



The Politics of the Dream: Marching Orders from Martin

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The king asked Daniel (renamed in Babylonian, Belteshazzar), “Are you sure you can do this—tell me the dream I had and interpret it for me?” Daniel answered the king, “No mere human can solve the king’s mystery, I don’t care who it is—no wise man, enchanter, magician, diviner. But there is a God in heaven who solves mysteries, and has solved this one.” (Daniel 2:26–28a The Message)

Then the Pharisees met together to find a way to trap Jesus in his words. They sent their disciples, along with the supporters of Herod, to him. “Teacher,” they said, “we know that you are genuine and that you teach God’s way as it really is. We know that you are not swayed by people’s opinions, because you don’t show favoritism. So tell us what you think: Does the Law allow people to pay taxes to Caesar or not?” Knowing their evil motives, Jesus replied, “Why do you test me, you hypocrites? Show me the coin used to pay the tax.” And they brought him a denarion. “Whose image and inscription is this?” he asked. “Caesar’s,” they replied. Then he said, “Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God.” When they heard this they were astonished, and they departed. (Matthew 22:15–22 CEB)

On January 14, 2013, a week before the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday, Matthew Laney used the passage from Daniel to recall the biblical tradition of dreamers

Martin Luther King Jr., whose “I Have a Dream” speech was delivered fifty years ago, was able to couple his dream of what might be with a firm rootedness in what is—the human condition. He recognized that significant change would require revision of our very notion of democracy: from one based in governments and institutions to one based in citizen-centered participation.

such as Abraham, Jacob, and Solomon. He then celebrated Martin Luther King as “one of the great dreamers of our time.”¹

King is rightly remembered as a dreamer. His vision of a transformed America was inspiring and is worth a closer look in this, the fiftieth anniversary year of the “I Have a Dream” speech King delivered at the March on Washington, August 28, 1963.

How can the dream be a beginning, not simply a memory? We need to recall that Martin Luther King was a coworker in a movement for a more participatory and egalitarian democratic society, not simply a powerful moral critic.

KING AND OBAMA—A VISION OF CITIZEN-CENTERED DEMOCRACY

In a coincidence of history, President Barack Obama took the oath of office on the Martin Luther King holiday, January 21, 2013. The president sounded a call for collective action in his Second Inaugural Address, with his hand on Martin Luther King’s Bible. Though the context and nature of their leadership is different—King led an enormous citizen movement, while Obama was elected president for a second term—there are similarities that extend beyond their roles as pioneering African American leaders.

Both hold a citizen-centered understanding of democracy, far more robust than conventional wisdom about what democracy involves. Thus, in “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” King highlights the South’s “real heroes”: everyday citizens who were “bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy that were dug deep by the founding fathers.”² In a similar vein, Obama employed the language of citizenship in his Inaugural Address, declaring that all must work together *as citizens* to advance the founding creed of the nation and to meet challenges of today.³ Obama has immersed himself in study of the black church tradition of call and response, which King so brilliantly embodied. In the citizen response to Obama’s call to help make citizen-centered democracy a reality, there are lessons to be recalled from the freedom movement.

“I HAVE A DREAM”

Stretched out on the floor in a sleeping bag in my father’s hotel room, I heard King practice the speech in the early morning hours of August 28, 1963. My father had just gone on the staff of King’s organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the only white person on the executive committee. Dad called me while I was hitchhiking in California before I went to college and told me to come back: “We’ve planned a march to get the attention of the nation,” he said.

¹Matthew Laney, “You May Say I’m a Dreamer,” *Stillspeaking Daily Devotional*, January 14, 2013, at <http://www.ucc.org/feed-your-spirit/daily-devotional/you-may-say-im-a-dreamer.html> (accessed April 24, 2013).

²Martin Luther King, “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” April 16, 1963, at http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html (accessed April 24, 2013).

³Barack Obama, “Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama,” January 21, 2013, at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inaugural-address-president-barack-obama> (accessed April 24, 2013).

In “I Have a Dream,” King strikes a bold tone. “There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights,” King said. He continued, “The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.” King’s Dream speech was also a call to act with discipline and the welfare of the whole society in mind, what can be called a consciousness of citizenship:

There is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.⁴

There is no doubt that King was a great dreamer. But to see King only as a dreamer is to miss his greatness.

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Martin Luther King lived what community organizers call the tension between the world as it is and the world as it should be. This is hard to do. The tendency is to split the two. On the one hand, we have our ideals and those who embody them. On the other, there is the vicious, violent world, the world of cruelty and corruption—and, of course, the evildoers who are seen as its agents. King refused this Manichean framework. He rooted his dream in the soil of fallibility, in the ironic, tragic dimensions of the human condition. He was aware of the propensities toward pettiness, jealousy, envy, and meanness in everyone, including himself. It was his ability to dream coupled with his rootedness in the human condition with its full complexity that made Martin Luther King great.

SPIRITUALIZING KING

This dimension of King is largely missing in today’s tributes and celebrations. King is spiritualized and individualized. The current controversy over the King Memorial in Washington illustrates this pattern.

In 2011, the poet Maya Angelou told the *Washington Post* that she was upset at the paraphrase of a quote on the Martin Luther King Memorial. The quote, from a sermon King gave at Ebenezer Baptist Church on February 4, 1968, said, “If you

⁴Martin Luther King, “I Have a Dream,” August 28, 1963. Full text can be found at <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/martin-luther-kings-speech-dream-full-text/story?id=14358231> (accessed April 24, 2013).

want to say that I was a drum major say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness.”⁵ On the Memorial it was shortened to read “I was a drum major for justice, peace, and righteousness.” Angelou argued, “The quote makes Dr. Martin Luther King look like an arrogant twit....He never would have said that of himself. He said, ‘you might say it.’...It minimizes the man. It makes him seem less than the humanitarian he was....It makes him seem an egotist.”⁶ After a wave of such criticisms, Ken Salazar, Secretary of the Interior Department, which runs the Park Service, announced that the inscription would be removed.⁷

I have high regard for Maya Angelou and her insightful writing. But she is wrong about King. King’s “Drum Major Instinct” sermon wasn’t creating a hypothetical. King begins it with a statement about the human condition. He challenges those who would condemn James and John for their request, recounted in Mark 10, to sit at Jesus’ left and right. King says,

Why would they make such a selfish request? Before we condemn them too quickly, let us look calmly and honestly at ourselves, and we will discover that we too have those same basic desires for recognition, for importance.... there is deep down within all of us kind of a drum major instinct—a desire to be out front, a desire to lead the parade, a desire to be first.⁸

King continues to say that the problem is not the desire to be a “drum major.” It’s that the follow-up question—“for what?”—is rarely asked. That’s the meaning behind the quote that was taken off the King Memorial.

My wife, Marie Ström, became a student of systematic theology at Luther Seminary to reflect on her years as an African grassroots popular democracy educator. One of the pleasures I have derived from that has been the opportunity to read some of her textbooks. Last fall, reading Douglas E. Oakman, *The Political Aims of Jesus*, I was struck by his argument that shortly after Jesus died, his followers spiritualized him. They took away his human side. They spruced him up. Oakman reminds us that Jesus was, in fact, “a worldly and world-engaged peasant artisan. He was a man who enjoyed dinner and a good glass of wine.”⁹ He was also a politically astute activist. While not in the camp of the Zealots who sought revolution against imperial Rome, he was no quietist.

As the passage in Matthew suggests and as Oakman details, Jesus practiced the savvy art of resistance at the heart of peasant politics. He lived the tension be-

⁵Martin Luther King, “Drum Major Instinct,” Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, February 4, 1968, at http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/ (accessed April 24, 2013).

⁶Gene Weingarten and Michael E. Ruane, “Maya Angelou says King memorial inscription makes him look ‘arrogant,’” *Washington Post*, August 30, 2011, at http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2011-08-30/local/35272106_1_peace-and-righteousness-inscription-lei-yixin (accessed April 24, 2013).

⁷“Controversial MLK Memorial Inscription to be Removed,” *CNN*, December 12, 2012, at <http://www.cnn.com/2012/12/11/us/mlk-memorial-inscription/index.html> (accessed April 24, 2013).

⁸King, “Drum Major Instinct.”

⁹Douglas E. Oakman, *The Political Aims of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012) 132.

tween the world as it is and the world as it should be. Begin with the real, Jesus said in response to the Pharisees' trick question. Don't fight the wrong battles. Pay taxes we owe to Caesar. He grounded his gospel in the here and now. He also told parables and undertook actions that pointed toward a radically different world: what we owe God, rooted in the prophetic tradition recounted each Passover, a world of equality, freedom, and justice.

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A similar process of spiritualization has happened to King's memory. His *moral voice*, his capacity to dream, is detached from his *movement-building practice*, which was always undertaken with others both famous and little known. This also works a process of individualization on King. For instance, Cornel West, professor of philosophy and Christian practice at Union Theological Seminary in New York, used King's outcries against the Vietnam War, materialism, and racism as the basis for a searing critique of Obama in a *New York Times* opinion piece.¹⁰ West recalled the words of Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel: "The whole future of America depends on the impact and influence of Dr. King." And he argued that King was isolated: "72 percent of whites and 55 percent of blacks disapproved of [his] opposition to the Vietnam War and his efforts to eradicate poverty."

"King's dream of a more democratic America had become, in his words, 'a nightmare,' owing to the persistence of 'racism, poverty, militarism and materialism,'" wrote West. Observing the continuing force of a degraded consumer culture, racism, mass incarceration, and poverty, West charged that

The age of Obama has fallen tragically short of fulfilling King's prophetic legacy. Instead of articulating a radical democratic vision and fighting for homeowners, workers and poor people in the form of mortgage relief, jobs and investment in education, infrastructure and housing, the administration gave us bailouts for banks, record profits for Wall Street and giant budget cuts on the backs of the vulnerable.

After the Inauguration this year, West told C-SPAN that Obama's use of King's Bible "makes my blood boil." He explained that "Martin Luther King Jr. [is] a brother of such high decency and dignity that you don't use his prophetic fire as just a moment in presidential pageantry."¹¹

¹⁰Cornel West, "Martin Luther King Weeps from his Grave," *New York Times*, August 25, 2011, at http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/26/opinion/martin-luther-king-jr-would-want-a-revolution-not-a-memorial.html?_r=2&hp& (accessed April 24, 2013).

¹¹"Dr. Cornel West Takes Issue with President Barack Obama Taking Oath with Martin Luther King Jr.'s Bible," *Indian Country*, January 22, 2013, at <http://dimewars.com/Video/Cornel-West-It-Makes-My-Blood-Boil-That-Obama-Put-His-Hands-On-Martin-Luther-King-s-Bible-.aspx?bcmediaid=d92b36fa-c24d-4d85-9990-2478e91b4372> (accessed April 24, 2013).

Understanding King as a coworker in movement building does not diminish either his or West's trenchant criticisms of America's shortcomings. But highlighting King as a *co*-worker shifts the emphasis to what we have to do together, not what an intellectual—or a president—undertakes as a moral critic or a problem solver for the nation.

FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS

In this regard, I want to lift up Bayard Rustin, the little-known organizer of the March on Washington, as an essential complement to any reading of Martin Luther King and his relevance for our time. As Charles Euchner shows, Rustin was indispensable to creating the platform for "I Have a Dream."¹²

Rustin had a visionary side; in fact, he had worked for years to bring nonviolence to the freedom movement long before King began his career. Rustin also lived a complicated life. A Quaker, he was a conscientious objector in World War II; he was gay; and he had been in the Communist Party as a young man. As a nonviolent, African American, gay former communist, Rustin was extremely controversial. Civil rights leaders kept him behind the scenes, but his accomplishments were legendary.

Rustin's question was always how to move from the world as it is to the world as it should be—or, put differently, how to put *power* behind *criticism and vision*. For instance, as Euchner shows, Rustin was sophisticated in working with the Kennedy administration as he organized the March on Washington. He understood the importance of being in collaborative relationship with the White House, recognizing its multiple roles in policy and context-setting for the nation. He also resisted being co-opted by the White House agenda.¹³ Rustin saw the task as building a broad movement of the citizenry for greater equality, involving many kinds of roles and settings.

By the mid-sixties, Rustin had become deeply worried about the growing tendency of young activists, both black and white, to substitute "posture and volume" for strategy. In 1965, he challenged this tendency in *Commentary* magazine:

[These activists] are often described as the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. They seek to change white hearts—by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. . . . But in any case, hearts are not relevant to the issue; neither racial affinities nor racial hostilities are rooted there. It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—that are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed *today*, and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.¹⁴

¹²Charles Euchner, *Nobody Turn Me Around: A People's History of the 1963 March on Washington* (Boston: Beacon, 2010).

¹³*Ibid.*, 66–82.

¹⁴Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," *Commentary*, Febru-

Rustin argued that the movement needed to change from protest to politics:

The civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. The Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, *de facto* school segregation. These are problems that, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.¹⁵

Though King is remembered as a lonely moral voice elevated above the fray, he was influenced by Rustin for the entire decade of his leadership in the movement. He was also shaped by the architects of the Citizenship Education Program (CEP) like Esau Jenkins, Miles Horton, Septima Clark, and Dorothy Cotton.

King believed that the task of the movement after the end to legal segregation was building a majoritarian citizen movement to "broaden the scope of democracy"

The vision of CEP, drafted by Septima Clark, an early teacher, was "broadening the scope of democracy to include everyone and deepening the concept to include every relationship."¹⁶ From 1961 to 1968, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Citizenship Education Program, directed by Dorothy Cotton, trained more than 8,000 people at the Dorchester Center in McIntosh, Georgia, who returned to their communities and trained tens of thousands in skills of community organizing and nonviolent change-making. "Broadening of democracy" involved the transformation of identity from victim to agent of change. Cotton tells this story vividly in a recent book: "People who had lived for generations with a sense of impotence, with a consciousness of anger and victimization, now knew in no uncertain terms that if things were going to change, *they themselves* had to change them."¹⁷ Cotton quotes Mrs. Topsy Eubanks, who described with vernacular eloquence that "the cobwebs commenced a-movin' from my brain."¹⁸ Cotton calls citizenship education "people empowering."¹⁹

King, often at the Dorchester Center, drew inspiration from the stories of people he met there. Like CEP leaders, he believed that the task of the movement

ary 1965, at <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/from-protest-to-politics-the-future-of-the-civil-rights-movement/> (accessed April 24, 2013). Italics in original.

¹⁵Ibid. Italics in original.

¹⁶Quoted in Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) 68.

¹⁷Dorothy Cotton, *If Your Back's Not Bent: The Role of the Citizenship Education Program in the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Atria Books, 2012) 135. Italics in original.

¹⁸Ibid., 139.

¹⁹Ibid., 102.

after the end to legal segregation was building a majoritarian citizen movement to “broaden the scope of democracy.” The Memphis garbage workers strike, during which he was killed, illustrated this focus with its images of garbage workers carrying signs, “I Am a Man.”

King’s focus on movement building was also illustrated by his request to me in 1964, when I was a field secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in St. Augustine, Florida, working with CEP to organize poor white southerners. I did this work for several years in the late 1960s and early 1970s with textile mill workers in Durham, North Carolina. The community organization that resulted, ACT, had some notable successes. I was also deeply impressed by the capacities for generosity and interracial action among those whom my friends at nearby Duke University dismissed as “rednecks.” Stereotyping poor and working-class whites as “reactionary” continues today, as a dysfunctional tendency among many progressives.²⁰

CITIZEN-CENTERED DEMOCRACY

King was a drum major in the long movement for equality and a citizen-centered democracy. All need to help build this movement if we are to develop the collective capacity to address our collective challenges, including problems unforeseen in King’s day, from global warming to infrastructure repair.

A number of recent developments in practice and theory, below the surface of an often-degraded public debate, point toward such a democracy. These are international in scope. For instance, in 2005, Marie Ström authored *Citizens at the Centre: AIDS Councils for Catalysts in Unlocking Citizen Power*. Her training manual embodies the approach of the African democracy group Idasa to the AIDS epidemic, seeking to catalyze the democratic energies of communities to create culture and behavior change instead of relying on experts and the miracles of medicine. *Citizens at the Centre* also reflects the general approach of the popular democracy education units of Idasa, working across Africa to challenge North Atlantic, state-centered views of democracy, with an alternative view of “democratic society” based on the labors of citizens.²¹

In the realm of academic theory, in 2007 a group of political theorists (Steve Elkin, Peter Levine, Jane Mansbridge, Elinor Ostrom, Rogers Smith, Karol Soltan, and I) came to a similar conclusion: democracy needs to be centered on citizens, not on governments. Our statement, “The New Civic Politics,” now forms the basis for an international seminar each year on cutting-edge democratic theory, called “The Summer Institute of Civic Studies,” held at Tufts University.²² Though

²⁰This story is told in Harry C. Boyte, “Populism – Bringing Culture Back In,” *The Good Society* 21/2 (2012) 301.

²¹Marie Ström, *Citizens at the Centre: AIDS Councils for Catalysts in Unlocking Citizen Power* (Cape Town: Idasa, 2005) at <http://www.loot.co.za/product/marie-louise-strom-citizens-at-the-centre/xfkb-182-ga20> (accessed May 17, 2013). See also “Lessons from the Field,” the ten-year review of democracy in South Africa by Idasa, http://idasa.krazyboyz.co.za/our_products/resources/output/lessons_from_the_field/ (accessed January 30, 2013).

²²The “New Civic Politics” framing statement is at <http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/circle/summer-institute/summer-institute-of-civic-studies-framing-statement/> (accessed April 25, 2013); see also the Tufts Summer

it goes against the grain of most academic theory and public discussions of democracy, citizen-centered views such as these have growing authority in intellectual life. Ostrom, former president of the American Political Science Association, won the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2009 for her work on citizen-centered approaches to shared resources like fisheries, forests, and the Internet. Jane Mansbridge is current president of APSA.

“What is today’s most significant political movement?” asks Kettering Foundation President David Mathews. “Although it flies below most radar screens, I would pick the quest for a democracy in which citizens have a stronger hand in shaping the future.” Mathews says that while “most eyes aren’t [focused] on higher education’s role in democracy,” a growing number are asking, “What is higher education’s relationship to this quest for a strong, citizen-centered democracy?”²³

Since *Word & World* is a Lutheran publication, I want to highlight Augsburg College, the new institutional home of our Center for Democracy and Citizenship, as an example of a college where many are asking about higher education’s relationship to “citizen-centered democracy.” Colleges like Augsburg hold large potential for impact on public discussion since they are “upstream” centers, shaping the identities and practices of thousands of civic leaders. In its educational vision, “Vocation, Access, and Excellence,” Augsburg integrates the concept of vocation into its core curriculum. Its statement describes vocation as “a fertile seedbed for the democratic ethos,” and also, as informed by Luther’s “priesthood of all believers,” generating an “egalitarian ethos.” Mark Engebretson elaborates,

This view of vocation both stresses the importance of education and clarifies its role. One does not seek education for either self-advancement or as a way to reach salvation. Its proper role is in helping persons determine and develop their abilities in preparation for investigating and celebrating God’s creation, for probing the mysteries of the human condition, and ultimately for furthering the well-being of society. As Luther said, God doesn’t want a cobbler who puts crosses on shoes; God wants a cobbler who makes good, reliable footwear.²⁴

Augsburg’s view of vocation helps bridge the often sharp divide in higher education between professional studies, on the one hand, and liberal arts and civic learning, on the other. The college also benefits from being in conversation with colleges and universities such as Northern Arizona University, University of Maryland–Baltimore County, Lonestar Community College, and University of Washington–Bothell. Augsburg also cooperates with higher education networks such as the American Democracy Project coalition of 240 state colleges and universities and the Imagining America consortium of

Institute of Civic Studies at <http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/circle/summer-institute/frontiers-of-democracy-innovations-in-civic-practice-theory-and-education/> (accessed April 25, 2013), and Harry C. Boyte, “A Commonwealth of Freedom: Response to Beltrán,” *Political Theory* 38/6 (2010) 870–876.

²³David Mathews, “Higher Education and Har Megiddo,” *Higher Education Exchange* (2012) 75–76, at http://kettering.org/wp-content/uploads/10_HEX2012_Mathews.pdf (accessed April 25, 2013).

²⁴Mark Engebretson and Bev Stratton, “Vocation, Access, and Excellence: The Educational Vision of Augsburg College,” at <http://www.augsburg.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/EducationalVision12-2012.pdf> (accessed April 25, 2013).

institutions that seeks to strengthen the public role of humanists and artists. These colleges and networks use an explicit language of politics, in the Rustin tradition, and civic agency—concepts often missing in service and vocation.

These institutions and associations have been leaders in the American Commonwealth Partnership (ACP), a network invited by the White House Office of Public Engagement in 2011 to work with the administration in strengthening higher education as a public good.²⁵ ACP emphasizes an understanding of citizenship education focused on citizen-centered democracy, including practices of democratic empowerment through which students, faculty, staff, and community partners learn to become “parts of communities,” not outside “partners with” communities.²⁶ These practices draw explicitly on the Citizenship Education Program of the freedom movement through initiatives such as Public Achievement, a youth empowering pedagogy that I began in 1990, translating CEP into our times. Public Achievement, developed by the Center for Democracy and Citizenship and its partners over many years, is now active in hundreds of schools and communities in more than a dozen countries. Through the public work projects, young people choose and develop with assistance from “coaches” (often college students). Public Achievement continuously demonstrates the democratic energies and talents of young people, largely untapped in most public programs and civic efforts.²⁷

Ideas like civic agency, public work, and vocation hold potential to transform colleges as they integrate the “three Cs” of citizenship, career, and college. Several coalitions are forming around these ideas, including an “Historically Black Colleges and Universities Public Work Engagement Project,” to explore how to build on the strong traditions of the freedom movement and the integration of practical and liberal arts, both strong parts of the HBCU tradition. In turn, such transformation recalls Rustin’s argument: reconstruction of institutions is essential in the next stage of the movement. The democratic reconstruction of institutions gives power to the vision of a citizen-centered democracy. It appears, fifty years after the “Dream,” that King’s marching orders are more relevant than ever. ⊕

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²⁵The launch of the American Commonwealth Partnership at the White House on January 10, 2012, can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbMwzAs8d3c> (accessed April 25, 2013).

²⁶For striking examples of empowering curricular and co-curricular change, see the Action Research Teams at Northern Arizona University, which involve hundreds of freshmen each year in public work action projects that develop civic agency, at <http://www2.nau.edu/crafts-p/wordpress/> and also the BreakingGround website at the University of Maryland–Baltimore County, which tells many stories of students’ empowered public work and culture change at <http://umbcbreakingground.wordpress.com/> (accessed April 25, 2013).

²⁷See <http://www.augsburg.edu/democracy/publicachievement/> (accessed April 25, 2013).