what he sought to accomplish questioned his tactics. But now that he lies dead there must come the overwhelming realization that there was none other of his stature, that none other of his moral and spiritual power could have been the leader the same kind of wanton senselessness that we are accustomed to hear about.

We may never be able to eliminate the kind of madness which struck down Dr. King, but we have no excuse for hatred or for fear or for the condition of our fellow man. Congress has it in its power to act against the ignorance, poverty, illhousing, and bad health which afflicts many of our citizens in all parts of this Nation. Congress must act.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was a tragic and senseless murder. Dr. King personified the conviction that nonviolence could bring effective redress of all our common problems.

It is fitting that we remember Dr. Martin Luther King as he stood before the great statute of Lincoln, for he came among us to redeem Lincoln's own pledge to his people; he fell as Lincoln fell and he becomes, as Lincoln became, an inspiration for the world.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a great American has fallen. The loss is not that of race or sect, but of the Nation.

Who among us will ever forget that powerful day in August when hundreds of thousands of Americans converged on the Lincoln Memorial in peace, to be profoundly moved by Martin Luther King's vision of the American dream.

It was his dream "that my four little children will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." With moral force, not armed force, he made a nation face its conscience.

We must draw strength and moral commitment from his life.

We must build toward his dream for our country and his nightmare of society at war with itself.

It is fitting that we remember Dr. Martin Luther King as he stood before the great statute of Lincoln, for he came among us to redeem Lincoln's own pledge to his people; he fell as Lincoln fell and he becomes, as Lincoln became, an inspiration for the world.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, Martin Luther King was an eloquent advocate of nonviolence in a world often torn apart by violence and ill will. In his own words he said the King's peace and the brotherhood to a world beset by war and racial conflict. He saw clearly that the violence abroad was in fact closely linked to the violence which we suffer at home. He was among those who spoke up and declared that we as a nation must take a stand and say that we cannot continue to pour billions of dollars into the machinery of war abroad while cutting down the budget for the machinery of projects of peace

The dream of which he spoke so eloquently at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963 must seem tonight, to many of his sorrowing countrymen and embittered fellow citizens, farther than ever from fulfillment. But that shining vision and bright hope will yet prevail. It must be our resolve to go forward with a renewed sense of the reality of his dream of racial equality and social justice.

"The Need of All Humanity"

The assassin's bullet that extinguished the life of Dr. King has struck deep into the fabric of this country and has torn into the very heart of America of every race, color and creed. Each one of us has died a little with the death of Martin Luther King, who recently wrote:

"Neither race nor color is the Negro's need, may become the answer to the most desperate need of all humanity."

Dr. King's murder is a national disaster, depriving Negroes and whites alike of a leader of integrity, vision and restraint. The calmness of his loss will require a maximum of self-control and steadiness of nerve on the part of all the American people.

The cause for which Dr. King died will find renewed strength and purpose in the inpiration of his memory, and it will surely triumph, for the cause is just.
at home. The issue he joined was this: Just where do our priorities lie? Is it more important to kill Vietcong in South Vietnam or to save the embittered poor in our own country? Is it more important to bomb Vietnam’s cities into rubble or to reconstruct our own? Is it more important to involve ourselves in a revolutionary war in Vietnam or to prevent a revolutionary war at home?

There is a time to mourn but there is also a time to build. Our thoughts are with the dead, but our actions must be with the living to meet their needs and to fulfill the legacy of Martin Luther King.

Mr. MONROEY, Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great moderate leader who advanced the causes of equality and justice for all men. It is a tremendous tragedy that such a man should die in a city where he fought so valiantly to preserve our constitutional rights.

The Birmingham boycott. The march on Washington. Selma, Little Rock, Baltimore, Washington, and cities stretched across the length and breadth of this land of ours, are filled with countless numbers of hate-filled people. They hate Catholics and Jews; Negroes and Indians; the Italian immigrant and the Irish. They hate the French and the Communists. They hate and hate and hate. The objects of their hatred are legion; their victims, often unknown except on such dramatic occasions as this. No, Mr. President, I should not have been surprised. Enough hatemongers roam this land to strike down a Martin Luther King or any other real or imagined object of their hate. But this realization does not diminish the overpowering sadness, my deep distress the terrible grief I share with Dr. King’s family and friends. Their loss is the Nation’s loss, and a grievous loss it is.

Let us pray that Dr. King’s death will bring the beginning of the fulfillment of the dream of which he spoke so eloquently that bright August day in 1963. Let us hope that this generation of Americans begins now to realize that hatred begets hatred, that violence breeds violence, that intolerance, injustice, inequality, and all the other evils which plague our society do it almost irreparable harm.

Let us pray, Mr. President, that Dr. King’s children and the children of oppressed people through this land shall be able to live in an America which has attained the ideal toward which he has striven for 20 years. The question is not Negro rights, Indian rights, or minority rights of any kind. The question is: Are we ever going to grant to all Americans those inalienable rights for which so much blood has already been shed in this country? For that cause, Dr. King has now become victim to this national bloodletting. How many more victims there will be before it ends, I dare not think.

Mrs. King and her family have lost a good husband and father. The Negro people have lost one of the greatest leaders of our time. This Nation mourns an outstanding American whose life was an example to us all. May we emulate that example.

ACT TO REPLACE SLUMS AS TRIBUTE TO MARTIN LUTHER KING

Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. President, I join with all my colleagues in expressing my sorrow over the events which transpired last night. Dr. King was a great man and will be sorely missed. However, life goes on and the greatest memorial we can contribute to his memory is to continue to work toward the complete equality of white and Negro Americans.

One of the ways in which we can act, and act now, is to make sure that the slum dwellers, many of whom are Negro, have fit places to live.

The passage of my bill, S. 3234, should dramatically increase the number of repairs on their properties, while dramatically decreasing the time it takes these slumlords to make these repairs required by law.

As I pointed out on Wednesday and Thursday, many of the slum properties are owned by a few large slumlords who make millions of dollars because of the many tax advantages afforded landlords under the Internal Revenue Code. The largest tax advantage is the depreciation deduction which shelters from taxation large portions of the income these slumlords receive. If some of these landlords failed to report this loss of this deduction if they failed to maintain their properties in the minimal fashion required by law, they would surely make the required repairs within the time allowed by law. No longer would they be able to hide behind crowded court dockets and be willing to risk the large financial fines which are payable for violating the housing codes. The penalty for violating housing codes would be drastically increased. This would affect primarily the slumlords, not the majority of landlords who are careful to maintain their property in good repair.
shocked and saddened by the senseless killing in Memphis last night of Dr. Martin Luther King. And I am sure that this was the reaction of every American citizen worthy of the name.

Like all crusaders, Dr. King had his critics. But not even his critics can deny that he made a truly outstanding contribution to the cause of civil rights and that, to the bitter end, in the face of many threats to his own safety, King remained as unyielding a Chandi in his commitment to nonviolence.

No one who lived through the great march on Washington in 1963 will ever be able to forget Dr. King's impassioned vision of a greater and better America—of an America governed by social justice and brotherhood and racial harmony. I can think of no more effective way of honoring the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King than redoubling our efforts to achieve the ideal America for which he was so eloquently a spokesman.

Dr. King's untimely death was a warning that our society cannot afford the luxury of bigotry and race hatred.

His death imposes on each one of us the moral duty to seek to overcome that which is intolerant in us; to resist the prejudices from which even good men frequently suffer; and to take those positive measures which must be taken to eliminate the serious vestiges of inequality and social injustice inherited from a tragic historic past.

One other lesson emerges from the tragedy of Dr. King's assassination. For Senator Hartke and I have been arguing for a gun bill that would impose at least a modest measure of control over the sale of firearms by prohibiting the interstate mail-order sale of firearms. This measure has, regrettably, been resisted by a powerful combination in the Senate, which has been supported and encouraged by formidable lobbying interests.

President Kennedy was killed with a weapon purchased through the mails by Lee Harvey Oswald, under an assumed name. Dr. King has now been killed with a rifle whose owner has not yet been identified.

How many more good men will have to die before public indignation compels Congress to enact the very modest gun control measure which has been pending before it for years?

How much longer will America remain the only civilized country in the world that does not have such controls?

My 5-year struggle to have my gun bill enacted into law is now in its crucial phase.

Yesterday at an executive session of the Judiciary Committee at which the administration's safe streets crime bill was being debated and voted upon, I offered my administration-backed gun bill as an amendment. After some discussion, it was rejected by a vote of 9 to 4.

Then in an effort to get the best possible gun bill reported to the Senate floor, I modified the bill so as to give any State the privilege of exempting its citizens from the long-arm provisions of the bill. The committee still rejected the bill; this time by a vote of 8 to 5.

In a final effort to get action, I presented a modified bill that did not apply to long arms. Even with this modification we were only able to achieve a tie vote of 6 to 6.

The four absent Senators are now being polled to determine their position on the gun bill, as amended.

I am hopeful that the final vote will be favorable and that it will thus pave the way for the entire Senate to have an opportunity to work its will on this gun bill.

THE DEATH OF A DREAM

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, today is a sad day for all America and the world. A man who believed in peace and the brotherhood of man was brutally slain in Memphis last night because he dared to carry his views where they were unpopular.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a passionate apostle of the nonviolent method of carrying forward the civil rights movement for Negro equality. In the end, it was this passion which destroyed him—and perhaps with him the hope for a peaceful integration of the Negro into the mainstream of American life. Unafraid of danger, welcoming challenge, always convinced of the ultimate decency of white America, Martin Luther King, Jr., lived and died with Negro self-confidence was shattered and that our country has on the Negroes who shared his faith that white America is basically decent and only needed to be shown where injustice existed in order to respond. I fear that much of this faith has been shattered and that our country is facing increasing bitterness and divisiveness—an ironic legacy for a man who scorned those who preached separation.

Mr. President, it is too early to accurately account the place of Dr. King in American history. That he pressed insistently for what he felt was right is fact. That he was a man who made his peace with suffering and death is fact. But what we must wonder now is what effect will this death have on the Negroes who shared his faith that white America is basically decent and only needed to be shown where injustice existed in order to respond. I fear that much of this faith has been shattered and that our country is facing increasing bitterness and divisiveness—an ironic legacy for a man who scorned those who preached separation.

Mr. President, the belief in us, in the ultimate justice of our democracy and in the American dream that Martin Luther King, Jr., so often and eloquently expressed must not be allowed to perish with him. Moderation must prevail and we in the Senate bear a special responsibility to insure that it does.

SHOWDOWN FOR NONVIOLENCE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I believe that it is appropriate to place into the Record the article by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which appears in the April 16 issue of Look magazine. I ask unanimous consent to insert the article in today's Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SHOWDOWN FOR NONVIOLENCE

(BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR."

The policy of the Federal Government is to play Russian roulette with riots; it is providing the rioters with the ammunition for the disaster. Despite two consecutive summers of violence, not a single basic cause of riots has been corrected. All of the misery that stoked the flames of non-violence has remained undiminished. With unemployment, intolerable housing and discriminatory education a scourge in Negro ghettos, Congress and the Administration are talking with a tinker with trivial, half-hearted measures.

Yet only a few years ago, there was discernible, if limited, progress through non-violent direct action. Dr. King's vision of a Negro self-confidence was taking shape. The fact is inescapable that the tactic of non-violence, which had then dominated the thinking of the civil-rights movement, has in the last two years not been playing its transforming role. Non-violence was a creative doctrine in the South because it checkmated the rabid segregationists who were thirsting for an opportunity to physically crush Negroes. Non-violent direct action enabled the Negro to take to the streets in active protest, but it was also resistant to the oppressor because even he could not shoot down in daylight unarmed men, women and children. This is the reason there was less loss of life in ten days of Southern protest than in ten days of Northern riots.

Today, the Northern cities have taken on the conditions we faced in the South. Police, national guardsmen and other armed bodies are feverishly preparing for repression. They can be curbed not by unorganized force to force by desperate Negroes but only by a massive wave of active non-violence. Non-violence was never more relevant as an effective tactic than today for the North. It also may be the instrument of our national salvation.

I agree with the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that our nation is splitting into two hostile societies and that the chief destructive cutting edge is white racism. We need, above all, effective means to force Congress to act resolutely—but means that do not involve the use of violence. For us in the Southern Christians, that is the alternative to either riots or the equivalent evil of passivity. And we know that non-violent militant action in Selma and Birmingham awakened the conscience of the American and the poor of both races.

We will call on the Government to adopt the measures recommended by its own commission. To avoid, in the Commission's words, the tragic prophesied polarization of the American community and ultimately the destruction of basic democratic values, we must have "national action—compassionate, massive, constructive action to stem the sources of the most powerful and the richest nation on earth."

The demonstrations we have planned are of a magnitude to try to spell out at length what we will do, try to do. Don't believe I, Mr. President, I believe in, my staff and I have worked three months on the planning. We believe that if this movement succeeds, non-violence will once again be the dominant instrument for social change—and jobs and income will be put in the hands of the tormented poor. If it fails, non-violence will be discredited, and the

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country may be plunged into holocaust—a tragedy deepened by the awareness that it was avoidable.

We are taking action after sober reflection. We have carefully considered the strongest arguments for and against our Government's position. We have tried to decide what our Government does not correct a race problem until it is confronted directly and dramatically. We also know, as official Washington may not, that the flash point of Negro rage is in the ghettos.

Our Washington demonstration will resemble Birmingham and Selma in duration. It will be more consistent. We can persist for two or three months. In the earlier Alabama actions, we set no time limits. We simply said we were going to struggle there until we got a response from the nation on the issues involved. We are saying the same thing about Washington. This will be an attempt to bring a kind of Selma-like movement, Birmingham-like movement, into being, substantially around the economic issues. Just as we dealt with the social problem of segregation through massive demonstrations, we are now trying to deal with the economic problems—the right to live, to have jobs and income—through massive protest. It will be a Selma-like movement on economic issues.

We remember that when we began direct action in Birmingham and Selma, there was a thunderous chorus that sought to discourage us. We advised the poor to stay in those cities and the reforms that radiated from them are hailed with pride by all.

We've selected 15 areas—ten cities and five rural communities for demonstrations. The area is another rural one. We're going to take the place of the urban one as the center of the demonstration movement. We're going to Washington and the other cities. We're going to the South and the North Carolina and Virginia. We hope that the sound and sight of a growing mass of poor people walking slowly toward Washington will help us have a positive, dramatic effect on Congress.

Once demonstrations start, we feel, there will be spontaneous supporting activity taking place. That has happened in campaigns like this, and I think it will again. I think people will start moving. The reasons we didn't choose California and other areas out West are distance and the problem of transporting marchers that far. But part of our strategy is to have spontaneous demonstrations take place on the West Coast.

A nationwide non-violent movement is very important. We know from past experience that Congress and the President won't listen to anything except a movement around which people of goodwill can find a way to put pressure on them, because it really means breaking that coalition in Congress. It's still a coalition-dominated, rural-dominated, basically Southern Congress. There are Southerners there with committee chairmanships, and they are going to try to frustrate anything that can as they can. They get enough right-wing Midwest or Northern Republicans to go along with them.

For us, that really means making the movement powerful enough, dramatic enough, morally appealing enough, so that people of goodwill, the churches, labor, liberals, intellectuals, students, poor people themselves begin to put pressure on Congressmen to the point that they can no longer elude our demands.

Our idea is to dramatize the whole economic problem of the poor. We feel there's a great deal that we need to do to appeal to Congress itself. The early demonstrations will be, primarily, to seek to discredit our purposes—to educate the nation on the nature of the problem and the crucial aspects of it, the tragic conditions that we confront in the ghettos.

After that, if we haven't gotten a response from Congress, we will branch out. And we are honest enough to feel that we aren't going to stop. Congress, knowing its recalcitrant nature on this issue, and knowing that so many resources and energies are being used in Vietnam, may well feel the pressure there. So we don't have any illusions about moving Congress in two or three weeks. But we do feel that, by starting in Washington, centering on Congress and departments of the Government, we will be able to do a real educational job.

We call our demonstration a campaign for jobs and income because we feel that the economic question is the most crucial for black people, and poor people generally, are confronting. There is a literal depression in the Negro community. There is mass unemployment in the Negro community. It's called a social problem; when you have mass unemployment in the white community, it's called a social problem; when you have mass unemployment in the Negro community, it's called a major depression in the Negro community.

The unemployment rate is extremely high, and among Negro youth, it goes up as high as 50 percent. We need an Economic Bill of Rights. This would guarantee a job to all people who want to work and are able to work. It would also guarantee a job to all who are not able to work. Some people are too young, some are too old, some are physically disabled, and yet in order to live, they also need income. Certain public-service jobs, but that could be done in a few weeks. A program that would really deal with jobs could minimize—

We plan to have a march for those who can spend only a day or two in Washington, and that will be toward the culminating point of the campaign. I hope this will be a time when white people will rejoin the ranks of the movement.

Demonstrations have served as uniting forces in the movement; they have brought blacks and whites together in very practical situations, where philosophically they may have been arguing about Black Power. It's a strange thing how demonstrations tend to bring people together.

The only thing that is known is that little known that crime rates go down in almost every community where you have demonstrations. In Selma, when we had a bus boycott, the crime rate in the Negro community went down 65 percent for a whole year. Anytime we've had demonstrations, it's a way to slough off their self-hatred, and they have had a channel to express their longings and a way to fight non-violently—to get at the power structure, to know they're doing something, so you don't have to be violent to do it.

We need this movement. We need it to bring the coalition of conscience together.

We use the word “coalition” because of white people have given up on integration too. There are a lot of “White Power” advocates, and I find that people do tend to despair and engage in destructive behavior. This is especially true when action is taking place, when there are demonstrations, they have a quality about them that leads to a unity you don't achieve at other times.

I think we have come to the point where there is no longer a choice now between non-violence and riots. It must be militant, massively so. I think the people are feeling so deep, the anger so ingrained, the despair, the restlessness so wide, that something has to be brought into being to serve as a channel through which these deep emotional feelings, these deep angry feelings, can be funneled. There has to be an outlet, and I see...
this campaign as a way to transmute the inschole rage of the ghetto into a constructive and creative channel. It becomes an out-look for the whole nation.

Even if I didn't deal with the moral dimen-
sions and question of violence versus non-
violence, from a practical point of view, I
guess there's no question but that if rioting
continues, it will strengthen the right wing
of the country, and we'll end up with a kind of right-wing take-over in Washington which will be terribly injurious to the whole nation. I don't think America can stand another summer of Detroit--like riots without a development of a community organization which will be able to deal with the problem.

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